Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

HELD AT BUFFALO, NEW YORK

November 12 to 24, Inclusive

1917

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1918

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Thirty-Seventh Annual Convention

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	1	10	Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Eleventh st., Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	3	63	A. A. Myrup, 212 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		63	R. C. Schneider, 29 Oakland st., Salem, Mass.
		63	J. Goldstone, 328 Bushwick Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen	5	80	Frank X. Noschang, 222 East Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
		80	Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		80	James C. Shanessy. 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis,
		79	C. M. Feider, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.
		79	C. F. Foley, 420 N. Second st., Pottsville, Pa.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of	1	15	John Wilds, 435 First st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of	3	40	J. W. Kline, 1235 Transportation Building, 608 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
		40	Wm. F. Kramer, 1235 Transportation Bldg., 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
		40	J. F. McGrath, 610 W. Third st., Sedalia, Mo.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of	4	78	J. A. Franklin, Room 15, Law Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		78	Chas. F. Scott, New Hanover Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa.
		78	Dan McKillop, 512 Second ave., Seattle, Wash.
		78	Charles MacGowan, 2104 Third ave., Rock Island, Ill.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	2	57	A. P. Sovey, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		57	Walter N. Reddick, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	5	80	John F. Tobin, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		79	Charles L. Baine, 246 Summer st., Boston, Mass.
		79	Mary Anderson, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		79	Walter Brown, 167 Church st., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		79	Patrick A. Gillen, 790 McDonough st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Brewery Workmen, International Union of the United	5	90	Joseph Proebstle, 2347 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	Albert J. Kugler, 167 Bergen ave., Jersey City, N. J.
		90	John Rader, 2347 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		90	John Sullivan, 25 Third ave., New York City.
		90	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine st., Cincinnati, Ohio.

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Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America	6	117	Wm. J. Bowen, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		117	Thomas R. Preece, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		117	Wm. Dobson, University Park Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		117	Peter J. Shaughnessy, Bricklayers' Hall, Monroe and Peoria sts., Chicago, Ill.
		116	George Jones, 3609 Dawson ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
		116	Walter Price, care of Patrick Crowley, 321 E. Seventy-third st., New York City.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers	3	34	J. E. McClory, American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		33	P. J. Morrin, 1102 Morrison ave., St. Louis, Mo.
		33	S. P. Tobin, American Central Life Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International	1	28	Frank Butterworth, 1013 S. Oakley Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International	1	7	Will R. Boyer, 851 King Place, Chicago, Ill.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway	5	78	M. F. Ryan, 503 Hall Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		78	T. P. Hyland, Horton, Kans.
		78	O. J. Shoemaker, Box 61, Wichita Falls, Texas.
		78	Theodore Thompson, Route 4, Box 37, Fort Worth, Texas.
		78	Louis Beuloin, 465 Gordon ave., Verdun, Montreal, Canada.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	7	331	Wm. L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		331	Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		331	O. E. Woodbury, 444 E. Forty-third st., Chicago, Ill.
		331	W. E. Hemsell, Labor Temple, Fort Worth, Texas.
		331	E. W. Van Duyn, 517 Franklin ave., Des Moines, Iowa.
		331	Bob White, 1002 W. Twenty-first st., Oklahoma City, Okla.
		331	J. A. Ross, 813 Oakwood st., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Carriage and Wagon Workers of North America, International Union of	2	21	Wm. A. Logan, 96 Oppmann Terrace, Cleveland, Ohio.
		21	Wm. McPherson, 1312 W. Sixty-fourth st., Chicago, Ill.
Cigarmakers' International Union of America	5	84	G. W. Perkins, 440 S. Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill.
		83	Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		83	J. Mahlon Barnes, 355 N. Tenth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		83	W. A. Campbell, care of 820 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
		83	R. S. Sexton, care of 820 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway	2	34	J. L. Johnson, 407 National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		34	Rose A. Yates, 40 Belmont st., Worcester Mass.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail	3	50	E. E. Baker, 132 E. St. Clair st., New Philadelphia, Ohio.
		50	H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.
		50	C. C. Coulter, 606 Fifth st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International	1	16	Henry Kuhlmann, 304 Rodney st., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Coopers' International Union of North America	1	39	James J. Doyle, 615 S. St. Roslindale st., Boston, Mass.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	1	4	Andries Meyer, 323 Washington st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of	5	83	F. J. McNulty, 406 Reisch Building, Springfield, Ill.
		83	Geo. C. King, 732 Glenwood ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		83	Frank Fisher, 403 Park ave., St. Paul, Minn.
		83	Jas. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		83	G. M. Bugniazet, 29 Seventh st., Ridgefield Park, N. J.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of	1	29	Frank Feeney, 404 Perry Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating	4	55	Milton Snellings, 6334 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
		55	James G. Hannahan, 6334 Yale ave., Chicago, Ill.
		55	H. M. Comerford, 696 Washington st., Boston, Mass.
		55	E. L. Edgerton, 212 Post Standard Building, Syracuse, N. Y.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo	2	26	Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop st., Chicago, Ill.
		25	Peter J. Brady, 923 Pulitzer Building, New York City.
Federal Employes, National Federation of	2	41	Florence Etheridge, Room 408, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		40	W. E. Junker, 76 Bay, Twenty-sixth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Firemen, Brotherhood of Stationary	4	43	Timothy Healy, 226 E. Thirty-fifth st., New York City.
		43	C. L. Shamp, 3615 N. Twenty-fourth st., Omaha, Nebr.
		42	Joseph W. Morton, 156 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		42	William J. Brennan, 66 S. Orange ave., Newark, N. J.
Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of	1	13	George Bechtold, Room 302, 810 Chestnut st., St. Louis, Mo.
Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International	2	41	Morris Kaufman, 747 E. One Hundred and Eighty-second st., Bronx, N. Y.
		40	Philip Silberstein, 291 Stockton st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Garment Workers of America, United	5	90	T. A. Rickert, Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.
		90	B. A. Larger, Room 117 Bible House, New York City.
		90	Victor Altman, Alden, N. Y.
		90	Frank Doyle, Room 117, Bible House, New York City.
		89	Margaret C. Daley, Room 117, Bible House, New York City.
Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies	6	138	Benjamin Schlesinger, 31 Union Square, New York City.
		137	Sarah Shapiro, 16 W. Twenty-first st., New York City.
		137	Morris Deutch, 40 E. Twenty-third st., New York City.
		137	Jacob Heller, 117 Second ave., New York City.
		137	Max Gorenstein, 7 W. Twenty-first st., New York City.
		137	Abraham Rosenberg, 40 E. Twenty-third st., New York City.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	3	34	John A. Voll, 1005-8 Colonial Trust Co. Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
		33	John W. Clifton, 201 W. Grant st., Streator, Ill.
		33	Thomas Eames, Millville, N. J.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint	3	33	Wm. P. Clarke, 738 Ohio Building, Toledo, Ohio.
		33	John B. O'Brien, R.F.D. No. 3, Vineland, N. J.
		32	John F. Kennedy, 212 N. Henry st., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Granite Cutters, International Association of America, The	3	42	James Duncan, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass.
		42	Alexander W. Russell, 21 Gilmore st., Wollaston, Mass.
		41	Joseph D. Will, 26 Merchant st., Barre, Vt.
Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United Cloth	3	30	Max Zaritsky, 16 E. Seventh st., New York City.
		29	M. Zuckerman, 16 E. Seventh st., New York City.
		29	Jacob Margolis, 103 Avenue A, New York City.
Hatters of North America, United	3	29	Martin Lawlor, Rooms 72-73 Bible House, New York City.
		28	Cornelius McCue, 251 Main st., Danbury, Conn.
		28	Richard M. Humphrey, Room 72 Bible House, New York City.
Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	5	65	D. D'Alessandro, Box 597, Albany, N. Y.
		65	Joseph B. Etchison, 511 Indiana ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
		65	Jos. V. Moreschi, 822 W. Harrison st., Chicago, Ill.
		65	John Carley, 310 Prospect ave., Cleveland, Ohio.
		64	W. F. Dwyer, 200 Guerrero st., San Francisco, Cal.
Horseshoers of the United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen	2	27	Hubert S. Marshall, Second National Bank Building, Ninth and Main sts., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		27	Henry F. Broening, 109 W. Lee st., Baltimore, Md.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	5	130	Edward Flore, 375 Oak st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		129	Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		129	Thomas S. Farrell, 11219 Hopkins ave. N. E., Cleveland, Ohio.
		129	Emanuel Koveleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.
		129	John J. McDevitt, 926 N. Broad st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of	2	55	John Williams, Room 506 House Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		55	John J. Sullivan, 4532 Magoun ave., East Chicago, Ill.
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	1	43	Abraham Greenstein, Room 6035, Metropolitan Building, New York City.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	2	30	William J. McSorley, 401 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		30	Joseph H. Duty, Room 5, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Laundry Workers' International Union	1	46	Michael J. O'Leary, 26 W. Dedham st., Boston, Mass.
Leather Workers, United, International Union	1	32	W. E. Bryan, 504 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Letter Carriers, National Association of	4	7	Edward J. Gainor, Canopie Apartments, Muncie, Ind.
		6	Charles D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood ave., Oak Park, Ill.
		6	Luther E. Swartz, 2218 Patterson st., Nashville, Tenn.
		6	John T. Mugavin, 621 Main st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada	2	23	Philip Bock, 499 Chestnut st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		23	William Besnon, 499 Chestnut st., Brooklyn, N. Y.

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Longshoremen's Association, International	4	64	Thos. V. O'Connor, 702-4 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		64	F. P. A. Vaccarrelli, 1475 Broadway, New York City.
		64	Thomas Harrison, 618 Philip st., New Orleans, La.
		63	Anthony J. Chlopek, 3224 Lagrange st., Toledo, Ohio.
Machinists, International Association of	6	188	Wm. H. Johnston, Room 300, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		188	A. O. Wharton, Ghio Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		188	James O'Connell, 402 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		187	Thos. J. Savage, 61 Central ave., Everett, Mass.
		187	James A. Taylor, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
		187	Charles Fry, 106 N. La Salle st., Chicago, Ill.
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of	1	10	Stephen C. Hogan, 446 E. One Hundred and Forty-ninth st., New York City.
Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of	1	43	John C. Strain, 202 Main st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	3	32	John F. Hart, Yorkville, N. Y.
		32	Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		32	John Kennedy, 2 Lenox ave., Winfield Bor. of Queens, New York.
Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet	4	44	John J. Hynes, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		44	Thos. Redding, 5019 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
		44	James J. Ryan, 407 Nelson Building, Kansas City, Mo.
		44	Hugh Frayne, Bartholdi Building, New York City.
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of	4	45	Charles H. Moyer, 509 Denham Building, Denver, Colo.
		45	William Davidson, New Denver, B. C., Canada.
		45	James B. Rankin, 503 Denham Building, Denver, Colo.
		44	Joseph D. Cannon, 509 Denham Building, Denver, Colo.
Mine Workers of America, United	8	440	John P. White, 1106 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		440	Frank J. Hayes, 1109 Merchants' Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		440	John Mitchell, 3 Claremont ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
		440	Wm. Green, 1107 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		440	John H. Walker, 304 Pierik Building, Springfield, Ill.
		440	Frank Farrington, 508 Farmers' Bank Building, Springfield, Ill.
		440	John Moore, 77 Ruggery Building, Columbus, Ohio.
		440	John L. Lewis, 1109 Merchants Bank Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Molders' Union of North America, International	5	100	Joseph F. Valentine, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	John P. Frey, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		100	R. H. Curran, 107 Hobart st., Rochester, N. Y.
		100	F. L. Baumgartner, 502 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
		100	John Loder, 223 Edmond st., Pittsburgh, Pa.

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Musicians, American Federation of	4	151	Joseph N. Weber, 110-112 W. Fortieth st., New York City.
		151	Owen Miller, 3535 Pine st., St. Louis, Mo.
		151	D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		151	C. A. Weaver, 607 Locust st., Des Moines, Iowa.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	6	142	Geo. F. Hedrick, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		142	J. C. Skemp, Drawer 99, Lafayette, Ind.
		142	P. J. Guerin, 318 Fourth st., Troy, N. Y.
		142	A. J. McKeon, P. O. Box 571, Bridgeport, Conn.
		142	John J. Lynch, 23a Gove st., Medford, Hillside, Mass.
		142	Jas. Mooney, 4947 Prairie ave., Chicago, Ill.
Papermakers, International Brotherhood of	2	32	J. T. Carey, 127 N. Pearl st., Albany, N. Y.
		32	George J. Schneider, 941 State st., Appleton, Wis.
Patternmakers' League of North America	2	35	James Wilson, Rooms 1008-9, Second National Bank Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		35	J. S. Forrest, corner Halstead and Madison sts., care of Pattern Makers, Chicago, Ill.
Pavers, Rammermen, Flagg Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of	1	15	Edward I. Hannah, 249 E. Fifty-seventh st., New York City.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada	1	32	Carl Bergstrom, Box 27, Albion, N. Y.
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International	1	15	Charles Dold, Room 602, 166 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	4	48	Ed. J. McGivern, Castell Building, Middletown, Ohio.
		48	John Donlin, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		47	Christ Hede, 908 W. Monroe st., Chicago, Ill.
		47	Thomas George, 1321 Russell Road, Cleveland, Ohio.
Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of	4	80	John R. Alpine, 411-16 Bush Temple of Music, Chicago, Ill.
		80	Thomas S. Kearney, Room 602, 64 W. Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
		80	Charles Anderson, Union Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
		80	Charles M. Rau, 126 W. Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Metal Polishers, International Union of	3	34	W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	George Leary, 408 Neave Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		33	H. C. Diehl, 11523 Harvard ave., W. Pullman Station, Chicago, Ill.
Postal Employes, National Federation of	1	81	Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 400, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	2	38	Edward Menge, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio.
		38	Homer Owen, 946 Morton st., East Liverpool, Ohio.
Print Cutters' Association of America, National	1	4	Fred J. Roth, 246 Laurel st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, Machine, National Association of	1	5	Patrick E. Lyons, 334 Trenton ave. Buffalo, N. Y.

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Printers' Union of North America, Steel and Copper Plate	1	13	John J. Deviny, Evening Star Building, Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International	5	66	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		66	Joseph C. Orr, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.
		66	John C. Herman, 318 Maryland st., Buffalo, N. Y.
		66	Jacob Scherm, 770 Glenwood ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		66	L. Leonard, 358 E. Utica st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	2	33	
		32	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, N. Y.
			Maurice La Belle, Box 263, Sturgeon Falls, Ontario, Canada.
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America	1	35	Fred W. Suitor, Scampini Building, Barre, Vt.
Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	4	185	W. D. Mahon, 104 E. High st., Detroit, Mich.
		184	Wm. Quinlan, 138 N. La Salle st., Room 55, Chicago, Ill.
		184	P. F. Sheehan, 167 Copeland st., Campello, Mass.
		184	Michael J. Cahill, 125 Illinois st., Central Falls, R. I.
Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of	1	12	Jeremiah T. Hurley, 3632 Dodier st., St. Louis, Mo.
Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile	1	6	J. M. Gavlak, 14 N. Oxford st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Seamen's Union of America, International	5	65	Andrew Furuseth, 57 Clay st., San Francisco, Cal.
		65	Patrick Flynn, 58 Commercial st., San Francisco, Cal.
		64	G. H. Brown, 51 South st., New York City.
		64	Wm. L. Cartledge, 12 South st., New York City.
		64	Thomas Conway, 332 West Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
Signalmen of America, Brotherhood of Railroad	1	8	D. W. Helt, 533 S. Market st., Shamokin, Pa.
Spinners' International Union	1	22	Urban Fleming, 188 Lyman st., Holyoke, Mass.
Stage Employes of America, International Alliance Theatrical	4	47	Charles C. Shay, 107 W. Forty-sixth st., New York City.
		47	L. G. Dolliver, 68 Haight st., San Francisco, Cal.
		46	John J. Barry, 75 Albany st., Boston, Mass.
		46	John Suarez, 1434 N. Garrison st., St. Louis, Mo.
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of	1	29	W. M. Welsh, Room 303, 39 Cortland st., New York City.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	2	26	James J. Freel, 1839 Eighty-fifth st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		26	Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive st., Kansas City, Mo.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	2	21	Sam Griggs, P. O. Box 767, Indianapolis, Ind.
		20	James A. Short, 1245 Farwell ave., Chicago, Ill.
Stove Mounters' International Union	1	17	W. L. Funder Burk, 1210 Jefferson ave., East, Detroit, Mich.
Switchmen's Union of North America	3	34	S. E. Heberling, 326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		34	M. R. Welch, 326 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
		34	James B. Connors, Room 600, 164 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.

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Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	3	40	Thos. Sweeney, cor. E. Sixty-seventh st., and Stony Island ave., Chicago, Ill.
		40	John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.
		40	M. J. Sillinsky, General Delivery, Cleveland, Ohio.
Teachers, American Federation of	1	21	Charles B. Stillman, 1620 Lake ave., Wilmette, Ill.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	5	141	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		141	Thos. L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan st., Indianapolis, Ind.
		141	Wm. A. Neer, 175 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
		140	John M. Gillespie, 170 W. Brookline st., Boston, Mass.
		140	M. E. Decker, 2940 Sixteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	4	68	H. B. Perham, Star Building, St. Louis, Mo.
		68	L. J. Ross, 457 Wellington ave., Auburn, R. I.
		68	J. B. Bode, Chelsea Station, B. & M. R. R., Boston, Mass.
		68	Owen D. Gorman, Mauk, Ga.
Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial	1	10	S. J. Konenkamp, 669-71 Transportation Building, Chicago, Ill.
Textile Workers of America, United	5	75	John Golden, Room 86 Bible House, New York City.
		74	Sara A. Conboy, 86 Bible House, New York City.
		74	George H. White, 68 Van Derwerken ave., N. S., Cohoes, N. Y.
		74	Thomas F. McMahon, 762 Atwells ave., Providence, R. I.
		74	John H. Powers, 70 East ave., Pawtucket, R. I.
Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic	1	28	Thos. J. Williams, R.F.D. No. 1, Berwyn, Md.
Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of	1	3	Louis A. B. Agethen, 547 Chauncey st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	1	32	E. Lewis Evans, Rooms 50-51 Iroquois Life Building, Louisville, Ky.
Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union	1	34	Thomas J. Curtis, 3067 Hull ave., New York City.
Typographical Union, International	5	124	Marsden G. Scott, 635-639 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
		123	Max S. Hayes, 979 Parkwood Drive, Cleveland, Ohio.
		123	Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		123	Hugh Stevenson, 97 Leuty ave., Toronto, Ont., Canada.
		123	J. W. Hays, 640-650 Newton Claypool Building, Indianapolis, Ind.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America	1	40	James H. Hatch, 229 E. Sixty-seventh st., New York City.
Weavers' Union of America, International Shingle	1	5	J. G. Brown, 202 Maynard Building, Seattle, Wash.
White Rats Actors' Union of America	2	24	James Wm. Fitzpatrick, 207 E. Fifty-fourth st., New York City
		23	Harry Mountford, 673 Broadway, New York City.

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Alabama State Federation of Labor	1	1	B. W. King, P. O. Box 180, Birmingham Ala.
California State Federation of Labor	1	1	Daniel D. Sullivan, 1826 N st., Sacramento, Cal.
Colorado State Federation of Labor	1	1	John M. O'Neal, care of Free Press, Trinidad, Colo.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor	1	1	John J. O'Hara, 264 Main st., Danbury, Conn.
Georgia State Federation of Labor	1	1	J. L. Anderson, 112 Trinity ave., Atlanta, Ga.
Idaho State Federation of Labor	1	1	M. P. Villeneuve, Box 759, Burke, Idaho.
Illinois State Federation of Labor	1	1	Robert Fitchie, 164 W. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
Indiana State Federation of Labor	1	1	Shubert Sebree, 2436 Lafayette ave., Terre Haute, Ind.
Iowa State Federation of Labor	1	1	J. M. Conley, care of Labor Leader, Dubuque, Iowa.
Kentucky State Federation of Labor	1	1	Wm. G. Shea, 1223 Breckenridge st., Louisville, Ky.
Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor	1	1	V. J. McHenry, 1633 W. Fayette st., Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor	1	1	P. Harry Jennings, 987 Washington st., Boston, Mass.
Michigan State Federation of Labor	1	1	Claude O. Taylor, 325 Ann st., Grand Rapids, Mich.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor	1	1	E. G. Hall, 4124 Bryant ave., South, Minneapolis, Minn.
Missouri State Federation of Labor	1	1	Daniel J. Murphy, 2632 Caroline st., St. Louis, Mo.
Montana State Federation of Labor	1	1	M. M. Donoghue, 531 Diamond st., Butte Mont.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor	1	1	John R. Burgess, 20 Gautier ave., Jersey City, N. J.
New York State Federation of Labor	1	1	James J. Holland, 234 Washington ave., Rockaway Park, New York City.
North Carolina State Federation of Labor	1	1	O. R. Jarrett, 18 Olive st., Asheville, N. C.
Ohio State Federation of Labor	1	1	James Boyle, 3432 Boudinot ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor	1	1	Thomas Kennedy, Saeger Building, Hazleton, Pa.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor	1	1	Jas. P. Ogletree, 926 Marina st., Nashville, Tenn.
Texas State Federation of Labor	1	1	Harry L. Spencer, Box 403, Houston, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor	1	1	C. L. Bentley, 240 Seventh ave., N. E., Roanoke, Va.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor	1	1	L. F. Sprouse, 69 Second st., Wheeling, W. Va.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	E. P. Marsh, 202 Maynard Building, Seattle, Wash.
Wyoming State Federation of Labor	1	1	Paul J. Paulsen, Box 904, Cheyenne, Wyo.
Aberdeen, S. Dak., Central Labor Council	1	1	George E. Mehner, 208 Dakota st., North Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Akron, Ohio, Centra Labor Union	1	1	Oscar Sheck, 92 Shaffer st., Akron, Ohio.
Albany, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor	1	1	Thos. D. Fitzgerald, 210 Jay st., Albany, N. Y.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades	1	1	Walter C. Caraway, 182 Davis st., Atlanta, Ga.
Auburn, N. Y., Central Labor Union	1	1	John Rahele, 32 Parker st., Auburn, N. Y.
Baltimore, Md., Federat on of Labor	1	1	John A. Banz, 25 Franklin Building, Baltimore, Md.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council	1	1	L. Bowen, Box 479, Birmingham, Ala.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	Edward F. McGrady, 987 Washington st., Boston, Mass.
Brooklyn, N. Y., Cent al Labor Un on	1	1	J. P. Coughlin, 1499 St. John's Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council	1	1	Stuart A. Hayward, 301 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.
Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Charles Malloy, P. O. Box 1135, Butte, Mont.

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Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Calumet, Ill., Joint Labor Council	1	1	F. E. Doyle, 7267 Coles ave., Chicago, Ill.
Charleston, W. Va., Central Labor Union	1	1	Charles Crickmore, care of Box 1106, Charleston, W. Va.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Matt J. Robinson, 106½ E. 8th street, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor	1	1	Oscar F. Nelson, 3117 Abbott Court, Chicago, Ill.
Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council	1	1	Frank L. Rist, 1311 Walnut st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cle Elum, Wash Central Labor Council	1	1	Robert H. Harlin, 828 Twenty-fifth ave., South, Seattle, Wash.
Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor	1	1	James Malley, 310 Prospect ave., S. E. Cleveland, Ohio.
Clifton, Ariz., Central Labor Union	1	1	C. A. Vargas, care of Box 735, Clifton, Ariz.
Coffeyville, Kans., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank L. Bryan, 111 W. Tenth st., Coffeyville, Kans.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties	1	1	A. McAndrew, 50 Iroquois Life Building, Louisville, Ky.
Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	James S. Haugh, care of 13 James st., Danbury, Conn.
Dunkirk, N. Y., United Trades and Labor Council	1	1	E. Hagberg, 329 Deer st., Dunkirk, N. Y.
Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Harold Williams, P. O. Box 65, Easton, Pa.
Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Eugene J. McManus, 823 W. Eleventh st., Erie, Pa.
Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor	1	1	John A. McDonald, care of 1206 Mason st., Flint, Mich.
Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly	1	1	Joe B. Hines, care of Box 167, Fort Worth, Tex.
Great Falls, Mont., Cascade County Labor Assembly	1	1	Jas. S. O'Brien, care of Box 1218, Great Falls, Mont.
Hamilton, Ont., Canada, District Trades and Labor Council	1	1	E. A. W. O'Dell, 121 Stinson st., Hamilton, Ont., Canada.
Jamestown, N. Y., Central Labor Council	1	1	H. A. Hartman, Box 462, Jamestown, N. Y.
Kansas City, Kans., Centra Labor Union	1	1	M. J. McSpadden, 751 Stewart ave., Kansas City, Kans.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council	1	1	John T. Smith, Labor Temple, Fourteenth and Woodland ave., Kansas City, Mo.
Lansford, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	John B. Brislin, Lansford, Pa.
Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	John L. Johnson, 14 Stevens st., Lawrence, Mass.
London, Ont., Canada, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	William J. Hevey, 23 Blackfriars st., London, Ont., Canada.
Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Patrick E. Gorman, 112 S. Shelby st., Louisville, Ky.
Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor	1	1	W. L. Forrest, 707 W. Dayton st., Madison, Wis.
Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union	1	1	Julius Stremlau, 148 Cook ave., Meriden, Conn.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council	1	1	James F. Blakely, 375 Fifth ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
Montreal, Canada, Trades and Labor Council	1	1	J. T. Foster, 182 St. Catherine st., East, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Germain Quinn, care of 319 Deaderick st., Nashville, Tenn.
New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union	1	1	Fannie Sellons, Kensington Hotel, New Kensington, Pa.

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
New Rochelle, N. Y., Central Labor Union	1	1	William W. McKinnon, 33 Anderson st., New Rochelle, N. Y.
New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union of Greater New York and Vicinity	1	1	Robert P. Brindell, 1890 Daly ave., Bronx, New York City.
Niagara Falls, N.Y., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	G. B. Repsher, 3325 Royal ave., Niagara Falls, N. Y.
Oakland, Cal., Central Labor Council of Alameda County	1	1	Fred W. Voigt, 3289 Hyde st., Oakland, Cal.
Olean, N. Y., Central Labor Council	1	1	Fred B. Hodges, care of Box 401, Olean, N. Y.
Orange, N. J., Federated Trades Council	1	1	Edward J. Henry, 96 Hill st., Orange, N. J.
Ottawa, Ont., Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association	1	1	P. M. Draper, P. O. Box 515, Ottawa, Canada.
Peekskill, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	John B. Kelly 33 Anderson st., New Rochelle, N. Y.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Frank Burch, 2258 N. Seventh st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Phoenix, Ariz., Trades Council	1	1	E. A. Clark, care of 238 E. Washington st., Phoenix, Ariz.
Pittsburgh, Pa., The Iron City Central Trades Council	1	1	Wm. J. Kelly, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Pittston, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	T. M. Cathrall, care of 328 Delaware ave., Pittston, Pa.
Port Chester, N. Y., Central Labor Union	1	1	William Rander, 562 Willett ave., Port Chester, N. Y.
Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union	1	1	Lawrence A. Grace, Room 3, 268 Weybosset st., Providence, R. I.
Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	W. H. Young, P. O. Box 462, Pueblo, Colo.
Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	N. G. Bennett, Superintendent's Office, S. A. L. Ry., Commercial Bank Building, Raleigh, N. C.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council	1	1	A. P. Bower, 111 N. 6th st., Reading, Pa.
Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	E. C. Davison, 307 A. F. of L. Building, Wash., D. C.
Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Gad Martindale, 10 Elm st., Rochester, N. Y.
Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Adam Wilkinson, Roundup, Mont.
St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union	1	1	Charles Baird, 3204 Lucas ave., St. Louis, Mo.
St. Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Charles E. ames, 632 Central ave., St. Paul, Minn.
Salem, Ore., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Pascal Traglio, care of 457 Court st., Salem, Oreg.
Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor	1	1	Stephen B. Newman, Shubrick Apartments, Salt Lake City, Utah.
San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council	1	1	Wm. L. Hoefgen, 114½ S. Alamo st., San Antonio, Tex.
San Francisco, Cal., Trades Council	1	1	Daniel C. Murphy, 325 Richland ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Steve McDonald, 817 Richmond st., Scranton, Pa.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council	1	1	James A. Duncan, Labor Temple, Seattle, Wash.
Sharon, Pa., United Labor League	1	1	David Nevin, Box 424, Sharon, Pa.

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Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	J. M. Murphy, 7040 Justine st., Chicago, Ill.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 407 Myers Building, Springfield, Ill.
Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union	1	1	George H. Wrenn, 421 Maple st., Springfield, Mass.
Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Aden E. Smith, 75 W. North st., Springfield, Ohio.
Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Thomas M. Gafney, 117 E. Washington st., Syracuse, N. Y.
Topeka, Kans., Industrial Council	1	1	Herbert F. Warren, 1149 Lincoln st., Topeka, Kans.
Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council	1	1	Thomas Black, 8 Sulley Crescent, Toronto, Ont., Canada.
Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union	1	1	Warren A. Hannum, 147 Cleveland ave., Trenton, N. J.
Troy, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor	1	1	James Lemke, 160 Third st., Troy, N. Y.
Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	R. B. McIntyre, Penn Theatre, Uniontown, Pa.
Warren, Pa., Central Labor Union	1	1	Adam Eberly, Warren, Pa.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union	1	1	Sam DeNedrey, Fifth and H sts. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly	1	1	Fred W. Sondemann, 126 Avenue C, Elm Grove, W. Va.
Winona, Minn., Trades and Labor Council	1	1	F. H. Hester, care of 118 W. Mark st., Winona, Minn.
Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor	1	1	Geo. B. McGovern, 260 Main st., Yonkers, N. Y.
Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council	1	1	P. F. Casey, 506 Luck ave., Zanesville, Ohio.
Agricultural Workers' Union No. 15027	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, Box 270, San Juan, P. R.
Awning and Tent Workers' Union No. 15342	1	1	L. W. Reinhard, 824 Main st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Blast Furnace Workers' Local Union No. 15359	1	1	Carl Depp, 416 S. Main st., W. E. Punxsutawney, Jefferson County, Pa.
Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646	1	2	Anne Hogan, Room 208, 32 Union Square, New York, N. Y.
City Firemen's Union No. 14339	1	1	John P. Allwine, Pueblo, Colo.
City Firemen's Union No. 15473	1	1	Thomas G. Spellacy, 546 Brandywine ave., Schenectady, N. Y.
City Firemen's Union No. 15426	1	1	Hunter Allison, care of Central Fire Station, East Liverpool, Ohio.
City Firemen's Union No. 15665	1	1	Raymond E. Oden, 603 Irving st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
City Firemen's Association No. 12270	1	1	Edmund McCahill, 159 N. State st., Chicago, Ill.
Cloth Examiners and Spongers' Union No. 11680	1	3	Jos. F. Mezzacapo, 168 Eighth ave., New York City.
Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705	1	2	B. E. Moore, 1833 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 7426	1	1	Mary Morris, care of 640 W. Monroe st., Springfield, Ill.
Federal Labor Union No. 12709	1	2	F. A. Tillman, 116 N. Thirty-fourth st., Billings, Mont.
Federal Labor Union No. 12776	1	4	Gertrude McNally, 3300 Eighteenth st., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Federal Labor Union No. 14653	1	1	George Halonen, 29 Nutting st., Fitchburg, Mass.
Federal Labor Union No. 14871	1	2	James H. Fisher, care of Box 1165, Great Falls, Mont.
Federal Labor Union No. 15138	1	1	A. F. Da Costa, Crowley, La.
Federal Labor Union No. 15152	1	1	H. C. Pennywitt, P. O. Box 475, Van Buren, Ark.
Federal Labor Union No. 15223	1	1	Chas. E. Longley, Milford, Me.
Federal Labor Union No. 15228	1	1	Hugh Burk, 76 Marshall st., Battle Creek, Mich.

Organizations.	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	Name and Address of Delegates.
Federal Labor Union No. 15321	1	2	Herman Johnson, Ridgeway, Pa.
Federal Labor Union No. 15345	1	3	Wm. T. Wilkie, Box 456, North Sydney, N. S.
Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union No. 14569, United	1	4	Minnie Teitelbaum, 43 E. Twenty-second st., New York City.
General Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 14838	1	1	Walter Green, 700 Parker st., Portsmouth, Va.
Grain Workers' Union No. 11407	1	1	Ernest Bohm, 210 E. Fifth st., New York City.
Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Local No. 14960	1	2	Michael F. Kenny, 317 Barrow st., Jersey City, N. J.
Janitors' Union, Flat, No. 14332	1	7	Wm. F. Quesse, 4732 Indiana ave., Chicago, Ill.
Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union No. 14605	1	1	Roy L. Brazzle, General Delivery, Brownsville, Pa.
Library Employes' Union No. 15590	1	1	Maud Malone, 184 W. Eighty-second st., New York City.
Navy Yard Laborers' Union, Brooklyn, No. 15026	1	1	Richard C. Busch, 21 Jackson Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Neckwear Makers' Union, United, No. 11016	1	11	Isidor Buchbinder, 395 S. Third st, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200	1	1	Anna Weinstock, 919 Washington st., care of W. T. U. L., Boston, Mass.
Newsboys' Protective Union No. 9077	1	2	Thomas J. Mulkern, 15 State st., Boston, Mass.
Office Employes' Association No. 12755	1	2	Joseph J. Ellicott, 6531 Greenview ave., Chicago, Ill.
Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15503	1	4	Charles Differding, Taft, Cal.
Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883	1	1	Robert E. Eson, 3919 Indiana ave., Chicago, Ill.
Pipe Caulkers and Repairers' Union No. 11465	1	1	Wm. Hanrahan, 71 Fulton st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15566	1	1	Sidney Burt, 727 Effingham st., Portsmouth, Va.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15574	1	1	E. D. Thompson, 305 Lyles st., Jacksonville, Fla.
Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15688	1	1	Hubert Fitts, 1532 Forty-fourth st., Norfolk, Va.
Railroad Laborers' Union No. 15110	1	1	Fred M. Miller, 803 Fifteenth st., East Moline, Ill.
Railroad Laborers' Union No. 15680	1	1	C. M. Battle, Rocky Mount, N. C.
Shipyard Riggers' Union No. 15678	1	1	J. Juhl, 584 Tenth st., Oakland, Cal.
Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872	1	1	Geo. Rincker, R.F.D. No. 1, Elmhurst, Ill.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597	1	1	Harry H. Hollis, 435 Bancroft st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773	1	2	W. M. Pollock, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.
Theatre Ushers' Union No. 15293	1	1	Samuel Lebowitz, 175 E. Broadway, New York City.
Warehouse Employes' Union No. 15480	1	1	Chas. A. Grimm, care of 17 Vernon Place, Buffalo, N. Y.
Watchmen's Union, Federal, No. 14964	1	1	Henry A. Raines, 238 Thirteenth st., S. W., Washington, D. C.
British Trades Union Congress	2	1	John Hill, Lifton House, Eslington Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England.
		1	Arthur Hayday, 1 St. James st., Nottingham, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1	1	William Lodge, 21 Creighton st., Ottowa, Ontario, Canada.
National Women's Trade Union League	1		Elizabeth Christman, 139 N. Clark st., Chicago, Ill.
Women's International Union Label League	1		Anna Fitzgerald, 421 S. Homan ave., Chicago, Ill.
Farmers' National Congress	1		L. B. Strayer, Rock Island, Ill.
Federal Board of Farm Organizations	1		Gifford Pinchot, 1617 Rhode Island ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Number of Unions.	Name.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
100	National and International	270	23,106
27	State	27	27
87	Central	87	87
49	Trade and Federal Labor Unions	49	87
6	Fraternal Organizations	7	3
269		440	23,310

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List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909. Samuel Gompers.	*1915.
1911. James Duncan.	*1917.
1913. George W. Perkins.	

To British Trades Union Congress.	From British Trades Union Congress.
1895 Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1894 John Burns. David Holmes.
1896 J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Strasser.	1895 Edward Cowey. James Mawdsley.
1897 Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeil.	1896 Sam Woods. John Mallinson.
1898 James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1897 Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson
1899 James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy.	1898 William Inskip. William Thorne.
1900 J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	1899 James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.
1901 Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1900 John Weir. Pete Curran.
1902 Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1901 Frank Chandler. Ben Tillett.
1903 Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1902 M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.
1904 W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1903 William Mullin. James O'Grady.
1905 John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1904 William Abraham. James Wignall.
1906 Frank K. Foster. James Wilson.	1905 William Mosses. David Gilmour.
1907 John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetzky.	1906 Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.
1908 Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1907 David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.
1909 John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.	1908 John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.
1910 W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1909 A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.
1911 Wm. B. Macfarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1910 W. Brace. Ben Turner.
1912 George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1911 G. H. Roberts. J. Crinion.
1913 Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1912 J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.
*1914 W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1913 I. H. Gwynne. T. Greenall.
***1915 W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	**1914
1916 W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1915 C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.
1917 John Golden. James Lord.	1916 H. Gosling. W. Whitefield.
1918 J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1917 John Hill. Arthur Hayday.

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.	From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.
1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1898 David A. Carey.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1899 David A. Carey.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1900 David A. Carey.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1901 P. M. Draper.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1902 John H. Kennedy.
1903 John Coleman.	1903 James Simpson.
1904 John H. Richards.	1904 John A. Flett.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1905 William V. Todd.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1906 Samuel L. Landers.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1907 W. R. Trotter.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1908 P. M. Draper.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1909 F. Bancroft.
1910 John J. Manning.	1910 R. P. Pettipiece.
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1911 Wm. Glockling.
1912 John T. Smith.	1912 John W. Bruce.
1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1913 Gus Francq.
1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1914 R. A. Rigg.
1915 H. J. Conway.	1915 Fred Bancroft.
1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.
1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1917 Wm. Lodge
1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	

*No convention.
**No delegates.
***Delegates did not attend.

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Conventions

of

American Federation of Labor

Year.	City and State.	Date.
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Cal.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Cal.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1918

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the second Monday in June, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades).

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have

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no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

SEC. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than April 30 preceding the Annual Convention.

SEC. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

SEC. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

SEC. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

SEC. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the Convention.

SEC. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

SEC. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

SEC. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

SEC. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.

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SEC. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding $2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

SEC. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on April 30 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the *American Federationist*, and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation.

SEC. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of $2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the Annual Convention may determine, payable weekly.

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

SEC. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER.

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank, or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

SEC. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be $500.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

SEC. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

SEC. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

SEC. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

SEC. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be $7.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of $4.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

SEC. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

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SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of seven-eighths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, $10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to April 30 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in Section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with, a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm, or corporation on an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated,

as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the president of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, "of which every member shall be regularly notified," to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to four ($4) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safekeeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off, a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand ($5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than sixty

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(60) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than $1.00 or more than $10.00, and that one-fourth of each initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamp.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union officials connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the unions or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five ($5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Rail-

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way System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

SEC. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

SEC. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

SEC. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

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THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

of the

American Federation of Labor

1917

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY---Monday Morning Session

Broadway Auditorium,
Buffalo, N. Y., November 12, 1917.

Pursuant to law, the regular meeting of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., President Gompers in the chair.

The delegates and visitors marched to the hall in a body, each carrying an American flag and led by a band of 100 pieces, by courtesy of the Musicians' Union of Buffalo.

President Gompers: It is my duty at this time to declare the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor open and ready for the transaction of its business.

(The President of the United States—Woodrow Wilson—entered the hall and the audience stood while the band played the "Star Spangled Banner.")

By authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor it was my great privilege to extend an invitation to the President of the United States to attend this convention and to address the officers and delegates thereof and to convey a message through this convention to the great mass of the people of our country and to the peoples of all the nations of the world who aim to achieve freedom and justice. I have the honor to announce to you that the President accepted that invitation and is with us now—this man of destiny, this man who has arisen to the great occasion and opportunity of our time, the spokesman of freedom, the interpreter of the aims and the spirit of our time, the leader of thought and action among the men of the nations of the earth who aspire to freedom. It is not my purpose nor shall I attempt to deliver an address at this time or to pronounce an eulogium, but I have the profound gratitude and honor of presenting to you now the Honorable

Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States.

President Wilson's Address.

Mr. President, Delegates of the American Federation of Labor, Ladies and Gentlemen: I esteem it a great privilege and a real honor to be thus admitted to your public councils. When your Executive Committee paid me the compliment of inviting me here, I gladly accepted the invitation because it seems to me that this above all other times in our history is the time for common counsel, for the drawing together not only of the energies but of the minds of the nation. I thought that it was a welcome opportunity for disclosing to you some of the thoughts that have been gathering in my mind during the last momentous months.

I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow-citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel, the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever known; a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind. I think that in order to realize just what this moment of counsel is it is very desirable that we should remind ourselves just how this war came about and just what it is for. You can explain most wars very simply, but the explanation of this is not so simple. Its roots run deep into all the obscure soils of history, and in my view this is the last decisive issue between the old principles of power and the new principles of freedom.

The war was started by Germany. Her authorities deny that they started it, but I am willing to let the statement I have just made await the verdict of history. And the thing that needs to be explained is why Germany started the war. Remember what the position of Germany in the world was—as enviable a position as any nation has ever occupied. The whole world stood at admiration of her wonderful intellectual and material achievements. All the intellectual men of the world went to school to her. As a university man I have been surrounded by men trained in Germany, men who had resorted to Germany because nowhere else could they get such thorough and searching training, particularly in the principles of science and the principles that underlie modern material achievement. Her men of science had made her industries perhaps the most competent industries of the world, and the label "Made in Germany" was a guarantee of good workmanship and of sound material. She had access to all the markets of the world, and every other nation who traded in those markets feared Germany because of her effective and almost irresistible competition. She had "a place in the sun."

Why was she not satisfied? What more did she want? There was nothing in the world of peace that she did not already have and have in abundance. We boast of the extraordinary pace of American advancement. We show with pride the statistics of the increase of our industries and of the population of our cities. Well, those statistics did not match the recent statistics of Germany. Her old cities took on youth, grew faster than any American cities ever grew. Her old industries opened their eyes and saw a new world and went out for its conquest. And yet the authorities of Germany were not satisfied. You have one part of the answer to the question why she was not satisfied in her methods of competition. There is no important industry in Germany upon which the government has not laid its hands, to direct it and when necessity arose control it; and you have only to ask any man whom you meet who is familiar with the conditions that prevailed before the war in the matter of national competition to find out the methods of competition which the German manufacturers and exporters used under the patronage and support of the government of Germany. You will find that they were the same sorts of competition that we have tried to prevent by law within our own borders. If they could not sell their goods cheaper than we could sell ours at a profit to themselves, they could get a subsidy from the government which made it possible to sell them cheaper anyhow, and the conditions of competition were thus controlled in large measure by the German government itself.

But that did not satisfy the German government. All the while there was lying behind its thought in its dreams of the future a political control which would enable it in the long run to dominate the labor and the industry of the world. They were not content with success by superior achievement; they wanted success by authority. I suppose very few of you have thought much about the Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway. The Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway was constructed in order to run the threat of force down the flank of the industrial undertakings of half a dozen other countries; so that when German competition came in it would not be resisted too far, because there was always the possibility of getting German armies into the heart of that country quicker than any other armies could be got there.

Look at the map of Europe now! Germany is thrusting upon us again and again the discussion of peace talks about what? Talks about Belgium; talks about northern France; talks about Alsace-Lorraine. Well, those are deeply interesting subjects to us and to them, but they are not talking about the heart of the matter. Take the map and look at it. Germany has absolute control of Austria-Hungary, practical control of the Balkan states, control of Turkey, control of Asia Minor. I saw a map in which the whole thing was printed in appropriate black the other day, and the black stretched all the way from Hamburg to Bagdad—the bulk of German power inserted into the heart of the world. If she can keep that, she has kept all that her dreams contemplated when the war began. If she can keep that, her power can dis-

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turb the world as long as she keeps it, always provided, for I feel bound to put this proviso in—always provided the present influences that control the German government continue to control it. I believe that the spirit of freedom can get into the hearts of Germans and find as fine a welcome there as it can find in any other hearts, but the spirit of freedom does not suit the plans of the Pan-Germans. Power cannot be used with concentrated force against free peoples if it is used by free people.

You know how many intimations came to us from one of the Central Powers that it is more anxious for peace than the chief Central Power, and you know that it means that the people in that Central Power know that if the war ends as it stands they will in effect themselves be vassals of Germany, notwithstanding that their populations are compounded of all the peoples of that part of the world, and notwithstanding the fact that they do not wish in their pride and proper spirit of nationality to be so absorbed and dominated. Germany is determined that the political power of the world shall belong to her. There have been such ambitions before. They have been in part realized, but never before have those ambitions been based upon so exact and precise and scientific a plan of domination.

May I not say that it is amazing to me that any group of persons should be so ill-informed as to suppose, as some groups in Russia apparently suppose, that any reforms planned in the interest of the people can live in the presence of a Germany powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force? Any body of free men that compounds with the present German government is compounding for its own destruction. But that is not the whole of the story. Any man in America or anywhere else that supposes that the free industry and enterprise of the world can continue if the Pan-German plan is achieved and German power fastened upon the world is as fatuous as the dreamers in Russia. What I am opposed to is not the feeling of the pacifists but their stupidity. My heart is with them but my mind has a contempt for them. I want peace, but I know how to get it and they do not.

You will notice that I sent a friend of mine, Colonel House, to Europe, who is as great a lover of peace as any man in the world, but I didn't send him on a peace mission yet. I sent him to take part in a conference as to how the war was to be won, and he knows, as I know, that that is the way to get peace if you want it for more than a few minutes.

All of this is a preface to the conference that I have referred to with regard to what we are going to do. If we are true friends of freedom of our own or anybody else's, we will see that the power of this country and the productivity of this country is raised to its absolute maximum, and that absolutely nobody is allowed to stand in the way of it. When I say that nobody is allowed to stand in the way I do not mean that they shall be prevented by the power of the government, but by the power of the American spirit. Our duty, if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be,—the greatest hope and energy of the world,—is to stand together night and day until the job is finished.

While we are fighting for freedom, we must see among other things that labor is free, and that means a number of interesting things. It means not only that we must do what we have declared our purpose to do, see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we shall see to it that the instrumentalities by which the conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked. That we must do. That has been the matter about which I have taken pleasure in conferring from time to time with your President, Mr. Gompers; and if I may be permitted to do so, I want to express my admiration of his patriotic courage, his large vision, and his statesman-like sense of what has to be done. I like to lay my mind alongside of a mind that knows how to pull in harness. The horses that kick over the traces will have to be put in a corral.

Now, to stand together means that nobody must interrupt the processes of our energy, if the interruption can possibly be avoided without the absolute invasion of freedom. To put it concretely, that means this: Nobody has a right to stop the processes of labor until all the methods of conciliation and settlement have been exhausted. And I might as well say right here that I am not talking to you alone. You sometimes stop the courses of labor, but there are others who do the same; and I believe that I am speaking from my own experience not only, but from the experience of others, when I say that you are reasonable in a larger number of cases than the capitalists. I am not saying these things to them personally yet, because I haven't had a chance, but they have to be said, not in any spirit of criticism, but in order to clear the atmosphere and come down to business. Everybody on both sides has now got to transact business, and a settlement is never impossible when both sides want to do the square and right thing.

Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other. I always like to remind myself of a delightful saying of an Englishman of a past generation, Charles Lamb. He stuttered a little bit, and once when he was with a group of friends he spoke very harshly of some man who was not present. One of his friends said, "Why, Charles, I didn't know that you know So and So." "O-o-oh," he said, "I-I d-d-don't; I-I can't ff-h-hate a m-m-man I know." There is a great deal of human nature, of very pleasant human nature, in the saying. It is hard to hate a man you know. I may admit, parenthetically, that there are some politicians whose methods I do not at all believe in but they are jolly good fellows, and if they only would not talk the wrong kind of politics I would love to be with them.

So it is all along the line, in serious mat-

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ters and things less serious. We are all of the same clay and spirit, and we can get together if we desire to get together. Therefore, my counsel to you is this: Let us show ourselves Americans by showing that we do not want to go off in separate camps or groups by ourselves, but that we want to co-operate with all other classes and all other groups in the common enterprise which is to release the spirits of the world from bondage. I would be willing to set that up as the final test of an American. That is the meaning of democracy. I have been very much distressed, my fellow-citizens, by some of the things that have happened recently. The mob spirit is displaying itself here and there in this country. I have no sympathy with what some men are saying, but I have no sympathy with the men who take their punishment into their own hands, and I want to say to every man who does join such a mob that I do not recognize him as worthy of the free institutions of the United States. There are some organizations in this country whose object is anarchy and the destruction of law, but I would not meet their efforts by making myself partner in destroying the law. I despise and hate their purpose as much as any man, but I respect the ancient processes of justice, and I would be too proud not to see them done justice, however wrong they are.

So I want to utter my earnest protest against any manifestation of the spirit of lawlessness anywhere or in any cause. Why, gentlemen, look what it means. We claim to be the greatest democratic people in the world, and democracy means first of all that we can govern ourselves. If our men have not self-control, then they are not capable of that great thing which we call democratic government. A man who takes the law into his own hands is not the right man to co-operate in any formation or development of law and institutions, and some of the processes by which the struggle between capital and labor is carried on are processes that come very near to taking the law into your own hands. I do not mean for a moment to compare it with what I have just been speaking of, but I want you to see that they are mere gradations in this manifestation of the unwillingness to co-operate, and that the fundamental lesson of the whole situation is that we must not only take common counsel, but that we must yield to and obey common counsel. Not all of the instrumentalities for this are at hand. I am hopeful that in the very near future new instrumentalities may be organized by which we can see to it that various things that are now going on ought not to go on. There are various processes of the dilution of labor and the unnecessary substitution of labor and the bidding in distant markets and unfairly upsetting the whole competition of labor which ought not to go on; I mean now on the part of employers, and we must interject into this some instrumentality of co-operation by which the fair thing will be done all 'round. I am hopeful that some such instrumentalities may be devised, but whether they are or not, we must use those that we have and upon every occasion where it is necessary, have such an instrumentality originated upon that occasion.

So, my fellow-citizens, the reason I came away from Washington is that I sometimes get lonely down there. There are so many people in Washington who know things that are not so, and there are so few people who know anything about what the people of the United States are thinking about. I have to come away and get reminded of the rest of the country. I have to come away and talk to men who are up against the real thing, and say to them, "I am with you if you are with me." And the only test of being with me is not to think about me personally at all but merely to think of me as the expression for the time being of the power and dignity and hope of the United States.

At the conclusion of his address the President was tendered a rousing ovation. A beautiful shower of American beauty roses was presented to the President and Mrs. Wilson.

At the request of President Gompers, the delegates arose and gave three cheers in compliment to the President.

A body of the student officers from Fort Niagara, 1200 in number, escorted President Wilson and his party from the railway station to the Auditorium, where they formed a cordon about the platform.

President Gompers introduced Mr. Stuart A. Hayward, President of the Buffalo Central Labor Council.

Mr. Hayward said:

On behalf of the Central Labor Council of Buffalo and vicinity I desire to welcome you, the representatives of the toilers of America, to this, the Queen City of the Great Lakes. It is with us an epoch in the history of Buffalo. While the American Federation of Labor has held its annual conventions all over this broad land, visiting some of our cities more than once, this is the first time that we have been honored by your visit, and coming at this particular time, it is a matter of greater pride to us, and in appreciation, we extend to you the right hand of fellowship and thrice bid you welcome to our city, and hope that your sojourn with us will be pleasant and profitable. I regard the selection of our city as the work of Providence and not mere chance, during a time, the most momentous in the history of our country.

The acts of the Imperial Government of Germany have compelled us to defend our honor by force of arms, so that, as the great Lincoln has said, "Democracy shall not perish from the face of the earth forever," or, as President Wilson has said, "Making the world safe for democracy."

Gladstone, that eminent statesman, said that the "trade unions are the bulwark of modern democracies."

May I be permitted to add that this great Empire State has just recently made a step further along the lines of democracy and given an evidence of progress, though tardy, in its recognition of equal suffrage, by placing the womanhood of the state upon an equality with man so far as the exercise of the ballot is con-

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cerned. We can now address you all as fellow citizens.

We, judging from the utterances and acts of the officers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, can look forward with expectancy to an announcement of the greatest import from your deliberations.

I furthermore believe this convention will be a history making one, that in the coming years it will be referred to as the great parliament of labor.

While I do not intend to anticipate or even to suggest or advise as to what should engage your attention during the sessions of the convention, I desire, however, on behalf of the Central Labor Council, to say that we are concerned about your personal comforts, and some thought has been given to making your stay with us pleasant and enjoyable. To this end, an entertainment committee has been appointed to look after you, and brighten up the corner where you are.

Should we be remiss in our duties or attentions to your welfare, if you will kindly intimate in any way, we will endeavor to make good the deficiencies. We are, I assure you, very desirous of making your visit pleasant, enjoyable and happy. I say this in no stereotyped way, but out of the fullness of our hearts, we again welcome you.

This now completes the duties assigned to me, and I take great pleasure in vacating the office of chairman and presenting to you, Mr. Gompers, this gavel as the emblem of authority to preside over this convention as its regular and duly qualified president.

President Gompers explained that a rearrangement of the program was necessary to conform to the wishes of the President and stated that the opening invocation had been delayed on that account.

The Rev. Thomas J. O'Hern of St. Bartholomew's R. C. Church, gave the invocation.

Mr. Harry Mason entertained the delegates by singing, "When They Tackle Your Uncle Sam," with George L. Lowry as accompanist.

The opening prayer was offered by Rev. Charles A. Jessup, Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

President Gompers: Another great man was invited to address this convention today, a man who occupies the highest office within the gift of the people of the Empire State; a man who perhaps the President had in mind when a little while ago he said, "There are some men so lovable and companionable that I could almost wish that they were not of their political faith, because I would like to have them with me." The great War Governor of the State of New York who, though of a different political belief to that of the President of the United States, yet seconds him in every effort that is made to win this war for America and her allies—I have the honor to present to you Mr. Charles S. Whitman, Governor of the State of New York.

Address of Governor Whitman.

During the thirty-six years since the American Federation of Labor held its first convention in Terre Haute (thirty-six years of steady growth, consistent policy and aggressive management), there has been no more important convention of the Federation than the one that is being held here in the city of Buffalo. It is important for a number of reasons, and not the least of these reasons is that when the call-to-arms came and our country was forced into the awful war, the American Federation of Labor led in the response that settled for all time any question as to the patriotism of the American working man.

The convention is important above other conventions because in itself it is an evidence that though the world seems to be overwhelmed by a cataclysm that threatens to destroy civilization itself, American working men are still insistent that the great progress that democracy has made during the past one hundred years shall not, even temporarily, be checked or forgotten.

The American Federation is one of the militant factors in the industrial progress of this country. It is one of the potent factors in the development of democracy. Its success spells the success of the labor movement. At a time when democracy is being called on to meet the shock of a thoroughly prepared, arrogant and unsparing autocracy, every militant factor in the democratic world must assume that the fight in which America is now involved is a fight in which it must be prepared to carry its full share of the burden. The fight that democracy may live is the fight of labor, for labor and democracy are one; they can not survive, the one without the other.

The continuance of democracy is at stake, and on no body of men is the responsibility greater for the successful issue of that struggle than on the American working men. They are fighting for the working men of the world, for it is not on the battle-fields alone that this war is being fought. It is being waged in the workshop, in the factory and on the farm, as truly as it is in the trenches. It is not only what the American working man does, it is not only the part that he contributes, but it is his attitude of mind and his faith that constitute an important part in this world's struggle.

We can feed the armies of our own country and of our allies, we can supply them with munitions — but it is through the American working man who by his faith in his country, by his belief in democracy, by his willingness to sacrifice for the ideals that have made this a free land, the land of opportunity, that we are to encourage the working men of other nations associated with us and throw down the gauntlet to those slave-driven peoples and military-ridden classes of Germany who have sneered at us as a people interested only in the dollar.

If ever we had a right to claim to be leaders in democracy, surely we have that

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right now. As your distinguished President has stated, the United States is the first country in the world to authoritatively declare in national legislation that "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or an article of commerce." That sentence in the Clayton Act will rank among the great victories for the right, for though it comes with no roll of drums, the establishment of the principle was not achieved without its long list of casualties and a death roll that has extended back through the centuries.

It is a victory that comes in the world's most revolutionary epoch. In the readjustment that is to come after the war, there will be no principle more fundamental than that declaration—"The labor of a human being is not an article of commerce."

The world is being made over, and in the remaking there is nothing surer than that the old principle of the John Stuart Mills Ricardo School of Political Economy, the theory of *laissez faire*—"Each one for himself and the devil take the hindmost"—must finally pass away.

During the years of the existence of the American Federation of Labor, we have seen the world change greatly in its theory as to what the relation of society to labor must be. It was about the time when the Federation was forming and was endeavoring to show the trades unions the value of co-operation and co-ordination, that the distinguished American writer, Mr. E. L. Godkin, practically declared that it was impossible to abolish poverty. What to the *laissez faire* School of Political Economy was considered an impossibility, is by the human thinker and statesman today considered a duty.

But even when the slowly dying theories were still vigorously maintained by many, John Ruskin was formulating the doctrine that the world had been slowly coming to accept, and that is "There is no wealth but life." And today, we have written on our statute books the statement that to our grandfathers would have seemed revolutionary in effect, that you can not treat as a material thing or as a commodity for barter or for sale the labor of a free human being.

The world groans under the march of a barbaric autocrat with lustful designs on the civilization and democracy of the world. But in God-given contrast we are able to raise our standard in America of human labor set free—a challenge to all the reactionary and feudal ideas that Prussia and her minions represent.

In the one hundred and forty years of the existence of this country, there has been but one steady march forward: first, with the quick abolition of all property qualifications for voting; then, with the establishment of a cheap press and practically the creation of a new check on government by aroused public opinion; the freeing of the slaves was the next great step in our democratic development; and finally, in the last forty years we have seen an industrial revolution that is slowly leading the world to realize that it is the human and not the material element that goes to make the wealth of nations.

Yes, we have come to learn, since the days of Adam Smith, that the wealth of nations is not the fields, the factories, the monies or the marts—but the men and women, and above all, the children.

It is less than one hundred years ago that children of six and seven years of age were practically sold to the factories of Birmingham. In that one hundred years we have seen the entire civilized world follow America's humanitarian lead in the protection of young workers. I pray God that we may ever lead. I trust that it will not be long before on the statute books of the State of New York we shall have law, as has been urged by the Industrial Commission, raising the age limit for young workers in special industries.

As it has been for the thirty-six years of its existence, so let Progress be the watchword of the American Federation of Labor for all the great future.

These are terrible times—but not the times when strong men falter. American working men have led the world in intelligence, in efficiency, in freedom, in power and in patriotism. They will fight the battle of the working men of the world because they are born leaders of human freedom and human progress, and when they are honestly fighting for a just cause in the interest of labor, they are fighting, too, in the battles for civilization and for democracy.

In the enforced absence of the Mayor, who was to address the convention, Mr. Charles M. Heald, City Commissioner, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the city of Buffalo. He said in part:

We are especially pleased to know that you selected Buffalo as the site for your work. We are honored with the presence of such a body of representative men from all over the country. We recognize their power and their worth. The American Federation of Labor is the most potential factor in the body politic of this world. It stands for good, or it may stand for evil, but under the careful guidance of your president, coupled with the wisdom and experience of his lieutenants, its work has been for good.

Labor and capital together form an irresistible force. Alone they are useless, but with co-operation such as the work of your organization has shown, your willingness and your readiness to work in harmony, that coupled with confidence will bring success. That has been your work, and we honor you and your association for it. It is a pleasure to welcome you to our city, and we will do all we can to make your stay pleasant and profitable.

The next speaker introduced was the Hon. Guy B. Moore, District Attorney of Erie County.

Mr. Moore: I esteem it a great privilege to be permitted to welcome this convention to Buffalo on behalf of the people of Erie County. I know that the members of this convention don't need a district attorney, so I have locked up the place where I had the keys and I have put them away until this convention has left. The people of this county are proud of the fact that this convention is meeting here today, because we realize as you realize the importance that labor must claim in the critical times that confront this country.

We are preparing to send across the ocean millions of brave American men. We have been raising and spending billions of dol-

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lars, but all of our hustle and all of our money will go to waste unless the laboring men of this country produce the supplies and the munitions with which this war can be fought and successfully concluded. And we are all proud of the patriotism that labor has shown in standing by the President of the United States at this time, and you and your children will be proud when the history of this war shall be written to read what history will say of your great leader, Samuel Gompers, not only a great leader of labor, but a great leader of loyalty, a man who stands by the President of the United States and will stand by him until peace has been concluded.

This war, gentlemen, was made in Germany, but the peace that shall be made will be labeled "Made by American Workmen." That will be written by the hand of our great President. It will be a peace in the interests of justice and real democracy, it will be a peace that will come only after American valor has won an American victory. But I want to say to you that that victory cannot come nor can peace be written unless all of us stand shoulder to shoulder behind and with the government of the United States and with our great President, Woodrow Wilson.

Now, gentlemen, we extend to you a most cordial welcome; we open our hearts and our homes to you, and we trust that your deliberations will be harmonious and that the result of those deliberations will make for the further uplift and dignity of labor and for the interests of this great government of ours.

President Gompers introduced Mr. Carlton E. Chase, President of the New York Manufacturers' Association.

Mr. Chase, in addressing the delegates, said in part:

It is a privilege to be here and to be given an opportunity to say a few words to you. Such a meeting as this augurs well for the future, for it is only by mingling and exchanging views as man to man and by discussing our ideas that we may discover that we have more in common than we realize, and we may learn to have more respect for one another, even if we do not always agree.

The employer long ago discovered that principle, now universally accepted, that "Honesty is the best policy." That does not mean simply that honesty which makes a man pay his just debts and refrain from taking what belongs to others, but it means honesty in the great big sense—honest treatment of the public to whom the product is sold, both as to the quality claimed and the methods employed in the conduct of the business; honest handling of the trust imposed by the stockholder and a fair accounting of that trust; honest dealings with the workmen, which includes not only the obligation to see that their wages are paid, but that greater and higher responsibility of looking after the welfare of those who may not have been so fortunate as to have secured the necessary education to enable them to fully look after their own best interests.

These are most serious times for this country. Fortunately for us the seat of the conflict is so far away that it has not very greatly interfered with the daily life of most of us. Unfortunately, however, that very fact prevents our fully realizing the awfulness of the war now raging in Europe. Later the terrible effect of that conflict will be brought home to many of us, and then we will begin to see the importance and necessity for each one of us doing our share as the opportunity arises. Every man who believes in democracy knows that he should help this country to win the war, and the quicker that is accomplished the less it will cost in lives and money.

What I want to emphasize is the great importance of that which we do now, and not at some future date. Both patriotic and selfish interests urge us to immediate action, as delay or time wasted in bickering simply pile up more trouble and misfortune.

Your President has done many things toward making the working men of the world see where their duty lay, and I am sure the people of this country fully appreciate those efforts on his part. He has also given voice to sound patriotic principles which should control in our dealing with the government, whether we are employers or employes.

Today your sons and those of your employers are marching shoulder to shoulder to fight for the great principles which we believe in. This mingling of our young men from all walks of life will be the means of forming comradeships and a realizing sense of each other's merits that will have a great influence on the future of our industries. Don't let us be outdone by our boys, but rather let us do our share to bring about a closer bond of unity among our citizens which will still further build up and strengthen this wonderful country in which we have the good fortune to live.

Mr. Harry Mason sang "When the Laborites Convene," accompanied by Mr. George Lowry. At the request of President Gompers, Mr. Mason sang "The Star Spangled Banner," and the audience joined in the chorus.

Mr. Archer A. Landon, President of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, and Past President of the Detroit Trades and Labor Council, welcomed the delegates to Buffalo, on behalf of the Chamber of Commerce. He related briefly his experiences in foreign countries where he had spent some years in establishing certain industries. He told the delegates that the thing they were fighting in this great war was the low standard of laboring conditions in Europe as much as anything else.

He said that if this war means anything it means the conservation of all our industries, that it is up to the men and women of America to fight the war to a finish and not only to fight the war but the German propaganda which is abroad in the land. "Personal rights, personal ambitions, personal thoughts, political desires," said Mr. Landon, "none of them should enter

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into our method of approaching this particular problem of the war. All of us have to get together shoulder to shoulder with the President of the United States, a man who is working from eighteen to twenty-four hours a day, and who would work longer if there were more hours in the day."

Mr. Landon then continued with a strong and lengthy appeal to the men and women of labor to put forth their every effort to the end that men now fighting the battles of democracy in Europe might be supplied with food and raiment and with the munitions of war.

In closing, he welcomed the delegates on behalf of the business interests of the city of Buffalo, and expressed the hope that patriotism would be the keynote of the work of the convention throughout.

President Gompers stated that Mr. James P. Holland, President of the New York State Federation of Labor, was a member of the reception committee in attendance upon President Wilson, and that he would deliver his scheduled address later.

President Gompers further stated that he would respond at some later and more convenient time to the various addresses of welcome.

Vice-President Duncan announced that immediately upon the adjournment of the morning session the presidents of all the building trades organizations in the Building Trades Department, or the secretaries where the presidents were not present, would meet on the platform, together with all of the visitors interested in the Aberthaw contention in Quincy, Mass.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 11, 1917.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Convention Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.:

I regret that the pressure of public business prevents my being present at the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor. Please permit me to express my highest appreciation and warmest thanks for the splendid work you have been and are doing for your country and the toiling masses in the hour of our nation's need. As you know, I have been a trade unionist for nearly half a century. I have been in the heat of the struggle during all of that time and I thank God we have a country where we can struggle within the limitations and rules laid down by laws of our own making, for our own guidance. In other countries they have not that privilege. And if the power of the Kaiser is imposed upon us those of us who have struggled during all these years will have lost that which we struggled for, and lost far more than that—the privilege of struggling in a legitimate and honest way. To me, the one prime necessity is to lay aside our family quarrels until we have disposed of the enemy from without.

Convey to the convention my best wishes and my profound faith that its action at this time will demonstrate to the world that labor is awake to the necessity of preserving institutions which will enable it to work out its own destiny.

W. B. WILSON,
Secretary of Labor.

For the purpose of giving the delegates an opportunity to make their acquaintance, President Gompers introduced at this time Mr. John Hill and Mr. Arthur Hayday, fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, and Mr. William Lodge, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Report of Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Clarke, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 12, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report that they have examined the credentials of 429 delegates, representing 99 International and National Unions, 26 State Branches, 83 Central Bodies, 46 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 5 Fraternal delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A Mullaney, 10 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, R. C. Schneider, J. Goldstone, 189 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—Frank X. Noschang, Jacob Fischer, James C. Shanessy, C. M. Feider, C. F. Foley, 398 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—John Wilds, 15 votes.

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of—J. W. Kline, William F. Kramer, J. F. McGrath, 120 votes.

Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America, Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Charles F. Scott, Dan McKillop, Charles MacGowan, 312 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—A. P. Sovey, Walter N. Reddick, 114 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John F. Tobin, Charles L. Baine, Mary Anderson, Walter Brown, Patrick A. Gillen, 396 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union

of the United—Joseph Proebstle, Albert J. Kugler, John Rader, John Sullivan, Jos. Obergfell, 450 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Thomas R. Preece, William Dobson, Peter J. Shaughnessy, George Jones, Walter Price, 700 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, International—Frank Butterworth, 28 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Will R. Boyer 7 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—M. F. Ryan, T. P. Hyland, O. J. Shoemaker, Theodore Thompson, J. A. Bodine, 390 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood — William Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, O. E. Woodbury, W. E. Hemsell, E. W. Van Duyn, Bob White, J. A. Ross, 2,317 votes.

Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, International Union of—Wm. A. Logan, Wm. MacPherson, 42 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, J. Mahlon Barnes W. A. Campbell, R. S. Sexton, 416 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—James J. Forrester, Rose A. Yates, 68 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—E. E. Baker, H. J. Conway, C. C. Coulter, 150 votes.

Compressed Air and Foundation Workers' Union of the United States and Canada—Henry Kuhlmann, 16 votes.

Coopers' International Union of North America—James J. Doyle, 39 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Andries Meyer, 4 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—F. J. McNulty, Edward F. Kloter, Frank Fisher, James McAndrews, G. M. Bugniazet, 415 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 29 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Milton Snellings, James G. Hannahan, H. M. Comerford, E. L. Edgerton, 220 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Peter J. Brady, 51 votes.

Federal Employes, National Federation of—Miss Florence Etheridge, 81 votes.

Firemen, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, Joseph W. Morton, William J. Brennan, 170 votes.

Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of—George Bechtold, 13 votes.

Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International — Morris Kaufman, Philip Silberstein, 81 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Victor Altman, John J. Manning, Margaret C. Daley, 449 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benj. Schlesinger, Sarah Shapiro, Morris Deutsch, Jacob Heller, Max Gorenstein, Abraham Rosenberg, 823 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—John A. Voll, John W. Clifton, Thomas Eames, 100 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—William P. Clarke, John B. O'Brien, John F. Kennedy, 98 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, Alexander W. Russell, Joseph D. Will, 125 votes.

Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United Cloth—Max Zaritsky, M. Zuckerman, Jacob Margolis, 88 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Cornelius McCue, Richard M. Humphrey, 85 votes.

Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—D. D'Alessandro, Joseph B. Etchison, Jos. V. Moreschi, John Carley, W. F. Dwyer, 324 votes.

Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, Henry F. Broening, 54 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, John J. McDevitt, 646 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of—John Williams, John J. Sullivan, 110 votes.

Jewelry Workers' Union, International—Abraham Greenstein, 43 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph H. Duty, 60 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—Michael J. O'Leary, 46 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union—W. E. Bryan, 32 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainor, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, 25 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, William Benson, 46 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Thomas V. O'Connor, F. P. A. Vaccarelli, Thomas Harrison, Anthony J. Chlopek, 255 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Wm. H. Johnston, Arthur O. Wharton, James O'Connell, Thomas Van Lear, James A. Taylor, 1,125 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, 10 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots, American Association of—John C Strain, 43 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated — John F. Hart, Dennis Lane, John Kennedy, 96 votes.

Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet—John J. Hynes, Thos. Redding, James T. Moriarty, Hugh Frayne, 176 votes.

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Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Charles H. Moyer, William Davidson, James B. Rankin, Joseph D. Cannon, 179 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John P. White, Frank J. Hayes, John Mitchell, William Green, John H. Walker, Frank Farrington, John Moore, John L. Lewis, 3,020 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, R. H. Curran, F. L. Baumgartner, John Loder, 500 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Jos. N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey, C. A. Weaver, 604 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood—George F. Hedrick, P. J. Guerin, A. J. McKeon, John J. Lynch, James Mooney, 852 votes.

Papermakers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, George J. Schneider, 64 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, J. S. Forrest, 70 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of—Edward I. Hannah, 15 votes.

Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 32 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed J. McGivern, John Donlin, Christ Hede, Thomas George, 110 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John R. Alpine, Thomas S. Kearney, Charles Anderson, Charles M. Rau, 320 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers, Metal, Union of North America—W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, 100 votes.

Postal Employes, National Federation of—Thomas F. Flaherty, 81 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—Edward Menge, Homer Owen, 76 votes.

Print Cutters' Association of America, National—Fred J. Roth, 4 votes.

Printers and Color Mixers of the United States, Machine, National Association of—Patrick E. Lyons, 5 votes.

Printers' Union of North America, International Steel and Copper Plate—John J. Deviny, 13 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, Joseph C. Orr, John C. Herman, Jacob Scherm, L. Leonard, 330 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Maurice La Belle, 65 votes.

Quarryworkers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Suitor, 35 votes.

Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, P. F. Sheehan, Michael J. Cahill, 737 votes.

Roofers, Composition, Damp and Waterproof Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—Jeremiah T. Hurley, 12 votes.

Roofers' Union of America, International Slate and Tile—J. M. Gavlak, 6 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Patrick Flynn, G. H. Brown, Wm. L. Cartledge, Thomas Conway, 322 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—D. W. Helt, 8 votes.

Spinners' International Union—Urban Fleming, 22 votes.

Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, L. G. Dolliver, John J. Barry, John Suarez, 186 votes.

Steam Shovel and Dredgemen, International Brotherhood of—W. M. Welsh, 29 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, Charles A. Sumner, 52 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—Sam Griggs, James A. Short, 41 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 17 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—S. E. Heberling, M. R. Welch, James B. Connors, 102 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thomas Sweeney, John B. Lennon, M. J. Sillinsky, 120 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Charles B. Stillman, 21 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, William A. Neer, John M. Gillespie, M. E. Decker, 703 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—H. B. Perham, L. J. Ross, J. B. Bode, Owen D. Gorman, 272 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—John Golden, Sara A. Conboy, George H. White, Thomas F. McMahon, John H. Powers, 371 votes.

Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union, Ceramic, Mosaic and Encaustic—Thomas J. Williams, 28 votes.

Tip Printers, International Brotherhood of—Louis A. B. Agethen, 3 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, 32 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thos. J. Curtis, 34 votes.

Typographical Union, International—Marsden G. Scott, Max S. Hayes, Frank Morrison, Hugh Stevenson, J. W. Hays, 616 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—James H. Hatch, 40 votes.

Weavers' Union of America, International Shingle—J. G. Brown, 5 votes.

White Rats Actors' Union of America—James William Fitzpatrick, Harry Mountford, 47 votes.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—B. W. King, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—Daniel D. Sullivan, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—John M. O'Neill, 1 vote.

Connecticut State Federation of Labor—John J. O'Hara, 1 vote.

Idaho State Federation of Labor—M. P. Villeneuve, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—Robert Fitchie, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—Shubert Sebree, 1 vote.

Iowa State Federation of Labor—J. M. Conley, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—William G. Shea, 1 vote.

Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor—V. J. McHenry, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—P. Harry Jennings, 1 vote.

Michigan State Federation of Labor—Claude O. Taylor, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—E. G. Hall, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—Daniel J. Murphy, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—M. M. Donoghue, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—John R. Burgess, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

North Carolina State Federation of Labor—O. R. Jarrett, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—James Boyle, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania Federation of Labor—Thos. Kennedy, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—James P. Ogletree, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Harry L. Spencer, 1 vote.

Virginia State Federation of Labor—C. L. Bentley, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor—E. P. Marsh, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—L. F. Sprouse, 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Paul J. Paulsen, 1 vote.

Aberdeen, S. D., Central Labor Council—George E. Mehner, 1 vote.

Akron, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Oscar Sheck, 1 vote.

Albany, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—Thomas D. Fitzgerald, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Walter C. Caraway, 1 vote.

Auburn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—John H. Rahele, 1 vote.

Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—John A. Banz, 1 vote.

Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—L. Bowan, 1 vote.

Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Edward F. McGrady, 1 vote.

Brooklyn, N. Y., Central Labor Union—J. P. Coughlin, 1 vote.

Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council—Stuart A. Hayward, 1 vote.

Butte, Mont., Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council—Charles Malloy, 1 vote.

Clifton, Ariz., Central Labor Union—C. A. Vargas, 1 vote.

Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Oscar F. Nelson, 1 vote.

Calumet, Ill., Joint Labor Council—F. E. Doyle, 1 vote.

Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Frank L. Rist, 1 vote.

Cle Elum, Wash., Central Labor Council—Robert H. Harlin, 1 vote.

Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor—James Malley, 1 vote.

Coffeyville, Kans., Central Labor Union—Frank L. Bryan, 1 vote.

Covington, Kentucky, Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—A. McAndrew, 1 vote.

Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—James S. Hough, 1 vote.

Dunkirk, N. Y., United Trades and Labor Council—E. Hagberg, 1 vote.

Easton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Harold Williams, 1 vote.

Erie, Pa., Central Labor Union—Eugene J. McManus, 1 vote.

Flint, Mich., Federation of Labor—John A. McDonald, 1 vote.

Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly—Joe B. Hines, 1 vote.

Hamilton, Ont., Canada, District Trades and Labor Council—E. A. W. O'Dell, 1 vote.

Jamestown, N. Y., Central Labor Council—H. A. Hartman, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Kansas, Central Labor Union—M. J. McSpadden, 1 vote.

Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Lansford, Pa., Central Labor Union—John B. Brislin, 1 vote.

Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union—John L. Johnson, 1 vote.

London, Ontario, Canada, Trades and Labor Assembly—Wm. J. Hevey, 1 vote.

Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—Patrick E. Gorman, 1 vote.

Madison, Wis., Federation of Labor—W. L. Forrest, 1 vote.

Meriden, Conn., Central Labor Union—Julius Stremlau, 1 vote.

Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—James F. Blakely, 1 vote.

Montreal, Que., Canada, Trades and Labor Council—J. T. Foster, 1 vote.

Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—Germain Quinn, 1 vote.

New Kensington, Pa., Allegheny Valley Central Labor Union—Fannie Sellons, 1 vote.

New Rochelle, N. Y., Central Labor Union—W. W. McKinnon, 1 vote.

New York, N. Y., Central Federated Union of Greater New York—Robert P. Brindell, 1 vote.

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Niagara Falls, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—G. B. Repsher, 1 vote.

Oakland, Cal., Central Labor Council of Alameda County—Fred W. Voigt, 1 vote.

Ottawa, Ont., Canada, Allied Trades and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.

Peekskill, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—John B. Kelly, 1 vote.

Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—Frank Burch, 1 vote.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union—William J. Kelly, 1 vote.

Port Chester, N. Y., Central Labor Union—William Rander, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union—Lawrence A. Grace, 1 vote.

Pueblo, Colo., Trades and Labor Assembly—W. H. Young, 1 vote.

Raleigh, N. C., Central Labor Union—N. G. Bennett, 1 vote.

Richmond, Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—E. C. Davison, 1 vote.

Rochester, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council—Gad Martindale, 1 vote.

Roundup, Mont., Central Trades and Labor Council—Adam Wilkinson, 1 vote.

Saint Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—Charles Baird, 1 vote.

Saint Paul, Minn., Trades and Labor Assembly—Charles E. James, 1 vote.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor—Stephen B. Newman, 1 vote.

San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council—Wm. L. Hoefgen, 1 vote.

San Francisco, Cal., Labor Council—Daniel C. Murphy, 1 vote.

Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—James A. Duncan, 1 vote.

Sharon, Pa., United Labor League—David Nevin, 1 vote.

Scranton, Pa., Central Labor Union—Steve McDonald, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—George H. Wrenn, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly—Aden E. Smith, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—J. M. Murphy, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Canada, District Labor Council—Thomas Black, 1 vote.

Troy, N. Y., Central Federation of Labor—James Lemke, 1 vote.

Uniontown, Pa., Trades and Labor Council—R. B. McIntyre, 1 vote.

Warren, Pa., Central Labor Union—Adam Eberly, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Sam De Nedrey, 1 vote.

Wheeling, W. Va., Ohio Valley Trades and Labor Assembly—Fred W. Sonderman, 1 vote.

Winona, Minn., Trades and Labor Council—F. H. Hester, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—George B. McGovern, 1 vote.

Agricultural Workers' Union No. 15027—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Awning and Tent Workers' Union No. 15342—L. W. Reinhard, 1 vote.

Blast Furnace Workers' Union No. 15359—Carl L. Depp, 1 vote.

City Firemen's Union No. 14339—John P. Allwine, 1 vote.

City Firemen's Union No. 15426—Hunter Allison, 1 vote.

City Firemen's Union No. 15473—Thos. G. Spellacy, 1 vote.

City Firemen's Union No. 15665—Raymond E. Oden, 1 vote.

Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705—B. E. Moore, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 12709—F. A. Tillman, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 12776—Gertrude M. McNally, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 14653—George Halonen, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 14871—James H. Fisher, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 15138—A. F. Da Costa, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 15152—H. C. Pennywitt, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 15223—Charles E. Longley, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 15228—Hugh Burk, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 15345—William T. Wilkie, 3 votes.

Felt, Panama and Straw Hat Trimmers and Operators' Union, United, No. 14569—Minnie Teitelbaum, 4 votes.

General Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 14838—Walter Green, 1 vote.

Grain Workers' Union No. 11407—Ernest Bohm, 1 vote.

Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Local No. 14960—Michael F. Kenny, 2 votes.

Janitors' Union, Flat, No. 14332—Wm. F. Quesse, 7 votes.

Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators' Union No. 14605—Roy L. Brazzle, 1 vote.

Library Employes' Union No. 15590—Maud Malone, 1 vote.

Navy Yard Laborers' Union (Brooklyn) No. 15026—Richard C. Busch, 1 vote.

Neckwear Makers' Union, United, No. 11016—Isidor Buchbinder, 11 votes.

Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200—Anna Weinstock, 1 vote.

Newsboys' Protective Union No. 9077—Thomas J. Mulkern, 2 votes.

Office Employes' Association No. 12755—Joseph J. Ellicott, 2 votes.

Oil Field Workers' Union No. 15503—Charles Differ Ding, 4 votes.

Paving Inspectors' Union No. 14883—Robert E. Eson, 1 vote.

Pipe Caulkers and Repairers' Union No. 11465—William Hanrahan, 1 vote.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15556—Sidney Burt, 1 vote.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15574—E. D. Thompson, 1 vote.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15688—Hubert Fitts, 1 vote.

Railroad Laborers' Union No. 15110—Fred M. Miller, 1 vote.

Railroad Laborers' Union No. 15680—C. M. Battle, 1 vote.

Shipyard Riggers' Union No. 15678—J. Juhl, 1 vote.

Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872—George Rincker, 1 vote.

Slate Workers' Union No. 15159—Owen W. Jones, 3 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11597—Harry H. Hollis, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773—W. M. Pollock, 2 votes.

Theater Ushers' Union No. 15293—Samuel Lebowitz, 1 vote.

Warehouse Employes' Union No. 15480—Charles A. Grimm 1 vote.

Watchmen's Union, Federal, No. 14964—Henry A. Raines, 1 vote.

British Trades Union Congress—John Hill, Arthur Hayday, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—William Lodge, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League—Anna Fitzgerald.

National Women's Trade Union League—Elizabeth Christman.

Respectfully submitted,

E. L. EDGERTON, Chairman,
T. P. HYLAND,
WM. P. CLARKE, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously and the delegates seated.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the Reception Committee to President Wilson, reported on the return of the committee to the convention hall that the President was safe and well upon his way home and had instructed the committee to tell the convention how happy he and Mrs. Wilson were to have had the privilege and the honor, as well as the satisfaction of meeting the American Federation of Labor and addressing it.

President Gompers announced the following appointments:

Assistant Secretary—J. H. Johnson, Typographical Union No. 9.

Sergeant-at-Arms—Larry Higgins, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of Buffalo.

Messenger—John C. Clark, United Garment Workers.

The appointments were confirmed by the convention.

President Gompers stated that sergeant-at-arms and the messenger would be prepared at the convening of the afternoon session to furnish the delegates with attendance cards, which could be presented thirty minutes before or thirty minutes after the opening of the afternoon session, and that all delegates who did not present cards within the specified time at the various sessions would be marked absent.

On motion of Vice-President Duncan, the convention adjourned at 1.15 p. m., to reconvene at 3.15 o'clock p. m. of the same day.

FIRST DAY---Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3.15 p. m., Monday, November 12th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—J. P. White, F. J. Hayes, J. Mitchell, Walter Green, J. Moore, J. L. Lewis, J. F. Valentine, F. L. Baumgartner, J. Loder, J. T. Carey, G. J. Schneider, C. Bergstrom, A. Furuseth, P. Flynn, J. J. Freel, W. L. Funder Burk, L. J. Ross, S. J. Konenkamp, L. A. B. Agethen, M. G. Scott, J. N. O'Neill, J. M. Conley, V. J. McHenry, P. J. Murphy, O. R. Jarrett, T. Kennedy, H. L. Spencer, E. P. Marsh, P. J. Paulsen, G. E. Mehner, J. P. Coughlin, Robert H. Harlin, J. Malley, J. A. McDonald, J. L. Johnson, J. T. Foster, F. Sellons, W. W. McKinnon, P. M. Draper, J. B. Kelley, F. Burch, C. Crickmore, W. H. Young, M. G. Bennett, A. P. Bower, A. Wilkinson, P. Traglio, S. McDonald, D. Nevin, J. N. Murphy, R. E. Woodmansee, T. M. Gafney, H. F. Warren, S. Iglesias, L. W. Reinhard, C. L. Depp, H. Svenson, J. P. Allwine, F. A. Tillman, A. F. DaCosta, H. C. Pennywitt, C. E. Longley, H. Burk, W. T. Wilkie, W. F. Quesse, M. Malone, R. C. Busch, A. Weinstock, R. E. Eson, F. M. Miller, J. Juhl, G. Rincker, H. A. Raines, W. Lodge, Wafren Hammon, A. Fitzgerald and H. W. Raisse.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Boston, Mass., Nov. 12, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, Federation of Labor Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Fraternal greetings and cheer. Loyalty to labor and social democracy at this time demand loyalty to this nation and its allies. Any other course means betrayal of labor and democracy. JOHN SPARGO.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 12, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Regret my inability to attend this session as a delegate from my State Federation of Labor. Gravity of industrial situation on the Pacific coast renders it imperative that I remain with the President's Mediation Commission. May I convey my fraternal greetings to your convention, and express the hope and belief that it will be

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not alone harmonious but will mark an epoch in the industrial history of this country. Trade unionists have much at stake in the world conflict. The perpetuation of democratic ideals and institutions upon which the trade union movement is based depends upon the defeat of autocracy typified by the imperial German government. Trade unionists should and unquestionably will consider the many momentous matters which come before this convention in their relation to the world struggle. Again let me repeat my best wishes to my fellow trade unionists in session at this convention.

E. P. MARSH,
Member President's Mediation Commission and President Washington State Federation of Labor.

Phoenix, Ariz., Nov. 12, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Oranized labor in Arizona is pledged to justice, loves peace, but never dodges war. I confidently trust the convention will adopt a comprehensive plan through which labor may render the most effective service to our nation in our grave struggle. Our country is pledged to foster and protect democracy throughout the world, but in the same great effort we must necessarily practice industrial justice and democracy in our own land. May I ask especially that a better working understanding be had with labor in our neighboring republics on the south and a helping hand extended in organizing our Spanish-speaking workers in this State.

THOMAS J. CROAFF,
President-elect Arizona State Federation of Labor.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 11, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, Hotel Statler, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Press reports today state Miners' delegation, led by myself, is expected to lead fight against you and oppose war policies of government. This report is absolutely false, and its author evidently seeks to discredit Miners' organization, as well as myself as president of same. We propose to stand strongly behind the government and those who are loyal to it until Kaiserism and militarism are wiped from the face of the earth. Regret very much that on account of anthracite wage conference I will be unable to reach Buffalo until latter part of week.

FRANK J. HAYES.

Appointment of Committees.

President Gompers announced the appointment of the following committees:

Committee on Rules and Order of Business—John Sullivan, J. F. McGrath, Theodore Thompson, Joseph D. Cannon, Frank Fisher, Edward Menge, Walter N. Reddick, R. C. Schneider, Abraham Rosenberg, Frank Butterworth, James H. Hatch, J. T. Carey, Jos. V. Moreschi, Geo. H. Wrenn, E. A. W. O'Dell.

Committee on Report of Executive Council—James Wilson, Matthew Woll, Geo. L. Berry, Owen Miller, Martin Lawlor, T. V. O'Connor, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Jere L. Sullivan, Frank X. Noschang, Thomas Rickert, Wm. P. Clarke, Thomas Kearney, Wm. A. Campbell, A. O. Wharton, John Williams.

Committee on Resolutions—James Duncan, John P. Frey, Geo. W. Perkins, Geo. F. Hedrick, B. A. Larger, Hugh Stevenson, Chas. L. Baine, John A. Voll, Martin F. Ryan, A. A. Myrup, Jas. W. Morton, James G. Hannahan, J. A. Franklin, O. E. Woodbury, W. E. Bryan.

Committee on Laws—John B. Lennon, Frank J. Hayes, Daniel J. Tobin, Hugh Frayne, Andrew Furuseth, S. E. Heberling, Wm. Dobson, Thomas F. Flaherty, J. P. Holland, A. P. Sovey, Timothy Healy, Joseph Proebstle, J. A. Ross, E. E. Baker, G. M. Bugniazet.

Committee on Organization — Frank Duffy, A. J. Kugler, Wm. A. Neer, John L. Lewis, Benjamin Schlesinger, Thomas S. Farrell, Sara Conboy, Mary Anderson, J. E. Forrest, Patrick Flynn, S. J. Konenkamp, Thomas Kennedy, W. L. Forrest, Chas. E. James, W. H. Young.

Committee on Labels—Victor Altman, R. S. Sexton, J. Goldstone, E. Lewis Evans, Max Hayes, Jacob Fischer, John Wilds, Cornelius McCue, E. W. Van Duyn, Henry F. Broening, Michael J. O'Leary, Wm. S. Shea, Philip Bock, Walter Brown, M. Zuckerman.

Committee on Adjustment—Jas. O'Connell, John Golden, John Tobin, J. C. Shanessy, Wm. Quinlan, H. J. Conway, D. A. Carey, Milton Snellings, John T. Smith, John F. Kennedy, Edward Flore, A. W. Russell, R. H. Curran, Frank Farrington, John J. Manning.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies—H. B. Perham, H. S. Marshall, John J. Barry, Emanuel Koveleski, Jacob Heller, M. M. Donoghue, Paul J. Paulsen, Robert Brindell, E. E. Woodmansee, Stuart A. Hayward, Jas. A. Short, Edward F. McGrady, Daniel C. Murphy, A. McAndrew, Thomas M. Gafney.

Committee on Education—Jos. F. Valentine, Charles C. Shay, Wm. L. Hoefgen, Thomas J. Curtis, Margaret Daley, Jos. Obergfell, Chas. A. Sumner, Joseph C. Orr, John J. Sullivan, Peter Shaughnessey, John C. Strain, G. H. Brown, Florence Etheridge, Oscar Nelson, Chas. B. Stillman.

Committee on State Organizations—John R. Alpine, John H. Walker, J. B. Bode, Jas. W. Kline, Bob White, Thos. Sweeney, Thos. R. Preece, Fred Sonderman, James Boyle, L. F. Sprouse, George F. King, J. M. Conley, Daniel D. Sullivan, John J. O'Hara, Harry L. Spencer.

Committee on Boycotts—W. D. Mahon, James J. Freel, John M. Gillispie, Wm. H. Johnston, W. W. Britton, C. M. Feider, W. L. Funder Burk, James J. Forrester, William Dorey, P. Harry Jennings, Henry Kuhlmann, John W. Clifton, M. Zaritsky, Frank L. Rist, Wm. J. Hevey.

Committee on Building Trades—John Donlin, F. J. McNulty, W. E. Hemsell, Wm. J. McSorley, D. D'Alessandro, P. J. Guerin, Chas. M. Rau, Sam Griggs, Frank Feeney, John J. Hynes, Joseph D. Will, Jeremiah T. Hurley, J. M. Gavlak, Wm. J. Bowen, Thomas J. Williams.

Committee on Shorter Workday—Wil-

liam Green, John W. Hays, George Leary, Thos. Redding, Charles F. Scott, Jos. Weber, John J. Lynch, E. J. Gainor, Thos. L. Hughes, Jacob Fischer, John Deviny, Paul Vaccarrelli, E. G. Hall, E. J. McGivern, Germain Quinn.

Committee on A. F. of L. Building—Charles H. Moyer, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, C. F. Foley, J. A. Taylor, John Saurez, O. J. Shoemaker, M. R. Welch, Abraham Greenstein, Thos. D. Fitzgerald, Joseph A. Mullaney, Andries Meyer, John F. Hart, Gad Martindale, Chas. D. Duffy.

Committee on International Relations—Geo. W. Perkins, Jas. Duncan, Jas. O'Connell, Andrew Furuseth, Max S. Hayes, Martin Lawlor, Jas. Wilson, J. P. Frey, B. A. Larger, T. V. O'Connor, D. J. Tobin, George L. Berry, J. H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, James Lord, John Golden.

On motion of Vice-President Duncan the name of President Gompers was added to the Committee on International Relations.

First Vice-President Duncan read a resume of the report of the Executive Council, following which Secretary Morrison announced the assignment of the various subjects to the following committees:

Reference on Subjects in Executive Council's Report.

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Liberty Loan Bonds"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"A. F. of L. Building—Trustee's Report"—Committee on A. F. of L. Building.

"International Labor Relations"—Committee on International Relations.

"British Trades Union Congress"—Committee on International Relations.

"Peace Terms"—Committee on International Relations.

"Pan-American Labor Relations"—Committee on International Relations.

"Japanese Labor Movement"—Committee on International Relations.

"Labor and the War"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Labor's War Agreements and Representation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"The President's Mission to Investigate the Labor Conditions on the Pacific Coast and Mountain Region"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Distribution of Labor"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Women in Industry"—Committee on Resolutions.

"High Cost of Living"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Freedom of Expression"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Eight Hours"—Committee on Shorter Work Day.

"The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Direct Democracy"—Committee on Education.

"Report on Labor Legislation"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Second Class Postal Rates"—Committee on Education.

"Wage Increases of Government Employes"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Convict Labor"—Committee on State Organizations.

"Insurance for Seamen"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Workmen's Compensation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Old Age Pensions for Government Employes"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Porto Rican Citizenship Law"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Child Labor"—Committee on Education.

"Immigration Law"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Civil Rights Bill"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Department of Labor Appropriation"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Food Control Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Food Survey Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Daylight Saving Movement"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Industrial Education—Vocational Trade Training"—Committee on Education.

"The Espionage Law"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Miscellaneous"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"High Price of Print Paper"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Legal Bureau of Information"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Compulsory Arbitration Laws"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Capmakers — Hatters" — Committee on Adjustment.

"Flint Glass Workers—Machinists"—Committee on Executive Council's Report.

"Lithographers — Printing Trades" — Committee on Adjustment.

"Slate and Tile Roofers—Carpenters"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Carpenters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers"—Committee on Building Trades.

"Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union—Change of Title"—Committee on Adjustment.

"Labor Press and A. F. of L. Publications"—Committee on Organization.

"Year Book"—Committee on Education.

"Vice-President D. A. Hayes' Demise"—Committee on Education.

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"Special Committee on Co-operation"—Committee on Education.

"Special Committee on Eight Hours"—Committee on Shorter Work Day.

"Change of Date—A. F. of L. Convention"—Committee on Laws.

"Amendment to Constitution"—Committee on Laws.

"Reconstruction Proposals"—Committee on Resolutions.

"Appendix—Building Trades Department"—Committee on Organization.

"Metal Trades Department"—Committee on Organization.

"Railway Employes' Department"—Committee on Organization.

"Union Label Trades Department"—Committee on Labels.

"Canada"—Committee on Organization.

"Porto Rico"—Committee on Organization.

"Mining Department"—Committee on Organization.

On motion the convention adjourned to meet on Tuesday, November 13, at 9:30 a. m.

REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

BUFFALO, N. Y., *November 12, 1917.*

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

The report which we submit for the past year shows that the American trade union movement is larger and stronger than ever before and that thus far it has been able, during a very critical emergency, to protect the interests and welfare of wage-earners and to direct matters, during a transition period, not only so as to prevent deterioration of standards but to establish constructive agencies for dealing with new problems and situations. Since our last report the Government of the United States has declared war upon the imperial government of Germany. We recount in our report the position which the American trade union movement has taken and the agreements that have been made to adjust labor relations upon war work and work done for the government It meeting this critical emergency the American labor movement has had two advantages which were not enjoyed by the labor movements of European countries:

(1) We have had the benefit of the experience of workers in European countries in dealing with war problems, and (2) many of the industries of this country had been gradually organizing to meet war needs and to produce war supplies for the governments that were at war. American workers, loyal to our Republic and understanding the clear-cut purposes for which our government entered the war, have attempted to deal with the war situation in a constructive way that would enable them to cooperate with the government and at the same time to maintain principles of industrial and human welfare and to establish agencies that would organize war production and enable situations and problems to be adjusted without cessation of work.

It is with great gratification we report specific developments showing that the American labor movement has secured the best agreements with the government that have been secured in any other warring countries. The agreements and the relations between the workers and the American Government established a new period in the industrial world—a period in which the government has sanctioned standards based upon principles of human welfare and has substituted these standards for the old system under which profits were paramount.

During the past months there has come a greater and more genuine appreciation of the value of human labor. This results in a recognition of the rights and the interests of wage-earners, not only in industrial affairs but in every relationship in life. There is coming about in a very real sense the recognition of the dignity of labor.

It is our sincere hope that the work so auspiciously begun shall be carried further during the year for which the Buffalo Convention has planned. It is necessary to the accomplishment of this purpose that the work of organization be continued and that the members of the organized labor movement stand solidly behind their representatives.

We have prepared a report of the main achievements of the past year and the most important problems which the organized labor movement ought to consider, which we now submit to the delegates to this convention.

We have had six meetings during the past year upon the following dates: January 20 to 27, 1917; March 9 to 11, 1917; April 20 to 27, 1917; June 21 to 27, 1917; October 18 to 27, 1917; November 10, 1917, and there were submitted to us during the year 117 documents.

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SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning October 1, 1916, and ending September 30, 1917.

It is ith satisfaction I report at the close of the fiscal year a balance on hand of $141,467.84—$98,967.84 in cash and $42,500 loaned to the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building. Of the total amount on hand $133,634.64 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions. The balance, $7,833.20 is in the general fund, and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, $412,047.76; the total expenses, $402,440.40; excess of receipts over expenses, $9,607.36.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1917:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand September 30, 1916 ($134,360.48) Cash Balance			$89,360 48
Per capita tax		$251,758 90	
Supplies		16,134 95	
Interest on funds on deposit		2,010 40	
American Federationist		66,383 20	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers		2,772 42	
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions		37,549 70	
Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued		1,586 26	
Reinstatement and initiation fees		27,945 32	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions		5,906 61	
			412,047 76
Total			$501,408 24

EXPENSES

General		$261,430 02	
Defense fund:			
Local trade and federal labor unions	$15,507 14		
Refund of over-payment of per capita tax	58 94		
		15,566 08	
American Federationist		81,800 83	
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions		4,970 68	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers		11,828 16	
Reinstatement and initiation fees		96 12	
Refunded		8 51	
Paid to trustees A. F. of L. Building		26,740 00	
			$402,440 40
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1917			$98,967 84

RECAPITULATION

In general fund	$7,833 20
In Defense Fund for local and Federal Labor Unions (cash)	91,134 64
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1917	$98,967 84
Loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Building from Defense Fund	42,500 00
Total balance on hand September 30, 1917	$141,467 84

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:	
Metal Trades Department	$28 40
Union Label Trades Department	57 72
Rent	10,582 00
Refunds of premiums on bonds, overpayments on per capita tax and supplies returned	188 36
Premiums:	
Bonds, local unions	4,970 68
Treasurer's bond	125 00
Secretary's bond	10 00
Fire insurance	241 17
Expressage, freight and drayage	1,847 53
Legislative expenses	10,573 01
Newspapers, magazines and books	382 50
Office fixtures	1,161 00
Postage stamps	6,441 39
Printing and binding proceedings of the Baltimore Convention	2,423 43
Stamped envelopes	1,277 76
Supplies and printing	31,461 48
Telegrams	2,182 01
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada	421 02
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress	1,261 84
Baltimore:	
Committee rooms	185 50
Expenses, Secretary attending Baltimore Convention	107 75
Messenger, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary	423 50
Printing and supplies	166 75
Printing daily proceedings	1,323 50
Stenographers	1,276 52
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out daily proceedings, rent of typewriters, photographs, stationery	108 06
Salary:	
President	7,500 00
Secretary	5,000 00
Treasurer	500 00
Office employes	53,100 46
Janitor service	57 00
Expenses:	
Auditing and Credential Committee	337 50
Executive Council meetings	8,005 51
President traveling during year	1,692 12
Secretary traveling during year	414 16
Defense fund:	
Strike benefits	15,507 14
Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received from local trade and federal labor unions	58 94
Assessment:	
One-cent assessment to organize women workers	11,828 16
Organizing expenses	107,146 92
Printing and publishing *American Federationist*	$1,800 83
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter for organizing and legislative purposes	1,236 99
Printing American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter	1,464 00
Postage on American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter	342 64
Initiation fees (refunded to local trade and federal labor unions)	93 62

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Reinstatement fees (refunded to local trade and federal labor unions)	$2 50
Paid trustees A. F. of L. Building	26,740 00
Refunded	8 51
Expenses in connection with funeral of Secretary-Treasurer Thomas F. Tracy, of the Label Trades Department at Washington, D. C.	185 00
Expenses in connection with funeral of Vice-President D. A. Hayes, at Zanesville, Ohio	189 58
Total	$402,440 40

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1917, INCLUSIVE

I herewith furnish a table giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 37 years:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881	$174 00	$154 00
1882	268 20	252 25
1883	690 19	352 32
1884	357 42	543 20
1885	584 03	450 58
1886	474 11	635 08
1887	1,939 82	2,074 39
1888	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896	16,290 18	15,452 95
1897	18,639 92	19,113 83
1898	18,894 15	19,197 17
1899	36,757 13	30,599 22
1900	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903	247,802 96	196,015 57
1904	220,995 97	203,991 15
1905	207,417 62	196,170 10
1906	217,815 18	218,540 04
1907	174,330 26	159,960 84
1908	207,655 23	196,927 36
1909	232,377 64	203,702 07
1910	193,470 84	177,859 34
1911	182,188 68	175,524 08
1912	207,373 60	277,479 23
1913	244,292 04	258,702 92
1914	263,166 97	265,737 21
1915	271,625 53	303,985 95*
1916	334,275 41†	315,047 32**
1917	412,047 76††	402,440 40
Total	$4,163,450 12	$4,064,482 28

*Includes $40,500 advanced on Office Building Loan.
**Includes $9,500 advanced on Office Building Loan.
†Includes $5,000 returned to Defense Fund.
††Includes $2,500 returned to Defense Fund.

RECAPITULATION.

Receipts	$4,163,450 12
Expenses	4,064,482 28
Cash balance on hand September 30, 1917	$98,967 84
On account of amount advanced on Office Building loan	42,500 00
Balance on hand September 30, 1917, including building loan	$141,467 84

BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1917 INCLUSIVE

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds for affiliated organizations:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Year.	Receipts.	Expenses
1902-3	$529 00	$309 60	1910-11	$2,988 55	$1,448 38
1903-4	398 75	402 60	1911-12	2,710 07	2,089 15
1904-5	406 75	285 65	1912-13	3,225 55	3,863 18
1905-6	736 35	591 16	1913-14	3,221 75	1,898 55
1906-7	1,128 79	817 76	1914-15	5,190 74	5,052 66
1907-8	1,261 51	1,021 96	1915-16	5,092 79	4,428 19
1908-9	1,692 35	1,226 03	1916-17	5,906 61	4,970 68
1909-10	2,874 75	2,392 75			
Totals				$37,364 31	$30,798 30

RECAPITULATION.

Total receipts	$37,364 31
Total expenses	30,798 30
Excess	$6,566 01

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

The receipts on account of the *American Federationist* for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1917, are $66,383.20, the total expenses are $81,800.83, which is an excess of expenses over receipts of $15,417.63.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending September 30, 1917:

RECEIPTS

Advertising and subscription	$31,056 20
Tax received from local unions on account of subscription	35,327 00
Total	$66,383 20

EXPENSES

Commission on advertising contracts and subscriptions	$20,843 40
R. G. Dunn & Company	100 00
Hauling	15 50
Postage pound rate	2,401 80
Postage stamps	480 00
Printing regular edition *American Federationist*	10,333 30
*Printing additional copies for local unions, *American Federationist*	45,601 46
Refunds	60 72
Salaries	1,964 65
Total	$81,800 83

RECAPITULATION

Receipts	$66,383 20
Expenses	81,800 83
*Excess of expenses over receipts	$15,417 63

SUMMARY

* Uncollected bills for advertisements for fiscal year ending September 30, 1917		$2,180 75
Excess of expenses for this year 1916-1917	$15,417 63	
Advance cost of paper for year	14,509 40	
Net excess of expenses for 1916-1917 after deducting advance cost of paper		908 23
Estimated excess of receipts over expenses, deducting advance cost of paper		$1,272 52
*Advance cost of paper for year, printing copies for local unions		$11,107 68
Total cost of printing copies for local unions	$45,601 46	
Tax received for year for copies sent to local unions	35,327 00	
Less deficit of expenses over receipts for copies sent to local unions		$10,274 46
Estimated excess of receipts over expenses for copies sent to local unions, deducting advance cost of paper		$833 22

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The following are the receipts and expenses of the *American Federationist* since it was first issued:

Year.	Receipts.	Expenses.	Receipts Exceed Expenses.	Expenses Exceed Receipts.
1893-94	$2,418 30	$2,684 66		$266 36
1894-95	3,184 21	2,675 98	$508 23	
1895-96	1,917 61	2,100 08		182 47
1896-97	3,408 39	3,094 87	313 52	
1897-98	2,287 83	2,541 75		253 92
1898-99	3,171 00	4,033 19		862 19
1899-00	4,162 03	4,466 91		304 88
1900-01	10,498 22	10,900 54		402 32
1901-02	17,170 70	25,406 46		8,235 76
1902-03	27,718 43	42,883 68		15,165 25
1903-04	32,629 89	30,699 92	1,939 97	
1904-05	25,726 57	24,929 86	796 71	
1905-06	25,912 87	26,868 12		955 25
1906-07	25,310 56	23,560 70	1,749 86	
1907-08	20,722 41	20,649 84	72 57	
1908-09	20,148 73	22,703 57		2,554 84
1909-10	21,326 50	20,621 19	705 31	
1910-11	18,213 98	20,913 56		2,699 58
1911-12	17,240 19	18,731 77		1,491 58
1912-13	16,730 14	19,914 94		3,184 80
1913-14	28,040 26	33,507 21		5,466 95
1914-15	36,731 27	35,294 06	1,437 21	
1915-16	46,841 63	46,678 82	162 81	
1916-17	66,383 20	81,800 83		15,417 63

ONE-CENT ASSESSMENT TO ORGANIZE WOMEN WORKERS

This assessment was levied on the membership of all affiliated organizations on April 4, 1916, to defray expenses for organizing women workers.

The following is a statement of the receipts and expenses for this fiscal year, ending September 30, 1917:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand September 30, 1916	$9,055 74
Receipts from October 1, 1916, to and including September 30, 1917	2,772 42
Total	$11,828 16

EXPENSES

Names of Organizers.	States Wherein Work Was Done.	Amount Received.
1. Mary Scully	New York	$2,592 40
2. Henry F. Hilfers	New Jersey, New York	2,241 51
3. Joseph Minszewski	Massachusetts, New York, New Hampshire, Rhode Island	1,605 73
4. Mary Kelleher	South Carolina, New York, Georgia, Alabama, Pennsylvania, Canada	1,581 56
5. Thomas F. McMahon	Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Maine	982 50
6. Benj. F. McIntyre	South Carolina	791 65
7. John F. Bollwark	New York, Pennsylvania	789 57
8. John H. Powers	Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York	431 58
9. Kathryn Carey	Ohio, Pennsylvania	309 50
10. Mrs. H. Sullivan	New York	140 00
11. Agnes Moran	New York	133 10
12. May A. Taber	Massachusetts	120 00
13. Eva M. Rankin	Massachusetts	109 06
	Total	$11,828 16

RECAPITULATION

Receipts	$11,828 16
Expenses	11,828 16

There has been collected by assessments to organize women workers, since August 4, 1913, to September 30, 1917, including $500 appropriated by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, $51,865.35, and there has been expended $55,177.11, which is $3,311.76 in excess of the total amount received. There was paid out of the general fund to the National Women's Trade Union League since January, 1913, $4,050.

DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADEJAND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

On September 30th of this year we had 845 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for twelve months of 58,416 in good standing, and a defense fund of $133,634.64 to protect the members of these unions in case of strike or lockout.

There are only 10 of the 111 national and international unions that have a larger membership than is contained in the 845 local trade and federal labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

In case of a strike, the Federation has a substantial defense fund to assist in sustaining the directly affiliated members until the controversy has been adjusted.

There are also 2,000 district organizers, as well as the paid organizers, and 762 city central bodies ready, at a moment's notice, to respond to a call to assist members of local unions in case of a strike or lockout.

Many strikes that would have cost the American Federation of Labor a large sum were averted during the past year through the assistance of organizers of the American Federation of Labor in adjusting the differences with employers and securing conditions desired by the union.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year, ending September 30, 1917:

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund	$35,049 70
Returned to Defense Fund by Trustees A. F. of L. Building	2,500 00
Total	$37,549 70

EXPENSES

	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
Foundry Workers, No. 15179, Chicago, Ill	230-	6	$5,516 00
Ivory Button Workers, No. 14978, Newark, N. J	96+	10	3,844 01
Hat Makers, No. 14209, Cabo Rojo, P. R	133	4	2,128 00
Girl Strippers, No. 1847, Wheeling, W. Va	130+	3	1,567 13
Federal Labor Union, No. 14949, New York, N. Y	374	1	1,496 00
Federal Labor Union, No. 14967, Westfield, Mass	14-	10	544 00
Slate Workers, No. 15159, Granville, N. Y	7+	6	180 00
Picture Frame Workers, No. 14577, New York, N. Y	16	2	128 00
Tobacco Strippers, No. 10422, Denver, Colo	22	1	88 00
Bottle Sorters and Washers, No. 14853, Hartford, Conn	4	1	16 00
Total strike benefits			$15,507 14
Refund of over-payment of per capita tax received in defense fund			58 94
Total expenses			$15,566 08

RECAPITULATION

Cash balance in defense fund September 30, 1916	$69,151 02
Receipts for twelve months ending September 30, 1917	37,549 70
Total cash balance	$106,700 72
Paid out of defense fund	15,566 08
Cash balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, September 30, 1917	$91,134 64
Loan to trustees A. F. of L. Building	42,500 00
Balance in defense fund September 30, 1917	$133,634 64

HATTERS' APPEALS

On December 18, 1915, an appeal was issued asking all members of organized labor to give the wages of one hour of their labor on January 27, 1916, to the assistance of the Hatters of Danbury, Connecticut, who found themselves in a serious plight as a consequence of their struggle for industrial freedom.

On May 9, 1916, another circular was issued to the Secretaries of Local Unions, requesting that the matter be taken up at their next meeting, with the request that all workers who did not contribute on January 27, 1916, should contribute an hour's wages on Thursday, June 15, 1916.

In response to the two appeals sent out in behalf of the Danbury Hatters, there has been received up to and including August 28, 1917, including interest on deposits, $216,024.54.

On July 9, 1917, in accordance with the instructions of the Executive Council, the resident members of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., turned over to Secretary-Treasurer Martin Lawlor, United Hatters of North America, a certified check for $214,668.95. On August 28, 1917, an additional check for $222.25 was mailed to Secretary-Treasurer Lawlor, making a total amount turned over to the United Hatters of North America, of $214,891.20.

The receipts and expenses were printed in pamphlet form, and by instructions of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., copies were mailed to all who contributed to the fund, and in addition, copies were sent to the secretaries of all national and international unions, State branches, city central bodies, and the labor press.

The following is a statement of the amounts received and expended from December 18, 1915, up to and including August 28, 1917, when account was closed, and balance paid to the United Hatters of North America:

RECAPITULATION OF RECEIPTS

Total of contributions		$212,685.68
Interest collected on deposits:		
September 30, 1916	$229.34	
September 30, 1916	765.33	
December 30, 1916	257.30	
April 3, 1917	1,000.10	
June 30, 1917	1,022.94	
		3,275.01
Total receipts		$215,960.69
Redeposits on checks made good returned by Riggs National Bank:		
October 29, 1916, Plumbers 479	$10.00	
November 6, 1916, Teamsters 174	53.85	
		63.85
Total deposits		$216,024.54

EXPENDITURES

Checks returned by Riggs National Bank as follows:		
September 27, 1916, from Plumbers No. 479 (made good)*	$10.00	
September 27, 1916, from Plumbers No. 520	12.61	
September 27, 1916, from Culinary Alliance No. 567	6.75	
September 27, 1916, from Carpenters and Joiners No. 794	10.00	
September 30, 1916, from Teamsters No. 174 (made good)*	53.85	
		$93.21
July 9, 1917:		
Printing 8,000 76-page Financial Reports of the Danbury Hatters' Fund, Law Reporter Printing Co		809.00
Cost and printing envelopes; postage and clerk hire, writing, folding, filling and mailing envelopes, Frank Morrison, Sec'y, A. F. of L		231.13
Certified check to the Relief Fund, United Hatters of North America, Martin Lawlor, Secretary-Treasurer		214,668.95
August 28, 1917:		
Certified check to the Relief Fund, United Hatters of North America, Martin Lawlor, Secretary-Treasurer		222.25
Total expenditures		$216,024.54

RECAPITULATION OF EXPENDITURES

Returned checks, cost of printing and mailing reports	$1,133.34
Amounts turned over to United Hatters of North America	214,891.20
Total expenditures	$216,024.54

GENERAL RECAPITULATION

Total deposits	$216,024.54
Total expenditures	216,024.54

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months $107,146.92. Of this amount $2,748.83 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from $5 to $50, for organizing central bodies and local trade or federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

Names of Organizers.	States Wherein Work Was Done.	Amount Received.
1. *Hugh Frayne	New York, Pennsylvania	$6,700.53
2. R. E. Peabody	North Dakota, Montana, Washington, California, Colorado, Washington, D. C., Oregon, Minnesota, Illinois, Michigan, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Missouri, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, Iowa, Wisconsin	3,942.21
3. Charles P. Taylor	Washington, Oregon	3,832.28
4. T. H. Flynn	Ohio, Kansas	3,764.08
5. **John F. Fitzpatrick	Illinois	3,699.39
6. C. O. Young	Washington, Idaho, Oregon, Utah	3,557.25
7. Henry Streiffer	New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Alabama, Maryland	3,494.55
8. James E. Roach	Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Vermont	3,427.25
9. Frank H. McCarthy	Massachusetts, Maine	3,362.39
10. Emmet T. Flood	Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Indiana, Minnesota, Colorado	3,343.42
11. H. L. Eichelberger	Delaware, Maryland, Washington, D. C., New York, Pennsylvania	3,307.76
12. Edw. Cunningham	Texas, Colorado, Missouri	3,304.04
13. P. J. Smith	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois	3,243.89
14. P. F. Duffy	Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts	3,139.75
15. J. A. Flett	Canada, New York, Pennsylvania	3,125.43
16. Santiago Iglesias	Porto Rico	2,762.28
17. J. G. Brown	Washington, Oregon, Canada	2,758.76
18. Cal Wyatt	Washington, D. C., Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia	2,733.87
19. William Collins	New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island	2,581.35
20. Anthony Wilson	Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, New York, Michigan	2,579.24
21. J. E. Smith	Missouri, Iowa, Colorado	2,408.92
22. Stanley Cupinski	Illinois, Missouri, Iowa	2,406.40
23. J. M. Richie	Pennsylvania, New Jersey	2,132.02
24. Lillian Heaffely	New York, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts	1,962.15
25. J. B. Dale	California	1,884.70
26. A. Marks	New York, New Jersey	1,714.99
27. J. L. Lewis	Illinois, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Missouri, Maryland	1,577.96
28. J. Olchon	Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York	1,455.31
29. A. Goode	Virginia	1,306.75
30. W. Shurtleff	Michigan, Ohio	1,150.00
31. R. Whennen	Illinois	1,146.73
32. J. D. Chubbuck	Illinois, Minnesota, Michigan, Iowa	980.69
33. Mary P. Scully	New York	956.08
34. Sol. Sontheimer	Ohio, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania	952.96
35. L. V. Guye	Nebraska, Iowa, Illinois, Oklahoma, Missouri	876.11
36. L. B. Travers	New Jersey, Maryland	803.15
37. H. F. Hilfers	New York, Maryland, New Jersey	688.98
38. J. W. Vance	Tennessee	663.55
39. G. E. Hyatt	Wisconsin, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York	659.72
40. Wm. Tunstall	Pennsylvania	555.89
41. Mary Kelleher	South Carolina, New York, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Alabama, Canada	547.10
42. Jos. Minszewski	New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island	523.85
43. Chas. Huggins	West Virginia	514.27
44. Wm. V. H. Bright	Texas, Arkansas	500.00
45. J. S. McDonald	Washington	444.25
46. Anna Neary	Maryland	351.17
47. George Guzzi	Pennsylvania	350.00
48. Jane Hamor	New York	340.00
49. H. P. Corcoran	West Virginia	321.91
50. Katherine Carey	Ohio, Pennsylvania	321.50

*This amount included $3,649.46 paid out by Organizer Frayne for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer, interpreter, and other organizers.

**This amount includes $2,503.39 paid for one-half rent of office, salary stenographer, telegrams, stationery and office supplies.

Names of Organizers.	States Wherein Work Was Done.	Amount Received.
51. C. Covert	Washington, Oregon	$309.40
52. Melinda Scott	New York, Connecticut	273.05
53. C. Duncan	New York	240.00
54. W. E. Castro	California	235.00
55. Grace Dunford	Michigan	220.00
56. J. L. Pauley	West Virginia, Ohio	214.95
57. D. S. Beasley	Virginia	196.37
58. P. H. Fitzgerald	Maine	188.70
59. J. W. Brown	Washington, D. C., West Virginia	157.58
60. Michael Sotak	Pennsylvania, Ohio	157.01
61. H. T. Colvin	Virginia	156.05
62. F. L. Rist	Ohio, Kentucky	140.35
63. Mrs. Marie Scary	New York	140.00
64. A. P. Kaveney	Massachusetts	137.15
65. John Sabolski	New York	133.65
66. L. Keller	California	130.00
67. T. O. Graves	West Virginia	126.00
68. J. H. Powers	Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York	123 31
69. Leopold Jost	California	120.00
70. H. M. McLarin	North Carolina	115.73
71. Jane Olcott	New York	110.00
72. J. T. Smith	Missouri	110.00
73. Chas. MacGowan	Illinois	109.10
74. J. Jones	Tennessee	107 10
75. C. A. Hunter	Louisiana	100.00
76. D. Kreyling	Missouri, Illinois	97.90
77. C. L. Rosemund	Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C.	95.48
78. L. Thompson	Minnesota	90.00
79. E. M. Rankin	Massachusetts	80.94
80. Wm. Hayes	Pennsylvania	72 20
81. T. Murphy	Illinois	71 48
82. M. A. Taber	Massachusetts	70.00
83. F. W. Pennington	Pennsylvania	66 25
84. L. H. Moore	Arkansas	60.00
85. F. J. Hepp	California	60.00
86. W. C. James	Texas	60.00
87. J. E. Toone	Washington, D. C	60.00
88. C. W. Swanson		55.01
89. Kitty Donnelly	Ohio	51.00
90. L. Riordan	North Carolina	50.00
91. J. C. Stremlau	Connecticut	50.00
92. Geo. Dean	California	50.00
93. C. W. Doyle	Washington	50.00
	Paid to district organizers in amounts less than $50	2,748.83
Total		$107,146.92

VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1917, INCLUSIVE

Year.	No. Votes.	Year.	No. Votes.
1897	2,747	1908	16,892
1898	2,881	1909	15,880
1899	3,632	1910	16,737
1900	5,737	1911	18,693
1901	8,240	1912	18,499
1902	10,705	1913	20,976
1903	15,238	1914	21,185
1904	17,363	1915	20,433
1905	16,338	1916	21,906
1906	15,621	1917	24,973
1907	16,425		

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1917, there have been issued 559 charters to National and International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number, four were granted to the following Internationals:

International Union of Timber Workers;

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America;

National Association of Letter Carriers;

National Federation of Federal Employes.

Seventy Central bodies, as follows:

Arizona:
- Douglas.
- Flagstaff.

California:
- Santa Ana.
- Stanislaus County.
- Taft.

Canada:
- Jonquierres.

Colorado:
- Salida.

Florida:
- Orlando.
- Pensacola.

Hawaii:
- Honolulu.

Idaho:
- Idaho Falls.
- Twin Falls.

Illinois:
- Batavia.
- Marseilles.
- Mattoon.
- Metropolis.
- Shelbyville.

Indiana:
- Bicknell.
- Bloomington.
- Brazil.
- Frankfort.

Iowa:
- Grinnell.
- Waterloo.

Kansas:
- El Dorado.
- Salina.

Louisiana:
- Alexandria.

Massachusetts:
- Concord.
- Southern Middlesex County.
- Waltham, Watertown and Newton.

Minnesota:
- Faribault.
- Rochester.

Missouri:
- Stanberry.

New Hampshire:
- Dover.
- Franklin.

New Jersey:
- Hackensack, Bergen County.
- Somerset County.

New Mexico:
- Albuquerque.

New York:
- Corning.
- Hornell.
- Ilion.
- New Rochelle.
- Rome.

North Carolina:
- Charlotte.
- Rowan County.
- Winston-Salem.

North Dakota:
- Bismarck.

Ohio:
- Chillicothe.
- Ironton.
- Lorain.

Oklahoma:
- Ada.
- Durant.
- El Reno.
- Henryetta.
- Miami.
- Okmulgee.

Pennsylvania:
- Canonsburg.
- Chester.
- Punxsutawney.

Tennessee:
- Johnson City.

Texas:
- Big Springs.
- Cleburne.
- Gainesville.
- Greenville.
- Lubbock.
- Sour Lake.

Virginia:
- Hopewell and vicinity.
- Norfolk.

Wyoming:
- Greybull.
- Laramie.
- Thermopolis.

CHARTERS ISSUED 1897-1917

Year.	International.	Department.	State.	Central.	Trade Unions.	Federal Unions.	Total.
1897	8	———	2	18	154	35	217
1898	9	———	0	12	129	53	203
1899	9	———	1	35	303	101	449
1900	14	———	5	96	484	250	849
1901	7	———	4	123	575	207	916
1902 (eleven months)	14	———	6	127	508	279	1,024
1903	20	———	3	171	743	396	1,333
1904	11	———	5	99	179	149	443
1905	3	———	1	67	143	73	287
1906	6	———	4	54	167	87	317
1907	3	———	1	72	204	94	374
1908	0	2	4	73	100	55	234
1909	3	2	2	40	77	52	176
1910	2	0	1	83	152	96	334
1911	3	0	0	61	207	55	326
1912	2	1	2	57	149	49	260
1913	2	———	1	63	197	59	322
1914	2	———	1	44	128	50	225
1915	1	———	1	44	126	40	212
1916	3	———	1	76	299	101	480
1917	4	———	———	70	376	109	559

CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED, DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND RESTORED

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS. Suspended, 2. Pocket Knife Blade Grinders and Finishers' National Union; membership, 240. Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association; membership, 10,000. Amalgamated, 4. National Federation of Post Office Clerks, membership, 6,000, with Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks, membership, 2,000. Leather Workers on Horse Goods, membership, 2,000, with Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International, membership, 1,200.

CENTRAL BODIES. Disbanded, 16; suspended for non-payment of per capita tax, 2.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS. Disbanded, 8; suspended, 215; joined national and international organizations, 106; reinstated, 12; merged, 7.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS. Disbanded, 6; suspended, 79; joined internationals, 4.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORMED FROM AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR LOCAL UNIONS

The American Federation of Labor in the past twenty-two years has formed out of directly chartered local unions, the following eighty-two national and international organizations:

1896.

Mineral Mine Workers' Progressive, Northern.
Actors' National Protective.
National Union of Textile Workers.
Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders' Union.
Brickmakers' Alliance, National.
Federated Association of Wire Drawers.

1897.

Bicycle Workers' International Union.
Gold Beaters' National Union.
Steam Engineers' National Union.
Core Makers' International Union.
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.
Brotherhood of Paper Makers.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's National Union.

1898.

Mosaic and Encaustic Tile Layers and Helpers' International Union.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union of America.
Trunk and Bag Workers' International Union.

1899.

International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.
National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers.
Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers.
Tin Plate Workers' International Protective Association.
Team Drivers' International Union.

1900.

Chain Makers' National Union of the United States of America.
Glass Workers' National Union.
International Jewelry Workers' Union of America.
International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.
Building Laborers' International Protective Union.
International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.
United Metal Workers' International Union.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

1901.

Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers' International Union.
Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.
International Watch Case Makers.
International Association of Car Workers.
Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America.
National Association of Blast Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.

1902.

United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers' Union of North America.
Sawsmiths' Union of North America.
Piano and Organ Workers' International Union of America.
National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States.
United Powder and High Explosive Workers of America.
International Association of Tube Workers.
International Association of Marble Workers.
Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America.

1903.

Quarrymen's International Union of North America.
American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.
International Brotherhood of Tip Printers.
International Union of Slate Quarrymen, Splitters and Cutters.
International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.
Brotherhood of Railway Expressmen of America.
International Hodcarriers and Building Laborers' Union of America.
International Shingle Weavers' Union of America.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, National Alliance of.
International Association of Glass House Employes.
Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of America.
Glove Workers' International Union of America.
Order of Commercial Telegraphers.
Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union of America.
National Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America.
International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.

1904.

Asbestos Workers of America, National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators and
International Association of Fur Workers of the United States and Canada.
Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers' International Union.
Brushmakers' International Union.
International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes.
International Union of Building Employes of America.
International Union of Paper Box Makers.
Tack Makers' International Union.

1905.

National Brotherhood of Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers.
International Union of Pavers and Rammermen.

1906.

Steel Plate Transferrers' Association of America.

1907.

International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers of United States and Canada.
Post-office Clerks, National Federation of.
Lobster Fishermen's National Protective Association.

1910.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.

1913.

International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada (second time chartered).

1914.

Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America.
Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks.

1915.

International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.

1916.

American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots.
American Federation of Teachers.
International Jewelry Workers' Union.

1917.

National Federation of Federal Employes.
International Union of Timber Workers.

UNION LABELS

There are now 55 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

American Federation of Labor.
Bakers and Confectioners.
Bill Posters and Billers.
Boilermakers.
Blacksmiths.
Bookbinders.
Boot and Shoe Workers.
Brewery Workmen.
Brickmakers.
Broommakers.
Brushmakers.
Carpenters and Joiners, Brotherhood.
Carriage and Wagon Workers.
Carvers, Wood
Cigarmakers.
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.
Coopers.
Electrical Workers.
Garment Workers, United.
Garment Workers, Ladies.
Glove Workers.
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.
Hatters.
Horseshoers.
Iron and Steel Workers.
Jewelry Workers.
Lathers.
Laundry Workers.
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.
Lithographers.
Machine Printers and Color Mixers.
Machinists.
Marble Workers.
Metal Polishers.
Metal Workers, Sheet.
Molders.
Painters.
Papermakers.
Photo-Engravers.
Piano and Organ Workers.
Plate Printers.
Powder Workers.
Pressmen, Printing.
Print Cutters.
Sawsmiths.
Slate Workers.
Stove Mounters.
Tailors.
Textile Workers.
Timber Workers.
Tobacco Workers.
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.
Typographical.
Upholsterers.
Weavers, Wire.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

Barbers.
Clerks, Retail.
Engineers, Steam.
Firemen, Stationary.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.
Musicians.
Stage Employes, Theatrical.
Teamsters.
White Rats Actors.

The following crafts and callings are using the Amercian Federation of Labor label: Badges Banner, Regalia, Button, Novelty and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers: Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Paper Box Makers; Suspendermakers; Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers; Flour and Cereal Mill Employes; Carbon Makers; Pennant Makers, and Soap Makers.

VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1909 up to and including 1917. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

Organizations.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. Intl. U. of A.	107	127	138	146	151	157	158	175	189
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	255	265	285	299	318	343	341	359	398
Bill Posters	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	15	15
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of	100	100	100	93	90	96	85	97	120
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders	126	161	199	167	162	167	173	182	312
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union	320	325	327	333	343	381	356	390	396
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of	71	78	79	85	91	94	85	93	114
Brewery Workmen, International Union	400	400	450	450	450	520	520	496	450
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers	25	38	34	34	39	32	29	32	28
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Intl. U. of A.									700
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	8	6	7	7	7	7	7	8	7
Brushmakers' International Union	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated	73	71	78	*	*	*	*	*	*
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of	1640	1904	1946	1923	2107	2128	1956	1977	2317
Carriage, Wagon, & Automobile Workers	15	11	20	27	29	35	38	40	42
Carvers' Union, International Wood	13	12	12	10	10	11	10	11	12
Car Workers, International Association of	50	50	46	*	*	*	*	*	*
Cement Workers	90	90	90	90	90	73	16	g	g
Chainmakers' National Union	3	2	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Cigarmakers' International Union	398	432	436	415	402	400	394	377	416
Clerks, Bro. of Railway	56	50	50	50	50	50	50	51	68
Clerks, Bro. of Railway Postal						15	20	27	i
Clerks, Intl. Protective Asso. Retail	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150	150
Clerks, National Post-office	13	14	16	18	22	28	32	42	i
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United	15	21	22	28	38	36	30	63	88
Commercial Telegraphers	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Compressed Air and Foundation Workers	8	6	6	6	8	10	12	14	16
Coopers' International Union	41	41	43	45	46	45	39	36	39
Cutting Die and Cuttermakers, Intl. Union	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.				3	3	3	3	3	4
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	138	160	189	196	227	308	362	362	415
Elevator Constructors	20	21	21	23	26	27	27	28	29
Engineers, International Union of Steam	161	160	160	177	200	203	210	210	220
Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway				2	1	††	††	††	††
Federal Employes, National Federation of									81
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary	107	81	80	114	160	160	160	170	170
Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad	46	47	40	25	10	29	†	†	†
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes	8	3	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of	5	7	5	5	5	6	6	8	13
Fur Workers, International Association of	2	2	c	c	c	c	c	c	c
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. and Can., Intl.						8	37	57	81
Garment Workers of America, United	534	542	525	464	585	607	422	430	449
Glass Bottle Blowers' Asso. of U. S. and Canada	93	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal.	11	12	12	11	13	12	11	h	h
Glass Workers, American Flint	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**	**
Glove Workers	8	8	9	11	13	11	10	10	8
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife	2	2	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Grinders and Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	†
Granite Cutters' International Asso. of A., The	131	134	135	135	135	135	135	131	125
Hatters of North America, United	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85	85
Heat Frost, Genl. Insulators, and Asbestos	6	5	8	8	8	10	10	10	10
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers	88	114	127	125	221	256	319	324	324
Horseshoers of United States and Canada	72	72	49	52	53	57	57	58	54
Hotel and Restaurant Employes, etc.	368	370	430	476	539	590	606	590	646
Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	60	80	45	45	55	64	65	67	110
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struc. Intl. Asso.	100	100	100	100	100	102	100	100	j
Jewelry Workers' International	3	4	3	2	††	††	††	53	43
Lace Operatives, Amal.	8	8	9	10	11	12	12	11	12
Ladies' Garment Workers, International	18	187	668	584	788	699	653	851	823
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. and Metal	50	50	50	50	50	55	60	60	60
Laundry Workers, International Union	35	29	26	26	26	28	41	43	46
Leather Workers on Horse Goods	40	37	26	20	19	18	18	18	k
Leather Workers of America, Amal.	8	8	6	6	c	c	c	c	c
Leather Workers Intl. Union, United									32
Letter Carriers, National Association of									25
Lithographers' Intl. P. and B. Asso.	13	17	21	24	26	28	35	42	46
Lithographic Pressfeeders	10	9	9	9	10	†	†	†	†
Longshoremen's Association, International	213	208	250	235	220	250	250	250	255
Machinists, International Association of	484	569	671	598	710	754	719	1009	1125
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Maintenance of Way Employes, Intl. Bro. of	100	87	100	91	80	65	81	89	97
Marble, etc., Intl. Association of	24	27	28	28	30	41	16	6	10

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued.

Organizations.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Masters, Mates and Pilots								40	43
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen	63	54	31	40	54	62	61	73	96
Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet	160	162	172	166	169	178	178	175	176
Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, etc.	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mine Workers of America, United	2670	2337	2504	2670	3708	3345	3116	3180	3520
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Intl Union of			513	506	485	369	167	161	179
Molders' Union of North America, Intl.	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500	500
Musicians, American Federation of	394	400	500	500	546	600	600	600	604
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	596	635	676	685	709	744	753	782	852
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of	10	16	24	28	40	44	45	52	64
Patternmakers' League of N. A.	50	52	56	60	65	67	65	65	70
Pavers and Rammermen, Intl. Union of	15	15	15	15	15	16	16	15	15
Paving Cutters Union of U. S. of A. & Can.	26	32	32	35	35	35	35	33	32
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.	32	35	37	40	44	47	48	51	51
Piano and Organ Workers' Union of A., Intl.	40	40	40	20	10	10	10	10	15
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & Can., Oper.	145	152	147	157	173	180	183	184	190
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.	184	200	200	260	290	297	320	320	320
Postal Employes, National Federation of									81
Powder and High Explosive Workers.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative	59	58	59	65	65	77	78	77	76
Printing Pressmen, International	178	186	190	190	190	193	227	290	330
Printers Union of N. A., Intl. S. and C. Plate	12	13	13	12	13	13	13	12	13
Print Cutters' Asso. of A., Natl.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers	10	7	28	35	31	35	43	44	65
Quarry Workers, International	45	50	35	40	40	40	36	35	35
Railway Carmen of A., Bro.		228	269	287	280	287	293	308	390
Railway Employes' Amal. Asso., St. & Elec.	333	367	393	402	457	545	589	646	737
Roofers, Comp. Damp & Waterproof Wkrs.	10	11	12	12	12	12	12	12	12
Sawsmiths' National Union	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	168	160	160	160	160	160	160	217	322
Shipwrights, Joiners and Calkers	16	9	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Signalmen, Bro. R. R.						7	8	9	8
Slate and Tile Roofers	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	6	6
Slate Workers	21	14	7	4	3	3	3	††	††
Spinners' Intl. Union	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22	22
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers	56	56	56	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*	*d*
Steam Shovel and Dredge Men							27	20	29
Steel Plate Transferrers' Asso. of America	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' Union of N. A.	35	40	42	43	45	45	49	49	52
Stonecutters' Association, Journeymen	89	80	86	89	66	60	44	43	41
Stove Mounters' International Union	10	9	11	11	11	11	11	12	17
Switchmen's Union of North America	80	80	87	87	96	98	90	93	102
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	132	117	120	120	120	120	120	120	120
Teachers, Am. Fed. of								27	21
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of	320	358	382	415	469	511	516	590	703
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	150	200	250	250	250	250	250	250	272
Textile Workers of America, United	100	100	100	109	162	180	189	255	371
Theatrical Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance	80	91	98	110	132	150	180	181	186
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union	17	19	21	24	27	30	30	28	28
Timber Workers, Intl. Union of									2
Tin Plate Workers, Intl. Protective	15	8	3	3	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*	*f*
Tip Printers	2	2	2	2	2	†	†	3	3
Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America	43	41	40	37	36	37	39	34	32
Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.	5	6	8	9	9	9	9	10	*k*
Tunnel & Subway Constructors, Intl. Union		13	17	18	19	17	15	27	34
Typographical Union, International	455	491	518	547	564	594	591	607	616
Upholsterers, International Union of	28	28	28	28	31	35	35	39	40
Watch-case Engravers, International	2	2	2	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*	*c*
Weavers, Elastic Goring	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Weavers, Shingle	18	18	15	15	31	25	7	4	5
White Rats Actors' Union of A.	11	11	66	110	110	110	87	90	47
Wire Weavers' Protective, American	3	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3
Woodsmen and Saw Mill Workers	7	6	†	†	†	†	†	†	†
Wood Workers, Amalgamated:	41	32	31	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*
Centrals	594	632	631	560	621	647	673	717	762
State Branches	39	39	38	41	42	43	44	45	45
Directly affiliated local unions	608	647	680	590	659	570	489	705	1016
Total vote of Unions	15880	16737	18643	18499	20976	21185	20433	21906	24973

* Charter revoked. ** Withdrew. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. †† Disbanded. *a* Merged with Machinists. *b* Merged with Molders. *c* Surrendered charter. *d* Not recognized. *e* Merged with Carpenters. *f* Merged with Iron and Steel Workers. *g* Merged with Operative Plasterers. *h* Merged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. *i* Bro. of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged. *j* Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. *k* Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers.

CHARTERS—Reports from the Secretaries of 94 of our National and International organizations furnish us with the information that 3,793 charters have been issued during the past year and 1,557 lapsed and surrendered—1,249 of the charters lapsed and surrendered were locals of the National and International unions, and 308 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor.

GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP—The gain in membership reported by the Secretaries of 65 International organizations over the membership on the first of September last year is 296,418.

STRIKES—Reports from 75 National and International organizations and from local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor show that there were 1,417 strikes, in which there were 194,802 involved. As a result of demands, 215,019 secured improved conditions. The total cost of the strikes reported on was $2,291,086.85. Adding to that amount $139,846.26, donations made by unions for financial assistance of other unions, we have a total of $2,430,933.11 expended to sustain members on strike during the past year.

Organizations.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pend'g.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
A. F. of L. Locals	485	308	23,253	37	7	4	2	5,762	4,652				$33,864 69	$3,643 82
Asbestos Workers	4		400	3	3			600	600		50c & $1 p. d.			
Bakers	23	16	2,475	10	4	3		3,000	2,800	200	10 per cent	1 hour	18,414 00	
Barbers	63	36	160					1,609	1,609				1,316 00	
Bill Posters	1		25	5	1	1		300		14	$2 to $3 p. w.	1 hour	1,600 00	300 00
Blacksmiths	39	5	3,000	3		7		800		500	8c per hour		5,800 00	
Boilermakers	54	4	27,732	29		3	5	2,255	2,014	56	*cc*		96,093 00	
Bookbinders	25	2	2,650	3 *c*	1		1						5,333 77	
Boot and Shoe Workers	21	23	640	4				350	500				3,913 99	10,000 00
Brewery Workers	18 *t*	30 *z*		35	4	6		1,851	1,835	16	15 per cent	4 hrs. per week	5,187 00	31,355 00
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers	28	29 *b*	1,364											
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers	9	10		6	3	2	4	3,200		800				
Broom and Whisk Workers	5	3		1				45	45		75c per day			
Brushmakers														50 00
Carmen, Railway	109	40	13,027	4			2	1,200	800			1 and 2 hours		
Carpenters	344	190	41,838	18			1				5c per hour *w*	1 hour *v*	55,775 00	
Carriage and Wagon Workers	8	2	430											
Carvers, Wood			128	17			1	70	60		2c to 5c per hr		1,339 46	
Cigarmakers	6	12	5,000	14	2	21	8	5,494	5,416	1,274	50c to $2 *d*			
Clerks, Retail	78	59		6		3								150 00
Compressed Air Workers				2	1			1,600	1,600				3,690 00	900 00
Coopers	16	12	269	10	4	1		666	654	12	30 per cent		5,622 50	500 00
Cutting Die Makers				2	2			71	71			4 hrs. per wk. *e*	804 25	
Diamond Workers											5 per cent *g*			385 00
Electrical Workers	112	37	11,000	27	17	5		4,200	3,950	175	55c per day			
Elevator Constructors	2		31											1,000 00
Engineers	37	20		5	2	9	3	209	88	101			8,343 00	
Engravers, Photo	1		150			3		75		75			45,277 95	
Firemen, Stationary	19	1	1,000	14	1	1		628	603	25		4 hours	4,026 00	
Foundry Employes	11	3	1,100								25 to 75c p.d. *i*	*h*		
Fur Workers	6	1		3	1	1	2	3,800	3,000	800	50c,75c p.d. *aa*	*bb*	3,500 00	
Garment Workers, United	10	16	22,855	10		4	6	12,788	12,376	251			15,207 66	
Glass Bottle Blowers	18	6	471	3				167	167		25 to 40 per ct.	1½ hours	1,200 00	

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

Organisations.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pend'g.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Glass Workers, Flint	10		356			1		56	56	56	5 to 56 per ct.		$6,000 00	
Glove Workers	2	3					1	140	100					
Granite Cutters	4	2a		4				450	450				1,724 00	
Hat and Cap Makers, Cloth	12		2,278	28		3	5	986	750	100	$1 per day x	½ hr. per day x	39,193 47	$4,000 00
Hatters	2		500	15		3		3,000	2,000	1,000	15 to 20 per c.		82,672 00	4,300 00
Hodcarriers	96	44	4,859	26	4		1	7,034	10,000		dd	ee		
Horseshoers	12	5		4	3			500			75 cts. per day	1 hour		
Hotel and Restaurant Employes	79	76	3,683	63	16	14	13	6,149	3,827	592	40c per day	2j	69,932 81	28,466 85
Iron and Steel Workers	26	2	4,663			3		1,800		1,800			1,500 00	500 00
Jewelry Workers	31		12,067	43		5	1	3,800	3,000	1,500	25 per cent		7,000 00	3,000 00
Lace Operatives, Amal		2					1	500	115				65,000 00	
Lathers	12	15	282											
Laundry Workers	22	1b	1,200	7	3			1,650	1,650		10 per cent k		300 00	2,700 50
Leather Workers	2	2				2		200			l	i	1,200 00	500 00
Lithographers			280											250 00
Longshoremen	15	8	1,000	3	2	1	1	1,200	4,000	300	10 to 15 pr. ct.	1 to 2 hours	23,500 00	1,500 00
Machinists	109	12g	14,183	105		87	5	8,584	56,900	965	25c to $1 p.d.	1 to 2 hours	225,587 22	
Maintenance of Way Employes	41	5		1		2	1	8,000	500	7,500			20,000 00	
Marble Workers	4	3	250					40						
Meat Cutters	85	37	9,000	7	1	1	1	15,000	40,000	65	50 cts. per dy	½ and 1 hour	10,000 00	
Metal Workers, Sheet	55	12	500	11	1	1	2	1,300		60			8,110 00	
Mine Workers, United	671	132	30,034			1		20,000		20,000			350,990 25	
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers	31	26		3	5	5		5,350	2,500	2,850	50c to $1 p.d.		6,656 67	8,724 39
Molders	26	16				46		1,033					444,270 95	
Musicians	46	17	5,000											
Painters	133	67	7,080										14,823 51	
Papermakers	18	8	1,000	1	3	8	1	2,800	2,800	1,600	50c per day	3 & 5 hrs. per dy	38,500 00	
Pavers and Rammermen	5	2	200	4				300	300		50 cts per dy			
Paving Cutters	4			10				400	400		10 to 25 pr. ct.		5,107 50	
Piano and Organ Workers	2		1,000	2				500	500		12½ to 17 per c.	4½ hrs. per wk.	8,000 00	250 00
Plumbers and Steamfitters	62	11		120	6	5		3,085	3,085	85	50c to $1 pr. d.		28,109 00	
Polishers, Metal	12	3	2,500	25	1	5	2	2,000	1,800	150	50c per day	⅞ hr. per day	18,000 00	2,500 00
Postal Employes	34	2	3,500											1,200 00
Potters	6		53			1		45		45			17,293 60	4,392 26
Print Cutters														250 00
Printing Pressmen	22	9	3,987	2	1	1		26	26		35 cts. per day		2,644 00	192 69

CHARTERS, GAIN IN MEMBERSHIP, AND STRIKES—CONTINUED.

Organizations.	Charters issued.	Charters surrendered.	Gain in membership.	Strikes won.	Strikes compromised.	Strikes pending.	Strikes lost.	Number involved.	Number benefited.	Number involved in strikes pend'g.	Gain in wages.	Reduction in hours per day.	Cost of strikes.	Donations to other unions.
Pulp and Sulphite Workers	12	———	3,000	3	1	1	———	1,200	1,000	200	50 to 75c p.d. *m*	4 hours *n*	$2,500 00	———
Quarry Workers	2	1	———	6	———	1	———	320	300	20	16 to 50c p.d. *o*	———	929 72	$1,000 00
Railway Clerks	93	22	5,041	4	2	3	———	5,000	9,000	1,800	75c p. d. *hh*	2 hrs. *hh*	8,000 00	500 00
Railway Employes, Street	39	14	7,000	17	7	7	11	22,000	9,000	1,500	1c to 8½c p. h.	———	297,196 92	170 00
Roofers, Slate and Tile	4	———	100	7	———	———	———	250	———	———	80c per day	———	———	———
Sawsmiths	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	2½c per hour	———	———	25 00
Seamen	3	1	5,000	1	———	———	1	2,000	1,500	———	———	———	10,121 60	7,558 75
Signalmen, Railroad	———	3	1	———	———	1	———	———	———	45	———	———	———	———
Spinners	1	———	2,200	2	———	———	———	150	*u*	———	30 per cent	———	1,500 00	———
Stage Employes	35	20	100	25	5	15	———	1,200	1,200	1,000	10 to 40 pr.c. *p*	———	15,000 00	7,000 00
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen	6	———	1,665	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	90 00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers	8	———	309	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
Stonecutters	3	2	———	2	2	———	———	325	325	———	50 to 80c p. d.	———	258 00	———
Stove Mounters	7	3	500	8	———	3	———	738	685	53	12 per cent	1 hour *q*	5,215 00	450 00
Switchmen	9	2	1,126	———	———	———	1	———	———	———	———	———	4,306 99	———
Tailors	35	23	1,038	6	2	4	———	169	134	35	5 to 10 per ct.	———	8,545 00	———
Teachers	3	1	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	10 per ct. *gg*	———	———	———
Teamsters	164	35	12,338	17	———	———	———	856	856	———	50 cents pr. d.	———	20,255 00	———
Telegraphers, Railroad	———	———	———	———	———	1	———	800	———	800	———	———	33,000 00	7,000 00
Textile Workers	67	3	10,000	16	———	1	———	7,000	11,000	80	10 to 35 per ct.	———	42,000 00	4,000 00
Tile Layers	4	3	———	7	1	———	1	407	327	———	*f*	———	5,000 00	500 00
Timber Workers	15	———	1,000	———	———	1	———	———	———	———	25 to 40 per ct.	4 hours	605 00	———
Tip Printers	———	———	———	———	———	1	1	56	———	26	$2 to $3 pr.w.	4 hours pr. w.	1,200 00	———
Tobacco Workers	2	6	———	———	———	———	1	70	———	———	———	———	500 00	400 00
Transferrers, Steel Plate	———	———	5	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
Tunnel and Subway Workers	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	40 to 60c p.d. *ff*	———	———	———
*Typographical Union	24	10	1,119	2	———	1	———	135	93	42	*r*	———	4,684 50	———
Upholsterers	7	3	500	19	———	4	———	958	———	165	———	———	12,845 87	———
Weavers, Shingle	4	———	49	———	1	1	———	4,500	2,000	2,500	20 per cent	———	5,000 00	———
Weavers, Wire	———	———	27	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———	———
Totals	3,793	1,557	319,671	897	120	314	86	194,802	215,019	51,233	———	———	$2,291,086 85	$139,846 26

*For year ending May 31, 1917.

a, jobs discontinued; *b*, 2 consolidated; *c*, and 2 lockouts; *d*, per thousand cigars; *e*, 11 benefited; *f*, about 35 cts. per day for tile layers, and 25 cts. per day for helpers; *g*, for entire membership; *h*, eight-hour day established in one city; *i*, for entire membership; *j*, operation of six-day week; *k*, affecting 1,300 members; *l*, hours of labor reduced and wages increased, benefiting 1,500; *m*, affecting 500; *n*, affecting 500; *o*, affecting 1,500; *p*, benefiting 1,200; *q*, benefiting 500; *r*, wages of members increased $3,940,626; *s*, consolidated; *t*, 12 local and 6 branch; *u*, all employes where strikes occurred; *v*, in 12 or 15 cases; *w*, in 500 localities, strikes occurring only in 19 instances; *x*, benefiting 400; *y*, in 168 mills; *z*, 24 local and 6 branch; *aa*, for 2,000; *bb*, 1 hr. per week for 2,500, 6 hrs. per week for 400; *cc*, wages increased for 1,799; *dd*, from ½ to 18 cents an hour, benefiting 29,987; *ee*, 1 hr. per day for 304; *ff*, for entire membership; *gg*, benefiting 1 High School Teachers' Union and the Teachers of 2 other cities; *hh*, benefiting 3,000.

BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

ORGANIZATIONS	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members' Wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
A. F. of L. Locals	$2,988 65	$573 50	$7,421 76	$2,424 87	$124 10	$942 43
Bakers	7,798 00	1,950 00	60,433 00			
Barbers	48,956 00		65,578 00			
Boilermakers	16,775 00		5,000 00			
Bookbinders	6,525 00					
Boot and Shoe Workers	17,475 00		c 92,538 71			
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers	270,195 30					d
Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers	200 00					
Broom & Whisk Workers	800 00					
Brushmakers				75 00		
Carmen, Railway	22,450 00					
Carpenters	479,639 53	57,375 00				
Carvers, Wood	3,100 00				87 15	
†Cigarmakers	331,000 00					
Clerks, Retail	9,700 00		12,325 00			
Compressed Air Workers	2,800 00					
Coopers	12,900 00		300 00			200 00
Cutting Die Makers	800 00					
Diamond Workers	2,250 00	150 00	1,522 00			7,079 00
Engravers, Photo	4,400 00					
Firemen, Stationary	14,000 00					
Fur Workers	900 00					
Glass Bottle Blowers	61,035 32					
Glove Workers	100 00					
Granite Cutters	40,671 00					
Hat and Cap Makers, Cloth			6,253 00			
Hatters	27,180 00					
Hodcarriers	18,000 00					
Hotel and Restaurant Empl.	80,346 49		97,548 37			
Iron and Steel Workers	11,300 00	2,100 00	22,510 00			
Lace Operatives, Amal	8,601 30	400 00				
Lathers	6,150 00					
Laundry Workers	500 00					
Leather Workers	800 00		1,500 00			
Lithographers	13,000 00					
Machine Printers and Color Mixers	1,200 00					
Machinists	77,877 59					
Meat Cutters	5,500 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet	25,350 00					
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs.	17,313 00		34,514 33			
Molders	85,305 93		g182,292 70			7,320 00
Painters	142,675 00	14,275 00	31,375 00			
Papermakers	3,768 00					700 00
Paving Cutters	3,125 00			1,183 00		
Piano and Organ Workers	2,400 00	400 00	1,500 00			475 00
Plumbers and Steamfitters	23,300 00		75,055 00			
Polishers, Metal	12,000 00		5,000 00			1,100 00
Postal Employes			3,100 00			
Potters	16,836 57					
Print Cutters	1,050 00					1,800 00
Printing Pressmen	19,775 00					
Quarry Workers	1,900 00					
Railway Employes, Street	e 447,025 20		f 100,340 32			
Roofers, Slate and Tile	800 00					
Sawsmiths	200 00	200 00	75 00			
Seamen	11,369 85		a 8,030 52			
Stage Employes						5,000 00
Stereotypers and Electrotypers	6,700 00					
Stonecutters	13,950 00					
Stove Mounters	1,700 00					
Switchmen	161,250 00					
Tailors	11,551 45		19,185 00			
Telegraphers, Railroad	112,700 30					
Textile Workers	5,050 00					
Timber Workers						400 00
Tobacco Workers	1,250 00		5,142 00			
*Typographical Union	298,476 88					b
Weavers, Elastic Goring						300 00
Weavers, Shingle						5,000 00
Total	$3,034,586 36	$77,423 50	$838,606 91	$3,921 46	$215 25	$30,316 43

* For year ending May 31, 1917; †from Jan. 1 to Dec. 31.

a, shipwreck benefits, $10,775.25; *b*, old-age pensions, $351,505; *c*, disability benefits, $4,300; *d*, pensions, $372,298.55; *e*, $120,929.20 paid by local divisions; *f*, paid by local divisions; *g*, disability benefits, $12,200.

In every trade, local unions have existed prior to the formation of the international union, and almost without exception they provide death, sick, out-of-work, etc., benefits for their members. In these instances benefit features have thus become identified and recognized as belonging to the jurisdiction of the local union. The amounts hereinbefore reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year are, in the majority of cases those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits. In most instances benefits paid by internationals are supplemental relief paid to members in addition to the benefits provided by their local unions.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

Asbestos Workers.—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 400. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 3; number of persons involved, 600; benefited, 600. Members secured gains in wages of $1 per day in some places, others 50 cents per day. Prior to organization wages were $2.50 a day; wages now average $5 per day.

Bakers and Confectioners.—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 16. Gain in membership, 2,475. Strikes won, 10; compromised, 4; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 3,000; benefited, 2,800; number of persons involved in strikes pending, 200. Ten per cent increase in wages as result of strikes, and in numerous cases an additional voluntary increase of 10 per cent was granted; reductions in hours of labor averaging one hour per day. Absolute union shop and numerous other improvements were obtained in addition to the wages and hours adjustments. Agreements were secured without strikes in 152 localities. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $1,844. As a result of organization the 6-day week has been established; daily working hours reduced from 12 and 14 to 8 and 9, and the scale of wages increased from $8 and $12 to $18 and $22 perweek, with the abolition of the boarding system. Death benefits, $7,798; death benefits members' wives, $1,950. Sick benefits, $60,433.

Barbers, Journeymen.—Charters issued, 63; surrendered, 36. Gain in membership, 160. Strikes in trade affected 1,609 members, all of whom secured improvements. Cost of strikes, $1,316. Death benefits, $48,956; sick benefits, $65,578.

Bill Posters.—Charters issued, 1; gain in membership, 25. Strikes won, 5; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 300. Wages increased $2 to $3 per week; hours of labor reduced one per day. 15 agreements secured without strike. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $1,600. Donations to other unions, $300.

Blacksmiths.—Charters issued, 39; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 3,000. Strikes won, 3; pending, 7. Number involved, 800; benefited, 300; number involved in strikes pending 500. An average gain in wages of 8 cents per hour. About 60 per cent of the membership secured reductions in hours of labor. 54 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, $5,800.

Boilermakers.—Charters issued, 54; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 27,732. Strikes won, 29; lost, 5; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 2,255; benefited, 2,014. Number involved in strikes pending, 56, balance working elsewhere. 21 strikes resulted in increasing wages for 1,799 men. Conditions of labor were improved in all cases where strikes were won. No instances of reductions in wages. Cost of strikes, $96,093. Death benefits, $16,775. Sick and disability benefits, $5,000.

Bookbinders.—Charters issued, 25; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 2,650. Strikes won, 3; 2 lockouts—compromised, 1; lost, 1. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, $5,333.77. As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 10 and 11 to 8 per day, and wages increased 60 to 100 per cent. Death benefits, $6,525.

Boot and Shoe Workers.—Charters issued, 21; surrendered, 23. Gain in membership, 640. Strikes won, 4. Number of persons involved, 350; benefited, 500. A number of agreements were secured without strike, one providing a reduction of 4 hours per week and a 10 per cent increase in wages for about 25,000 members. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, $3,913.99. Death benefits, $17,475; sick benefits, $92,538.71; disability benefits, $4,300. Donations to other unions, $10,000.

Brewery Workmen.—Charters issued, 12 local unions and 6 branch unions; charters surrendered, 24 local unions and 6 branch unions. Strikes won, 35; compromised, 4; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 1,851; benefited, 1,835; number involved in strikes pend-

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ing, 16. 15 per cent gain in wages. Reduction in hours of labor of approximately four hours per week. Agreements were secured without strike in 156 localities for 213 local and branch unions, providing working conditions for 22,667 members with an average wage increase of 15 per cent. In some localities, the contracts also provided for reduction in hours of labor. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $5,187. As a result of organization there has been a 20 per cent increase in wages with a reduction of hours of six per week. Donations to other unions, $31,355.

Bricklayers.—Charters issued, 28; surrendered, 29, and 2 consolidated. Gain in membership, 1,364. There were no strikes during the year. Practically all subordinate unions are working under agreements with employers. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization the hours of labor have been reduced from 10 to 8 and 9, and wages increased approximately 20 per cent. Death benefits, $270,195.30. Pensions, $372,298.55.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers.—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 10. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 3; lost, 4; pending, 2; number of persons involved, 3,200. 10 agreements were secured without strike. There was one attempt made to reduce wages which was successfully resisted. Death benefits, $200.

Broom and Whisk Makers.—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 1. Number of persons involved, 45; benefited, 45. 75 cents gain in wages per day. 22 agreements were secured without strike, providing for increases in wages from 12 to 45 per cent for 600 members and in addition about 100 of these members secured shorter hours. 25 members struck against reduction in wages and secured 10 per cent increase. Death benefits, $800.

Brushmakers.—16 agreements secured without strike during the past year. As a result of organization wages have been advanced 25 per cent. Traveling benefits, $75. Donations to other unions, $50.

Carpenters Brotherhood.—Charters issued, 344; surrendered, 190. Gain in membership, 41,838. Strikes won, 18; lost, 1. An average wage increase of 5 cents per hour in 500 localities, strikes occurring only in 19 instances. Hours of labor reduced from 9 to 8 per day in 14 cases. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, $55,775. Death benefits, $479,639.53; death benefits members' wives, $57,375.

Carriage and Wagon Workers.—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 430.

Carvers, Wood.—Gain in membership, 128. Strikes won, 17; lost, 1; number of persons involved 70; benefited, 60. 10 members returned to work without securing improvements. 10 agreements secured without strike providing increase in wages ranging from 2 to 5 cents per hour. Cost of strikes, $1,339.46. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, $3,100. Tool insurance, $87.15. In 1880 the hours of labor of wood carvers were 60 per week with the wages ranging from $12 to $24. At present, as a result of organization, the hours are 44 per week in custom shops and 54 in market shops, with wages ranging from $16 to $38 per week.

Cigarmakers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 5,000. Strikes won, 14; compromised, 2; lost, 8; pending, 21. Number of persons involved, 5,494; benefited, 5,416; number involved in strikes pending, 1,274. A general increase in prices from 50 cents to $2 per 1,000 cigars; other improvements secured are better lighting, air and rules as to cleanliness in workshops. 121 agreements secured without strike, benefiting 11,666 members; these, with the members benefited as a result of strikes makes the total 17,076. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted in 10 cases, resulting in success in 6 cases and a compromise in 1 case. As a result of organization the working day has been standardized to 8 hours, where formerly there was no regularity as to the number of hours, with an average increase of 60 per cent in wages, better opportunities for education and lengthening lives of the workers in this industry. Death benefits, $331,000.

Clerks, Retail.—Charters issued, 78; surrendered, 59. Strikes won, 6; pending, 3. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization a large proportion of locals have secured wage increases for members averaging about 20 per cent. Death benefits, $9,700; sick benefits, $12,325. Donations to other unions, $150.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.—Charters issued, 12. Gain in membership, 2,278. Strikes won, 28; lost, 5; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 986; benefited, 750. Number involved in strikes pending, 100. Balance returned to work without securing improvements. 400 members gained an average wage increase of $1 per day. Hours of labor were reduced one-half hour per day for 400 members. Agreements were secured without strike,

providing for recognition of the union, increased wages and reduction of hours, affecting 500 members. No reduction in wages. Cost of strikes, $39,193.47. Members in this industry worked 60 hours per week with wages at $2 per day when the organization started; the hours of labor are now 49 per week and wages average $4 per day. Sick benefits, $6,253. Donations to other unions, $4,000.

Compressed Air Workers.—Strikes won, 2; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,600; benefited, 1,600. Strikes were inaugurated against reductions in wages, which were prevented. 6 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, $3,690. In 1900, wages were $2 per 8-hour shift; at present wages are $4.50 per 7½-hour shift, with laws that safeguard the lives of the men. Death benefits, $2,800. Donations to other unions, $900.

Coopers.—Charters issued, 16; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 269. Strikes won, 10; compromised, 4; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 666; benefited, 654; number of persons involved in strikes pending, 12. 30 per cent increase in wages. 30 agreements secured without strike. There were some attempts to reduce wages; these attempts were resisted and the result in each instance was an increase in wages. Cost of strikes, $5,622.50. Death benefits, $12,900; sick benefits, $300; unemployed, $200. Donations to other unions, $500.

Cutting Die and Cutter Makers.—Number of strikes won, 2; compromised, 2. Number involved, 71; benefited, 71. Hours of labor were reduced 4 hours per week for 11 members. Contracts were secured providing for improvements in working rules and sanitary conditions of workshops benefiting 60 members. Cost of strikes, $804.25. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, $800.

Diamond Workers.—One agreement secured without strike, carrying a 5 per cent increase in wages for all members. In 1902, 90 per cent of the membership worked on piece work 56 to 60 hours per week with wages averaging $26 per week. As a result of organization piece work has been abolished, the 48-hour week established and wages at present averaging $58 per week. Death benefits, $2,250. Death benefits, members' wives, $150. Sick benefits, $1,522. Unemployed benefits, $7,079. Donations to other unions, $385.

Electrical Workers.—Charters issued, 112; surrendered, 37. Gain in membership, 11,000. Strikes won, 27; compromised, 17; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 4,200; benefited, 3,950. Number involved in strikes pending, 175. Gain in wages averaging 55 cents per day. 279 agreements were secured without strike. No reduction in wages in the past year.

Elevator Constructors.—Charters issued, 2; gain in membership, 31. 10 agreements secured without strike. No reduction in wages in the past year. Prior to organization wages were $2.25 for a 10-hour day; at present wages average $5.50 per day with a 44-hour week. Donations to other unions, $1,000.

Engineers, Steam.—Charters issued, 37; surrendered, 20. Strikes won, 5; compromised, 2; lost, 3; pending, 9. Number of persons involved, 209; benefited, 88; Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 101. 20 members returned to work without securing improvements. Agreements were secured carrying increases in wages of 12½ cents per hour, 37½ cents per hour, $1.72 per hour, $4.50 per week, $7 per week, $9 per week, $50 per month, and the 8-hour day in each instance, benefiting about 3,800 members. Cost of strikes, $8,343.

Engravers, Photo.—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 150. Strikes pending, 3; number involved, 75. 26 agreements were secured without strike providing increases in wages and reduced hours of labor in all cases. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $45,277.95. As a result of organization wages have been increased 50 per cent. Death benefits, $4,400.

Firemen, Stationary.—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,000. Strikes won, 14; compromised, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 628; benefited, 603; number involved in strikes pending, 25. All strikes were inaugurated to enforce 8 hours and were successful in all but one instance. 207 agreements secured without strike. 8 hours instead of 12 were secured for 2,016. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, $4,026. As a result of organization the entire membership receives more than double in wages for 8 hours and a 6-day week than they did for 12 hours and a 7-day week when first organized. Death benefits (local unions), $14,000.

Foundry Employes.—Charters issued, 11; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 1,100. 4 agreements secured without strike. Increases in wages were secured for the entire membership

ranging from 25 cents to 75 cents per day. The 8-hour day was established in one city. No reduction in wages in the past year. In 1904 the average wage paid was $1.35 for 10 and 11 hours per day with no overtime pay. At present the 9-hour day prevails and in a few instances the 8-hour day with wages at $2.85 a day.

Fur Workers.—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; lost, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 3,500; benefited, 3,000; number involved in strikes pending, 800. As a result of strikes, 2,000 secured an increase in wages of 50 cents per day, and 1,000 an increase of 75 cents per day; hours of labor were reduced 1 hour per week, making a 48-hour week for 2,500. Hours of labor were reduced 6 per week for 400. A minimum wage scale was established for 2,500. 8 agreements were secured without strike, with provisions as follows: a minimum scale with 1 hour less per week for 4,000 and union shop; 5 hours less per week, 25 per cent increase in wages and union shop for 2,000. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $3,500. Wages are about 70 per cent higher than when organization started. Death benefits, $900.

Garment Workers, United.—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 16. Gain in membership, 2,285. Strikes won, 10; lost, 6; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 12,788; benefited, 12,376. Number involved in strikes pending, 251. 125 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $15,207.66. The wage scale when the organization started was $15 to $20 per week with the 10-hour day; the present scale is from $18 to $30 a week for the 8-hour day.

Garment Workers, Ladies.—Charters issued, 6.

Glass Bottle Blowers.—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 471. Strikes won, 3; number involved, 167; benefited, 167. 25 to 40 per cent gain in wages. Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8½ per day. Cost of strikes, $1,200. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, $61,035.32.

Glass Workers, Flint.—Number of charters issued, 10. Gain in membership, 356. 1 strike pending; 56 members involved. Gains in wages averaging from 5 to 56 per cent. No reduction in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, $6,000.

Glove Workers.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 3. Strikes lost, 1; number of persons involved, 140; benefited, 100. The 50-hour week, with the Saturday half-holiday all the year round was secured for 350 members. 15 agreements were secured without strike, providing benefits as follows: 25 per cent increase in wages for 350 members; 17 per cent increase for 100 members; 10 per cent increase for 250 members. No reductions in wages in the past year. Death benefits, $100.

Granite Cutters.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 4; number of persons involved, 450; benefited, 450. Cost of strikes, $1,724. No reduction in wages in the past year. Prior to organization wages ranged from $1.80 to $2.50 for a 10-hour day. The present wages now range from $4 to $6 per day for an 8-hour day. Death benefits, $40,671.

Hatters.—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 15; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 3,000; benefited, 2,000. Number of persons involved in strikes pending, 1,000. Increases in wages of 15 and 20 per cent. Attempts to reduce wages were resisted with success in most cases. 200 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, $82,672. Death benefits, $27,180. Donations to other unions, $4,300.

Hodcarriers.—Charters issued, 96; surrendered, 44. Gain in membership, 4,859. Strikes won, 26; compromised, 4; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 7,034; benefited, 10,000, 70 returned to work under same conditions. Gains in wages ranging from 1½ to 18 cents per hour for 29,987. These gains for the year total $3,196,651. 6 local unions with total membership of 304 reduced hours of labor 1 per day. Death benefits, $18,000.

Horseshoers.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 4; compromised, 3. Number of persons involved, 500; all benefited. Wages increased 75 cents per day. Hours of labor in some localities were reduced from 10 to 9 per day. In a number of localities the Saturday half holiday was granted with full pay. Conditions of shops greatly improved through shop inspection laws. 50 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As a result of organization, wages have increased about 60 per cent.

Hotel and Restaurant.—Charters issued, 79; surrendered, 76. Gain in membership, 3,683. Strikes won, 63; compromised, 16; lost, 13; pending, 14. Number of persons involved, 6,149; benefited, 3,827. 1,930 members involved in strikes lost; number involved in strikes pend-

ing, 592. Gains in wages average 40 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced 2 per day and a 6-day week established. 6,500 agreements renewed without controversy. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, $69,932.81. Prior to organization bartenders, cooks and waiters were poorly paid and worked long hours, 7 days a week. Through organization activity the 6-day week is fairly general now and wages improved by 50 per cent. Death benefits, $80,346.49. Sick benefits, $97,548.37. Donations to other unions, $28,466.85.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.—Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 4,663. 3 strikes pending in new lodges; demands for recognition and increase in wages; number involved, 1,800. All old agreements were renewed without trouble, with some changes in the working conditions favorable to the members. Cost of strikes, $1,500. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization there has been a steady advance in wages with shorter working hours and better working conditions prevailing generally. Death benefits, $11,300; death benefits, members' wives, $2,100; sick benefits, $22,510. Donations to other unions, $500.

Jewelry Workers.—Charters issued, 31. Gain in membership, 12,067. Strikes won, 43; lost, 1; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 3,800; benefited, 3,000. Number involved in strikes pending, 1,500. 25 per cent gain in wages. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, $7,000. Donations to other unions, $3,000.

Lace Operatives' Union.—Charters surrendered, 2. 1 strike lost. Number of persons involved, 500; 150 temporarily benefited the balance returning to work with a slight increase in wages, but in some cases open-shop conditions. Cost of strikes, $65,000. Death benefits, $8,601.30; death benefits members' wives, $400.

Lathers.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 282. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Death benefits, $6,100.

Laundry Workers.—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 16. Gain in membership, 1,200. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 3; number of persons involved, 1,650; benefited, 1,650. In the strikes won a 10 per cent increase in wages was secured benefiting 1,300 members. 62 agreements were secured without strike. All agreements provided for at least a 5 per cent increase and the majority of them for a 10 per cent increase in wages. Cost of strikes, $300. No reduction in wages in the past year. Prior to organization the hours were 15 hours a day. As a result of organization the working day has been reduced to 8 and 9 hours and wages increased 100 per cent. Death benefits, $500. Donations to other unions, $2,700.50.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 2. Strikes pending, 2. Number involved, 200. 10 agreements were secured without strike providing for reduced hours and increased wages, benefiting 1,500. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $1,200. Prior to organization wages were $15 a week. As a result of organization a scale of 50 cents per hour with an 8-hour day has been established for government work; for regular work the scale averages 40 cents an hour. Death benefits, $800; sick benefits, $1,500. Donations to other unions, $500.

Lithographers.—Gain in membership, 280. 5 agreements were secured without strike. No reduction in wages in the past year. Wages have been increased from 75 to 100 per cent as a result of organization. Death benefits, $13,000. Donations to other unions, $250.

Longshoremen.—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,000. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 2; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,200; benefited, 4,000. Number involved in strikes pending, 300. 1,500 secured a 10 per cent increase in wages, and 2,500 gained 15 per cent. Hours of labor reduced 1 and 2 per day. Cost of strikes $23,500. No reductions in wages in the past year. Donations to other unions, $1,500.

Machinists.—Charters issued, 109; surrendered, 12 (consolidated). Gain in membership, 14,183. Strikes won, 105; lost, 5; pending, 87. Number involved, 8,584; number benefited, 56,900. Number involved in strikes pending, 965. Gains in wages of 25 cents to $1 per day. Reductions in hours of labor, 1 and 2 hours per day. Working rules and sanitary conditions of workshops greatly improved in all agreements secured. 177 agreements secured without strike. No reduction in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, $225,587.22. As a result of organization wages have been increased from $2 per day for 10 hours, to $4.25 per day for 8 hours. Death benefits, $77,877.59.

Maintenance of Way Employes.—Charters issued, 41; surrendered, 5. Strikes won, 1; lost, 1; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, approximately 8,000; benefited, 500 on one road; 7,500 returned to work not benefited except by a temporary increase in wages; 500

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members secured signed agreement carrying an increase in wages. 14 agreements were secured without strike, providing improvements benefiting approximately 53,000 maintenance of way men. No instances of reductions in wages. Cost of strikes, $20,000.

Marble Workers.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 250. Number of persons involved, 40. One branch secured an agreement without strike, increasing wages of members 50 cents per day. No reductions in wages in the past year.

Masters, Mates and Pilots.—Charters issued, 3. No strikes during the year. No reduction in wages.

Meat Cutters.—Charters issued, 85; surrendered, 37. Gain in membership, 2,223. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 1; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 15,000; benefited. 40,000. Number involved in strikes pending, 65. 50 cents per day gain in wages. Hours of labor reduced 1 hour per day in some instances and one-half hour in others Where strikes were won companies agreed to meet committees to adjust all future grievances. 75 agreements were secured without strike, providing increased pay and shorter hours. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $10,000. When first organized wages ranged from $1.50 to $4 per day; at present wages range from $2.75 to $6 per day. Death benefits, $5,500.

Metal Polishers.—Charters issued, 12; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 2,500. Strikes won, 25; compromised, 1; lost, 2; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 2,000; benefited, 1,800. Number involved in strikes pending, 150. Average gain in wages 50 cents per day. Hours of labor reduced on an average of ⅞ of an hour per day. Better sanitary conditions and better blower laws now prevailing. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. 150 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, $18,000. As a result of organization 168 factories have granted the 8-hour day. Wages increased and hours of labor reduced generally. Death benefits, $12,000; sick benefits, $5,000; unemployed benefits, $1,100. Donations to other unions, $2,500.

Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.—Charters issued, 31; surrendered, 26. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 5; pending, 5. Number of persons involved, 5,350; benefited, 2,500. Number involved in strikes pending, 2,850. As a result of strikes wages were increased 50 cents. to $1 per day. 8 agreements providing for increases in wages secured without strike Wash rooms and dry houses have been established more extensively. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strike, $6,656.67. Prior to organization miners worked 10 hours in mines for an average wage of $3; smeltermen worked 12 hours for an average wage of $2.75; now all work 8 hours for an average of $4.50. Death benefits, $17,313. Sick benefits, $34,514.33. Donations to other trade unions, $8,724.39.

Mine Workers, United.—Charters issued, 671; surrendered, 132. Gain in membership, 30,034. Number involved in strikes, 50,000; 1 strike pending, involving, 20,000. Agreement. made beginning April 1, 1916, covering miners in bituminous and anthracite fieldss There were no attempts to reduce wages. Cost of strikes, $350,990.25.

Molders.—Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 16. Strikes pending, 46. Number involved, 1,033. Cost of strikes, $444,270.95. Death benefits, $85,305.93; disability benefits, $12,200; sick benefits, $182,292.70; unemployed benefits, $7,320.

Musicians.—Charters issued, 46; surrendered, 17. Gain in membership, 5,000.

Painters and Decorators.—Charters issued, 133; surrendered, 67. Gain in membership, 7,080. Cost of strikes, $14,823.51. Death benefits, $142,675; death benefits, members' wives, $14,275; sick benefits, $31,375.

Paper Makers.—Charters issued, 18; surrendered, 8. Gain in membership, 1,000. Strikes won, 1; compromised, 3; lost, 1; pending, 8. Number of persons involved, 2,800; benefited, 2,800. Number involved in strikes pending, 1,600. 2 settlements carrying 50 cents per day increase in wages for members involved. A settlement with 2 mills secured reduction in hours of labor from 11 and 13 to 8 per day. 22 agreements secured without strike. Sanitary conditions greatly improved. Cost of strikes, $38,500. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization hours of labor reduced from 11 and 13 to 8 per day; wages have been increased 120 per cent with observance of Sunday rest. Death benefits, $3,768. Unemployed benefits, $700.

Pavers and Rammermen.—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 200. Strikes won, 4. Number of persons involved, 300; benefited, 300. Gain in wages of 50 cents a day for each member. 12 agreements secured without strike.

Paving Cutters.—Charters issued, 4. Strikes won, 10. Number of persons involved, 400; all benefited. Gains in wages of 10 to 25 per cent. Some improvements secured in working

rules and sanitary conditions of workshops. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $5,107.50. When organization started the wages were $3.50 for 10 hours or more; the hours of labor now are 8 per day and less. Most of the members work piece work and the average earnings are about $4 a day; the wage for day work is $5. Death benefits, $3,125. Traveling benefits, $1,183.

Piano and Organ Workers.—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 1,000. Strikes won, 2; number involved, 500; benefited, 500. Wages increased averaging from 12½ to 17 per cent. Hours of labor reduced 4½ hours per week (Saturday). 15 agreements secured without strike providing increases in wages averaging from 15 to 40 per cent. Saturday half-holiday and union conditions benefiting 2,000. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $8,000. Prior to organization, 27 cents per hour was the maximum rate of wages with no definite scale of hours. The wages are now 45 cents per hour for an 8 and 9 hour day and Saturday half-holiday. Death benefits, $2,400; death benefits members' wives, $400; sick benefits, $1,500; unemployed benefits, $475. Donations to other unions, $250.

Plumbers.—Charters issued, 62; surrendered, 11. Strikes won, 120; compromised, 6; pending, 5; number of persons involved, 3,085; benefited, 3,085. Number involved in strikes pending, 85. Increases in wages averaging from 50 cents to $1 per day. 420 locals secured agreements without strike providing for an increase in wages from 50 cents to $1 per day and other improvements in working conditions. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $28,109. Death benefits, $23,300; sick benefits, $75,055.

Postal Employes.—Charters issued, 34; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 3,500. A more satisfactory workmen's compensation law and a higher salary classification law have been enacted as a result of activity of organization. Sick benefits, $3,100. Donations to other unions, $1,200.

Potters.—Charters issued, 6. Gain in membership, 53. 1 strike pending; 45 persons involved. 5 agreements secured without strike, providing an average increase of 15 per cent for the total membership. Cost of strikes, $17,293.60. Death benefits, $16,836.57. Donations to other unions, $4,392.26.

Print Cutters.—14 agreements secured without strike. In 1895 wages were $12 per week; at present the minimum scale is $22 per week with steady work, and reduced hours of labor. Death benefits, $1,050. Unemployed benefits, $1,800. Donations to other unions, $250.

Machine Printers and Color Mixers.—Members working under the terms of a three-year agreement which does not expire until next year. Death benefits, $1,200.

Printers, Steel and Copper Plate.—New price lists were placed before many employers and all requests granted, benefiting 350 to 400 members. As a result of organization wages have been increased 25 per cent.

Printing Pressmen.—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 9. Gain in membership, 3,987. Strikes won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 44; benefited, 26. Number involved in strikes pending, 18. Gain in wages of 35 cents per day for 25,000 members. 210 agreements were secured without strike providing increases in wages and other improvements in conditions. No reductions in wages. Cost of strikes, $2,644. Death benefits, $19,775. Donations to other unions, $192.69.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers.—Charters issued, 12. Gain in membership, 3,000. Strikes won, 3; compromised, 1; pending, 1; number of persons involved, 1,200; benefited, 1,000. Number involved in strikes pending, 200. 500 secured increases in wages averaging from 50 to 75 cents per day. Hours of labor were reduced from 12 to 8 for 500 members as a result of 2 strikes. 2 agreements were secured without strike increasing wages approximating 25 per cent in each instance, affecting 450 members. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $2,500. At the start of organization members worked 2 shifts of 11 and 13 hours; there are now 3 8-hour shifts with wages almost doubled.

Quarry Workers.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 1. Strikes won, 6; pending, 1; number of persons involved, 320; benefited, 300. Number involved in strike pending, 20. 8 agreements were secured without strike providing increases in wages averaging from 16 to 50 cents per day, benefiting, 1,500. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, $929.72. On account of the advance in the cost of living increases in wages of 2 to 4 cents per hour over that called for in agreements have been granted in several branches. Death benefits, $1,900. Donations to other unions, $1,000.

Railway Employes, Street and Electric.—Charters issued, 39; surrendered, 14. Gain in member-

ship, 7,000. Strikes won, 17; compromised, 7; lost, 11; pending, 7. Number of persons involved, 22,000; benefited, 9,000. Number involved in strikes pending, 1,500; balance left employ of companies. Increases in wages from 1 cent to 8⅛ cents per hour were secured as a result of strikes. 86 agreements were secured without strikes providing for increases in wages and better conditions. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes $297,196.92. As a result of organization wages have been advanced from 1 to 14 cents an hour to the present scale, which varies from 17 to 53½ cents per hour, and hours of labor have been reduced from 12 to 16 to 9 to 12. Death benefits, $447,028.20 ($120,929.20 paid by local divisions); sick benefits (local divisions), $100,340.32. Donations to other unions, $170.

Railway Clerks.—Charters issued, 68; renewed, 25; surrendered, 22. Gain in membership, 5,041. Strikes won, 4; compromised, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, about 5,000; benefited, about 9,000. Number involved in strikes pending, 1,800. An average gain of 75 cents per day benefiting 3,000 Reduction of 2 hours per day for about 3,000. Other improvements, all legal and Saturday half-holiday and seniority rights guaranteed. 6 agreements were secured without strike, carrying improvements in conditions of labor for about 5,000. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $8,000. As a result of organization, hours of labor have been reduced 2 to 4 per day and wages increased about 20 per cent. Donations to other unions, $500.

Railway Carmen.—Charters issued, 109; surrendered, 40. Gain in membership, 13,027. Strikes won, 4; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,200; benefited, 800. The organization has working agreements with 91 railroad companies; succeeded in reorganizing workers on two railroads lost several years ago through unsuccessful strikes. Working agreements were secured with 9 companies not heretofore in agreement with the organization. In all negotiations on wage schedules special attention was paid to the establishment of a minimum scale for all classes of workers represented with the result that hundreds of low rates in the several classifications were eliminated. Renewals of agreements carried substantial gains in wages and reductions in hours of labor. Death benefits, $22,450.

Roofers, Slate and Tile.—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 100. Strikes won, 7; number involved, 250. 80 cents per day gain in wages. 10 agreements were secured without strike, As a result of organization hours of labor have been reduced from 10 to 8 and wages doubled. Death benefits, $800.

Sawsmiths' Union.—Wages increased in the past year 2½ cents per hour. Since organization was formed wages have been increased from 30 cents to 60 cents per hour. Death benefits, $200; sick benefits, $75. Donations to other unions, $25.

Seamen.—Charters issued, 3 sub-charters; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 5,000. Strikes won, 1; lost, 1; number of persons involved, 2,000; benefited, 1,500. 1 written agreement and several verbal understandings were secured without strike. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $10,121.60. Death benefits and funeral expenses, $11,369.85; sick benefits and hospital supplies, $8,030.52; shipwreck benefits, $10,775.25. Donations to other unions. $7,558.75.

Signalmen, Railroad.—Charters surrendered, 3. Strikes pending, 1; number involved, 45. 1 agreement secured without strike. No reduction in wages in the past year. Wages and conditions of labor are improved as a result of organization.

Sheet Metal Workers.—Charters issued, 55; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 11; compromised, 1; lost, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,300. Number involved in strikes pending, 60; 90 returned to work without securing improvements. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, $8,110. When organization was started the 10-hour day prevailed with an average wage of 25 cents per hour; 95 per cent of the members now work 8 hours with an average wage of 60 cents per hour. Death benefits, $25,350.

Shingle Weavers.—Charters issued, 4. Gain in membership, 49. Strike throughout the jurisdiction of the organization for the 8-hour day, involving 4,500 members. Settlement has been secured with 168 mills for 2,500 members with 20 per cent wage increase, 2,000 members on 8-hour basis. Cost of strikes, $5,000. Unemployed benefits, $5,000.

Spinners.—Charters issued, 1. Strikes won, 2. Number of persons involved, 150 spinners. Number of persons benefited, all employes where strikes occurred. 30 per cent advance in wages. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $1,500. As result of

organization 1 local union has increased wages 50 per cent with other working conditions improved in the same proportion.

Stage Employes.—Charters issued, 35; surrendered, 20. Gain in membership, 100. Strikes won, 25; compromised, 5; pending, 15; number involved, 1,200; benefited, 1,200. Number involved in strikes pending, 1,000. Wage increases of 10 to 15 per cent and 35 to 40 per cent; 1,200 members benefited. 75 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. In 3 instances the resistance resulted in increasing wages 10 to 15 per cent. Cost of strikes, $15,000; unemployed benefits, $5,000. Donations to other unions, $7,000.

Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.—Charters issued, 6. Gain in membership, 1,665. 30 agreements secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. As a result of organization the wages have been increased as follows: For engineers from $100 per month to $165; for cranemen, from $75 to $115; for firemen, $60 to $90, with higher scales in some districts. The hours of labor have been reduced from 12 and 10 to 10 and 8 per day. Donations to other unions, $90.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers.—Charters issued, 8. Gain in membership, 309. 50 agreements secured without strike. No reduction in wages in the past year. Death benefits, $6,700.

Stonecutters.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 2. Strikes won, 2; compromised, 2. Number of persons involved, 325; benefited, 325. Gains in wages from 50 cents to 80 cents per day. Among other improvements secured: use of air hammer, which physically injures the user, abolished in some localities. 54 agreements secured without strike, carrying increases in wages of from 5 to 15 cents per hour. No reductions in wages in past year. Cost of strikes, $258. At the time organization was started wages were $2.50 to $3 for 10 hours; at present wages are $5 to $6 per day of 8 hours, with 4 hours on Saturday. Death benefits, $13,950.

Stove Mounters.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 8; pending, 3. Number involved, 738; benefited, 685. Number involved in strikes pending, 53; 12 per cent increase in wages. Hours of labor were reduced in 3 instances from 10 to 9, benefiting 500. 37 agreements were renewed without strike with an average advance of 10 per cent in wages. No reduction in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $5,215. At the time organization was started wages for piece workers averaged $2.25 per day and day rate $2; the present average wage for piece workers is $4 to $5.25, with a day rate of $3.50. Death benefits, $1,700. Donations to other unions, $450.

Switchmen.—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 1,126. Strikes lost, 1. 25 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, $4,396.99. As a result of organization wages have been increased 84 per cent per hour. Death benefits, $161,250.

Tailors.—Charters issued, 35; surrendered, 23. Gain in membership, 1,038. Strikes won, 6; compromised, 2; pending, 4; number involved, 169; benefited, 134. Number involved in strikes pending, 35. Increase of 10 per cent in wages secured for 134 members. 29 agreements secured without strike, increasing wages from 5 to 10 per cent for 545 members. Cost of strikes, $8,545. No reduction in wages in the past year. As a result of organization wages have advanced 25 to 50 per cent. Death benefits, $11,551.45; sick benefits, $19,185.

Teachers.—Charters issued, 3; surrendered, 1. 10 per cent advance in salary secured by 1 High School Teachers' Union and the teachers of 2 other cities. No reductions in wages in the past year.

Teamsters.—Charter issued, 164; surrendered, 35. Gain in membership, 12,338. Strikes won, 17; number involved, 856; benefited, 856. Gain in wages 50 cents per member per day. 315 agreements were secured without strike. Attempts to reduce wages were successfully resisted. Cost of strikes, $20,255.

Telegraphers, Railroad.—Gain in membership, 2,000; Strikes pending, 1; number involved, 800. 29 new agreements were secured and 85 old agreements were revised without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $33,000. As a result of organization wages have advanced on an average of $38 per month. Death benefits, $112,700.30. Donations to other unions, $7,000.

Telegraphers, Commercial.—No report.

Textile Workers.—Charters issued, 67; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 11,572. Strikes won, 16; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 7,000; benefited, 11,000; number involved in strikes pending, 80. Gains in wages from 10 to 35 per cent. Improvements in sanitary conditions in 27 factories. There were 10 agreements secured without strike, providing

improvements as follows: 4 agreements carrying 15 per cent increase in wages, affecting 6,000; 4 agreements providing a 25 per cent increase, affecting 10,000; 2 agreements providing 35 per cent increase, affecting 2,000 people. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $42,000. As a result of organization wages have been increased from 10 to 25 per cent for members organized. Death benefits, $5,050. Donations to other unions, $4,000.

Tile Layers.—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 3. Strikes won, 7; compromised, 1; lost, 1; number involved, 407; benefited, 327. 80 returned to work without securing improvements. Wages increased 35 cents a day for tilelayers and 25 cents a day for helpers. 13 agreements secured without strike. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of strikes, $5,000. Donations to other unions, $500.

Timber Workers.—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 1,000. 1 strike pending, involving 15,000. 25 to 40 per cent increases in wages where members have secured a settlement. Hours of labor have been reduced from 12 to 8 in camps and mills where the international union has contracts. No reductions in wages in the past year. Cost of relief for members on strike, $605.45.

Tip Printers.—Strikes lost, 1; pending, 1; number involved, 56. Number involved in strikes pending, 26. Wages increased in union shops, $2.50 to $3 per week. Hours of labor reduced from 52 to 48 per week. Strike now pending is against a reduction in wages. Cost of strikes, $1,200. As a result of organization wages have been increased from $12 and $15 per week to $21 and $25 per week.

Tobacco Workers.—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 6. 1 lockout lost. Number of persons involved, 70. In several instances hours of labor have been reduced to 8 and 9 per day, and wages increased 8 to 15 per cent. All agreements secured have been negotiated and signed without strike. Attempts to reduce wages are being resisted; matter now pending. Cost of strikes, $500. As a result of organization wages have been increased from 10 to 50 per cent; hours of labor reduced from 11½ to 10, 9½, 9, and 8 per day, and in several instances unions have established the 44-hour week. Death benefits, $1,250; Sick benefits, $5,142. Donations to other unions, $400.

Transferrers.—Gain in membership, 5. No reductions in wages during the year.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors.—Gain in membership, 790. Wages increased for all members during the past year averaging from 40 to 60 cents a day. The organization was also successful in preventing an increase in the hours of labor.

Typographical (For the year ending May 31, 1917).—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 1,119. Strikes won, 2; pending, 1; number involved, 135; benefited, 93. Number involved in strikes pending, 42. 294 agreements secured without strike. For the year ending May 31, 1917, the wages of the members of the International Typographical Union were increased $3,940,626. With 3 exceptions the increases were obtained without controversy and through arbitration. The wages of the members of the International Typographical Union increased between June 1, 1908, and May 31, 1917, $26,358,693. Average earnings per member per year ending May 31, 1917, were $1,086.43. Cost of strikes, $4,684.50. Death benefits, $298,476.88; old-age pensions, $351,505. Expenditures for the maintenance of the Union Printers' Home, $156,726.69; this sum includes $32,239.61, expended in erecting an addition to the home.

Upholsterers.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 500. Strikes won, 19; pending, 4. Number of persons involved, 958. Number involved in strikes pending, 165. An average wage increase of 50 cents per day. No reductions in wages in past year. 38 agreements secured without strike. Cost of strikes, $12,845.87. As a result of organization wages have been doubled, and hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8 per day.

Weavers, Elastic Goring.—Unemployed benefits, $300.

Weavers, American Wire.—Gain in membership, 27. Secured new agreement to run until August, 1918, carrying an increase in pay for the entire trade. As a result of organization a scale of prices has been established with a 9-hour day.

LOCAL UNIONS

Improvements in working conditions secured by directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor are reported as follows:

Agricultural Workers' Local No. 14831, Cabo-Rojo, Porto Rico: When organization was formed wages ranged from 50 cents to 75 cents per day; at present wages range from 60 cents to $1 per day.

Ammonia Workers' Union, No. 15526, St. Louis, Mo.: 10 per cent increase in wages; hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9, and working rules and conditions in plants greatly improved.

Artificial Limb Workers, No. 15504, New York, N. Y.: 25 per cent gain in wages. Hours of labor reduced 5 per week.

Artificial Stone Makers' Union, No. 15325, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased from 30 cents to 45 and 50 cents per hour for laborers and from 37 to 50 cents per hour for molders. Hours of labor reduced from 54 to 44 hours per week. Time and one-half overtime for weekdays and double time for holidays.

Baking Powder Workers' Union, No. 15258, Richmond, Va.: After a reduction in wages union was organized and succeeded in restoring the previous prices.

Basket Makers' Union, No. 15222, Philadelphia, Pa.: 1 strike during year; all demands granted.

Blast Furnace Workers' Union, No. 15359, Punxsutawney, Pa.: Three increases in wages, the first 20 cents per day, the second 25 cents per day, and the third 20 per cent per day, secured through agreements arranged without strike. 2 agreements secured without strike. Common labor was formerly paid $1.65 per day, now $3 for same hours.

Boot Blacks' Union, No. 15666, Portland, Oregon: By agreements entered into through efforts of union, wages have been increased fully 25 per cent.

Bottle Cap, Cork and Stopper Workers' Union, No. 13319, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Increased wages $1 per day, raising weekly scale from $12 to $18 for the same number of hours.

Bottle Sorters and Handlers' Union, No. 11759, Kansas City, Mo.: When union was organized wages were $9 per week; minimum wage now $16.25 per week.

Bridge Tenders' Union, No. 12333, Boston, Mass.: Wages increased since 1907 from $800 to $1,100 per year.

Button Makers' Union, No. 14978, Newark, N. J.: Secured satisfactory settlement on wage demands through strike during past year.

Cement Makers' Union, No. 14061, Trident, Mont.: In the past year 2 increases have been secured of 5 per cent each. When organization was formed, the minimum wage was 22½ cents per hour; the present minimum is 40 cents per hour.

Cement Mill Workers' Union, No. 15595, Hartshorne, Okla.: Secured settlement through strike on wage demands, with 10 per cent increase.

Cement Mill Workers' Union, No. 15597, Bonner Springs, Kans.: Agreement secured recognizing union and increase in wages of 2½ cents per hour granted to all.

Cereal Mill Employes' Union, No. 15403, Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Wage-scale increased from $1.75 and $2 to $2.85 and $3.40 per day.

Chemical Workers' Union, No. 15479, Cincinnati, Ohio: When organization was started the members worked 12 hours a day for $13 a week; wages now are $17 with the 8-hour day. The first agreement secured reduced hours from 12 to 10 with a $1 a week increase in wages, the second agreement increased wages $1 a week, and the third agreement reduced hours to 8 per day with $1 per week increase.

Coal Trimmers' Union, No. 15277, Norfolk, Va.: Wages have been increased $3.60 per week since the organization was formed.

Commercial Portrait Artists' Union, No. 14286, Chicago, Ill.: Union has prevented reductions in wages.

Cooks and Waiters' Union, No. 10968, Ybor City, Fla.: Wages increased from $9 to $18 per week and the 9-hour day.

Domestic Workers' Union, No. 15624, Bar Harbor, Me.: At the time of organization wages were $1.50 a day for 8 or 9 hours; present wages are $2 a day for 8 hours.

Egg Inspectors' Union, No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.: When organization was formed members worked 60 hours per week at 20 cents per hour. Present wages are $3.60 per day with the 9-hour day and half-day Saturday.

Federal Labor Union, No. 7087, Belleville, Ill.: 1 agreement secured without strike.

Federal Labor Union, No. 8060, New Athens, Ill.: At the time union was organized members

worked for 20 cents per hour 9 and 10 hours a day; members now work 9 hours a day at 25 cents per hour.

Federal Labor Union, No. 8217, Boston, Mass.: When organization was formed wages were $1.75 for 9 hours. Present scale $2.75 for 8 hours.

Federal Labor Union, No. 8227, Ottumwa, Iowa: 25 per cent increase in wages. Established the 9-hour day.

Federal Labor Union, No. 11045, Wilburton, Okla.: When organization was formed wages were $1.50; present scale $2.50 a day for 8 hours. Last increase to $2.50 per day secured through agreement without strike.

Federal Labor Union, No. 11796, Pacific Grove, Cal.: 4 agreements secured without strike during the year, increasing wages 50 cents a day for 41 members and $1 a day for 7 members.

Federal Labor Union, No. 12102, Peekskill, N. Y.: 1 agreement secured without strike in the past year, advancing wages $2 per week for each man and establishing the 8-hour day.

Federal Labor Union, No. 12552, Utica, N. Y.: At the time organization was formed wages were $2.50 for 10 hours; present scale $5 for 8 hours.

Federal Labor Union, No. 12692, Woodland, Me.: In the past year wages increased 8 cents per hour. As result of the organization, hours of labor have been reduced 1 per day and wages increased about 53 per cent.

Federal Labor Union, No. 12696, Sheridan, Wyo.: 1 agreement secured without strike, increasing wages 7½ to 10 cents per hour. At the time the local was organized members were receiving 25 and 30 cents per hour and working 9 hours. The present scale is 50 and 62½ cents per hour for 8 hours.

Federal Labor Union, No. 12776, Washington, D. C.: Between 800 and 900 received wage increase of 25 cents per day.

Federal Labor Union, No. 14291, Orono, Me.: Advance in wages of 2 cents per hour secured in the past year.

Federal Labor Union, No. 14441, Wilkerson, Wash.: When the local was formed the quarry workers received $2.60 for 10 hours, the present wage-scale is $3.25 for 8 hours.

Federal Labor Union No. 14465, Belle Elum, Wash.: As a result of organization wages of clerks have been increased from $60 to $85 and $90 per month; laundry workers $2 and $3 per week and teamsters $10 and $15 per month.

Federal Labor Union, No. 14653, Fitchburg, Mass.: Wages range from $18 to $35 a week with the 8-hour day. 1 agreement secured without strike increased wages 3 cents an hour for 3 members.

Federal Labor Union, No. 14696, Centralia, Ill.: Wages increased from 20 cents to 34½ cents per hour.

Federal Labor Union, No. 14914, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: As a result of organization the former wage scale of 17½ to 25 cents an hour has been increased to 27 to 40 cents an hour with hours of labor reduced from 60 to 54 per week.

Federal Labor Union, No. 14967, Springfield, Mass.: Secured 25-cent increase as result of strike during past year.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15047, Sault Ste Marie, Mich.: When organization was formed wages were $2 and $2.50 per day; wages at present range from $2.75 to $3.25 per day.

Federal Labor Union No. 15142, East St. Louis, Ill.: When organization was formed, June, 1916, wages were $1.75 for a day of 10 hours; the present wage is $2.25 for 9½ hours.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15152, Van Buren, Ark.: Former scale of wages 13½ to 19½ cents per hour; present scale 20 to 20½ cents per hour.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15201, Peshtigo, Wis.: Former scale of wages 17 to 30 cents per hour; present scale 28 to 40 cents per hour.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15214, Trenton, Mo.: 2 strikes in past year resulted in wage increases as follows: 70 cents a day for 60 members, $1.10 a day for 8 members, 80 cents a day for 6 members. When the organization was formed 17 cents per hour was the standard wage; the lowest wage at present is 24 cents per hour.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15233, Fort Collins, Colo.: 10 per cent increase in wages.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15284, Rice Lake, Wis.: $1.65 wage raised to $2 and $2 to $2.25 in past year.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15290, East Liverpool, Ohio: Secured satisfactory settlement on wage demands through strike during past year.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15308, Fort Wayne, Ind.: Wages formerly ranged from $50 to $80 per

month; present scale, $60 to $100 per month. In the past year an agreement was secured without strike, increasing wages 10 to 25 per cent and providing time and one-half for all time over 9 hours.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15321, Ridgeway, Pa.: Wages increased 35 per cent, with 1 hour less per day.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15355, Beaumont, Tex.: 25 cents per day increase in wages.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15435, Cohoes, N. Y.: 1 strike in past year secured 25 cents per day increase in wages. Since organization was formed wages have been advanced $10 per month and the 8-hour day established.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15483, San Jose, Cal.: Secured satisfactory settlement of wage demands through strike.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15543, Van Buren, Me.: 20 per cent increase in wages.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15565, Thomasville, Ga.: 25 cents a day gain in wages.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15569, Adrian, Mich.: Wages advanced 25 per cent.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15571, Girard, Ill.: Increase of 81 cents and 1 hour less per day secured for 6 members.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15594, Anacortes, Wash.: 50 cents per day increase in wages secured for 200 members.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15627, Kanopolis, Kans.: 75 cents per day increase in wages secured for 200.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15632, Joppa, Ill.: Former wages, $2 for 12 hours; present wages, $2.50 for 10 hours.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15656, Fort Smith, Ark.: As a result of organization, increase in wages of 2½ cents per hour has been secured.

Federal Labor Union, No. 15704, Renton, Wash.: Hours of labor reduced in 10-hour shops to 9 per day, and in 9-hour shops to 8 per day, and wages increased 4 and 5 cents per hour.

Firemen, City, No. 14835, Trinidad, Colo.: Increase in wages of $10 per month.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 14985, Great Falls, Mont.: Present scale $115 per month with two platoon system.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15144, Wheeling, W. Va.: 10 per cent increase in wages for 48 members.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15218, Canal Zone: Since organization salaries have been increased on an average of 12 per cent with 1 day off in 7; formerly 1 day off in 15.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15239, Pine Bluff, Ark.: $5 and $10 increase in wages affecting 13 members.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15301, Davenport, Iowa: Increase of $7.50 per month with 24 hours off every sixth day instead of every eighth day.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15363, Vancouver, B. C.: $5 per month increase and 1 day off in 4 instead of 1 day in 7.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15410, Philadelphia, Pa.: When organization was formed members received $1,100 per year; at present the salary is $1,200. On January 1, 1918, members will work 12 hours a day.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15414, E. St. Louis, Ill.: Wages increased $10 per month.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15426, East Liverpool, Ohio: 10 per cent increase to all members; 1 day off in 5 instead of 1 off in 7.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15432, Rock Island, Ill.: $1.50 increase in wages secured and the 3-year class abolished, now requiring only 1 year for full pay.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15515, Spokane, Wash.: When organization was formed salary was $95 per month, now $105 per month.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15601, Tacoma, Wash.: Wages increased $10 per month and hours of labor reduced from 24 a day to 10 and 14 hour shifts.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15613, Utica, N. Y.: Since May 23, 1917, members have one day off duty in every 3 days of 24 hours; previous to that they had only 1 day off in every 6.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15636, Fort Smith, Ark.: Wages increased $15 a month for 13 men and $10 a month for 14 men. Accomplished as result of organization.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15645, Little Rock, Ark.: Salary increases petitioned for secured through insistence of the union.

Firemen's Union, City, No. 15727, Memphis, Tenn.: 12 per cent increase in wages and every eighth day off instead of every tenth day.

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Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Union No. 13206, San Antonio, Texas: Wages increased about 8 per cent.

Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Union, No. 14229, Oshkosh, Wis.: When organization was formed wages were $10.50 and $12 per week; now $14 and $15 per week.

Foundry Workers' Union, No. 15179, Chicago, Ill.: As result of short strike in 1916 a 10 per cent advance in wages was secured and in some cases hours of labor were reduced from 14 to 9, all being placed on a 9-hour basis.

Garbage Department Workers' Union, No. 14866, Seattle, Wash.: Wages of day laborers increased 50 cents per day and monthly men $10 per month.

Gas Workers' Union, No. 15164, Salt Lake City, Utah: When organization was formed in June, 1916, men worked 12 hours per day at 23 cents per hour 7 days in the week; the first gain was the 9-hour day and an advance in wages to 31½ cents per hour; later agreement was secured without strike increasing wages 50 cents per day and reducing the hours of labor from 9 to 8 per day.

Gold Beaters' Union, No. 14937, Boston, Mass.: Prior to organization wages $15 per week and long hours without any regulation; present wages are $24 with 54 hours and less per week.

Grain Elevator Employes' Union, No. 15623, Kansas City, Mo.: Wages increased from 27½ to 37½ cents per hour.

Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Union, No. 14960, Jersey City, N. J.: Adjustment of a strike during year carried $4 per week wage increase and reduced hours ½ hour per day; time and a half for overtime and double time for holidays. Previous to organization wage scale was $12 a week for a 10-hour day; present wages are as follows: checkers, $20.80; elevator men selectors, $19.50; loaders, pilers, hatchmen and coopers, $18.

Harbor Boatmen's Union, No. 15554, Audubon, N. J.: Since organization hours of labor have been reduced from 60 to 56 per week on two ferries, wages increased 50 cents per day on another ferry, and wages of bridgemen raised from $3 to $3.24 per day and other shoremen $5 per month.

Hair Spinners' Union, No. 10399, Chicago, Ill.: 2 agreements secured without strike in past year, increasing wages 50 cents per day. In 1902 wages were $2.50 per day of 10 hours; present scale is $4.75 per day for the same workday.

Hair Spinners' Union, No. 12347, Philadelphia, Pa.: Hours of labor reduced from 10 to 9 per day and wages advanced 20 per cent.

Hair Spinners' Union, No. 12353, Baltimore, Md.: Agreement secured without strike during the past year increasing wages from $16.75 to $18 per week of 50 hours, 9-hour day and 5 hours Saturday.

Horse Nail Workers' Union, No. 7180, Chicago, Ill.: Hours of labor reduced from 57 to 48 per week and wages increased 20 to 35 per cent.

Hospital Employes, State, No. 15209, Massillon, Ohio: Organization succeeded in having bill passed by the state legislature directing a 25 per cent increase in the wages of employes of state institutions receiving less than $720 per year. Full increase was not put into effect by the Board of Administration, but the older employes were allowed approximate increase of 8 per cent.

Hospital (Psychopathic) Attending Nurses' Union, No. 15016, Chicago, Ill.: Wages increased $5 per month.

House Shorers, Movers and Sheath Pilers' Union, No. 7417, New York City: Agreement secured in past year increasing wages from $3.68 to $4.00 per day. In 1899 wages were $1.75 to $2 per day of 9 hours; present scale is $4 per day for 8-hour day and 4 hours on Saturday.

Housing Inspectors' Union, No. 15182, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Wages were formerly $85, $90, $95, and $100 per month; a flat rate of $100 per month has been secured; total benefit to membership $1,610 per year.

Janitors' Union, No. 15245, Champaign, Urbana, Ill.: One year ago wages were from 20 to 23 cents per hour for 10-hour day; the present scale is 25 to 30 cents per hour for 10 hours.

Laborers and Helpers' Union, No. 15278, Norfolk, Va.: Previous to organization the scale was $1.76 for laborers and $2 for helpers; present scale, $2.08 for laborers, $2.50 for helpers.

Laborers' Union, City, No. 14945, Pittsburgh, Pa.: Wages increased 50 cents per day in the past year for 1,200 employes. Since organization was formed the wages have been increased 75 cents per day with a guarantee of steady work.

Lace Accessory and Finishers' Union, No. 15393, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: Wage agreements were secured without strike, benefiting 101 by wage increases varying from 15 to 35 per cent.

Marble Mosaic, Terrazzo Workers' Union, No. 15117, Detroit, Mich.: Prior to organization wages were as follows: mechanics 44 cents, laborers 28 cents; present scale, mechanics 62 cents, laborers 44 cents.

Marble Mosaic and Terrazzo Workers' Union, No. 10263, St. Louis, Mo.: Secured increase of 5 cents per hour through strike. When organization was formed wages were 25 cents an hour; present wage, 42½ cents per hour.

Meter Workers' Union, No. 14502, Boston, Mass.: $4.70 per week increase in wages.

Navy Yard Riggers' Union, No. 14892, Portsmouth, Va.: Wages increased in 2 years from 41 cents per hour to 47 cents per hour.

Navy Yard Storemen's Union, No. 14460, Watertown, Mass.: 3 members made store clerks at $3.52 as result of contention of union.

Neckwear Cutters' Union, No. 15337, Chicago, Ill.: 2 agreements secured in past year carrying wage increases of 5 to 50 per cent. Prior to organization wages were $12 to $18 per week of 47½ hours; union scale is $25 per week of same hours.

Neckwear Makers' Union, No. 11016, New York City: Wages increased 200 per cent and hours of labor reduced 2 and 3 per day; sanitary conditions improved through the elimination of sweatshop and bedroom contractor.

Newspaper Carriers' Union, No. 15289, Cincinnati, Ohio: Agreements with two newspapers secured, one giving a better rate and the other making adjustments regarding cornermen. Gained two holidays.

Paper Bag Workers' Union, No. 11757, Baltimore, Md.: Increased scale from 60 cents to 65 cents per thousand; 8-hour day.

Pearl Button Workers' Union, No. 14615, Union Hill, N. J.: Wages increased from 40 to 50 cents per day.

Picture Frame Workers' Union, No. 15557, Philadelphia, Pa.: Through strike in past year secured 20 per cent wage increase and reduced hours 1¼ per day; much better treatment in general since union was organized.

Pipe Caulkers and Repairers' Union, No. 11465, Buffalo, N. Y.: Since formation of union, wages have increased 33 per cent.

Pipe Caulkers and Tappers' Union, No. 7348, Brooklyn, N. Y.: Before organization the pipe caulkers worked 10 hours for $1.50 to $2 a day; since organization pay is $4.50 for 8 hours.

Potash Workers' Union, No. 15509, Albany, N. Y.: Secured satisfactory settlement through strike, on wage demands.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union, No. 14436, Thurmond, W. Va.: Wages increased for laborers from 14½ cents to 19½ cents per hour; overhaulers and boiler washers, from 25 to 27 cents per hour.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union, No. 15454, Commerce, Tex.: Wages increased from 3 to 8 cents per hour through strike. 2 agreements secured without strike, 1 carrying an increase of from 1 to 2 cents per hour, the other from 1½ to 3 cents per hour. The seniority rule and other regulations in regard to work established.

Railroad Helpers and Laborers' Union, No. 15574, Jacksonville, Fla.: Agreements secured May, 1917; reduced hours of labor from 9 to 8 per day and increased wages 6½ cents per hour.

Rubber Workers' Union, No. 14888, Bridgeport, Conn.: As the result of organization, hours of labor reduced 1 per day with 5 hours on Saturday and wages increased 35 per cent.

School Custodians and Janitors' Union, No. 14596, Washington, D. C.: Wages have been increased since organization was formed.

Ship Laborers' Union, No. 15476, Olympia, Wash.: 1 agreement secured through strike during past year, advancing wages 50 cents per day for all the members of the union.

Shipyard Laborers' Union, No. 15430, Oakland, Cal.: Satisfactory settlement on wage demands, through strike.

Shipyard Laborers' Union, No. 15532, Aberdeen, Wash.: Minimum wage-scale raised from $2.25 to $3.25 per day for 8 hours.

Slate Workers' Union, No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.: Secured 20 to 40 cents per day increase through strike in past year. As result of organization, the previous scale of $2.25 to $3 has been raised to $2.75 to $3.50 a day. Greater harmony throughout section.

Slate Workers' Union, No. 15178, South Poultney, Vt.: Wages increased from 18 to 36 cents an hour—secured without strike.

Spirits and Rosin Laborers' Union No. 15831, Mobile, Alabama. Organization through strikes in the past year secured 50 cents increase in wages for 3,000 and reduced hours of labor 1 per

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day for 300. 3 agreements secured without strike providing material improvement in labor conditions for 4,000.

Street Cleaners' Union, No. 15447, St. Louis, Mo.: After being organized 5 months, increase of 25 cents per day secured.

Sugar Workers' Union, No. 10519, San Francisco, Ca.l: 1 agreement secured in past year carrying 10 per cent increase. As result of organization hours of labor reduced 3 per day and wages increased 20 to 50 per cent.

Suspender Makers' Union, No. 9560, New York City: Wages increased 20 per cent.

Suspender Workers' Union No. 9480, Minneapolis, Minn.: Established the 8-hour day with the same wages.

Theater Ushers' Union, No. 15293, New York City: Prior to organization wages were $5 a week, present scale $11 a week.

Tin, Steel, Iron and Granite Ware Workers' Union, No. 10943, Granite City, Ill.: When organization was formed in 1903, wage scale was $1.50 to $2 a day; present scale is $3 to $4 for men and $1.80 to $3 for women.

Tobacco Strippers' Union, No. 12046, New Haven, Conn.: Wages increased $2 and $3 a week.

Tuck Pointers' Union, No. 14885, Kansas City, Mo.: When organization was formed, wages were 40 cents per hour; present wage, 50 cents per hour.

Watchmen's Union, No. 15689, San Francisco, Cal.: Wages $90 per month for 8-hour day with 1 day off per week.

Warehouse Employes' Union, No. 15480, Buffalo, N. Y.: Former scale, $12 to $18 per week, 10-hour day; present scale, $15 to $20 per week, 9-hour day. Agreements with 4 firms.

Willow Reed and Rattan Workers' Union, No. 14565, Cambridge, Mass.: Organization has secured 25 per cent increase in wages.

Window Cleaners' Union, No. 15368, Philadelphia, Pa.: Strike during year secured 8-hour day and minimum scale of $18 to $20 per week.

Window Glass Snappers' Union, No. 15025, Shinglehouse, Pa.: Increased the wages 90 cents a day.

Window Glass Snappers' Union, No. 14961, Sapulpa, Okla.: Wages increased from 3½ to 4½ cents per roller.

Window Glass Snappers' Union, No. 15433, Sandusky, Ohio: Since organization formed a year ago there has been an average gain of $1.08 per day per member.

Wire Drawers' Union, No. 12493, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: In the past year an increase of 31½ cents per day was secured. At the time organization was formed wages were 30 cents an hour; present scale, 44 cents per hour.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

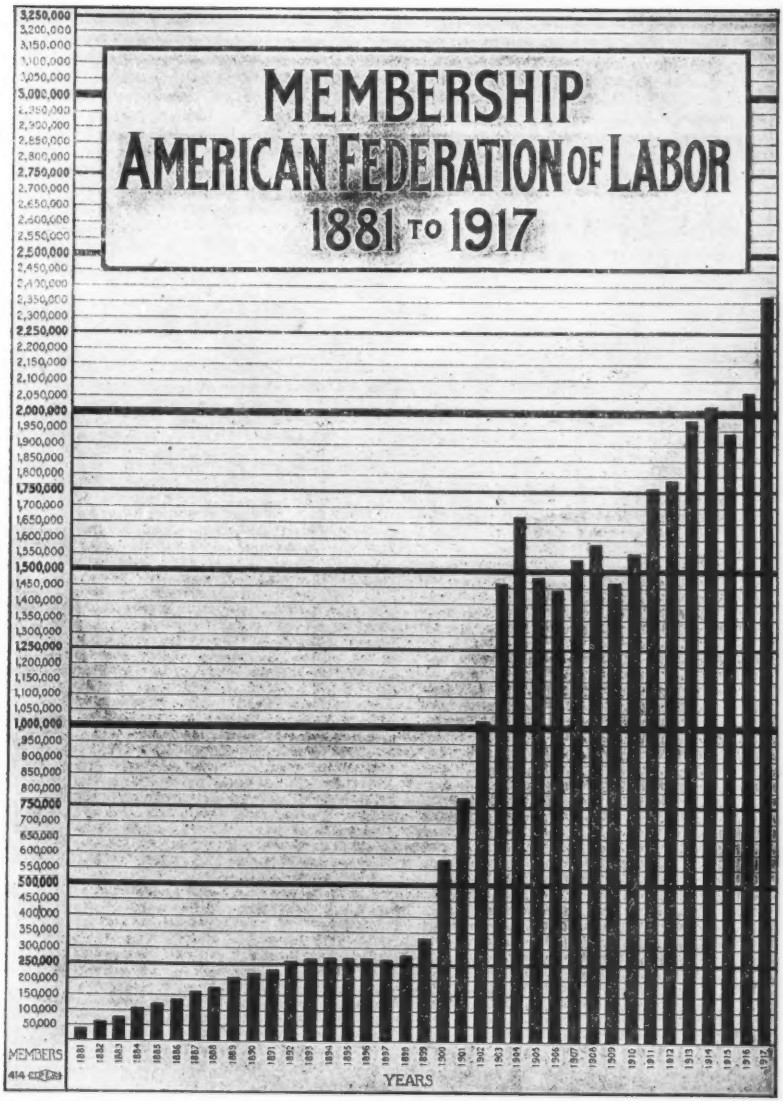
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 2,371,434, an average increase of 298,732 members over last year. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

Seventy of the 111 national and international unions reported that they did not pay the American Federation of Labor on an average of 289,846 members of their combined local unions, because they did not receive dues on that number during the twelve months of last year.

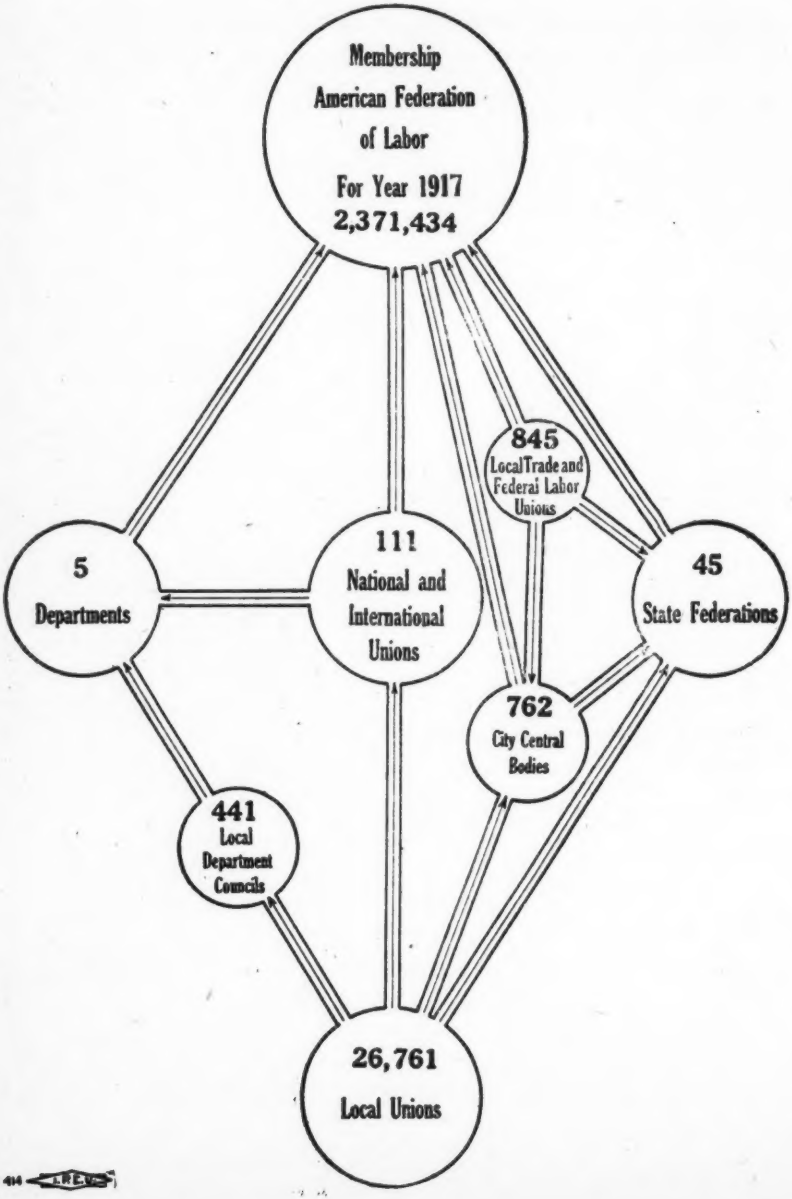
The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past twenty-one years:

Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.	Year.	Membership.
1897	264,825	1903	1,465,800	1908	1,586,885	1913	1,996,004
1898	278,016	1904	1,676,200	1909	1,482,872	1914	2,020,671
1899	349,422	1905	1,494,300	1910	1,562,112	1915	1,946,347
1900	548,321	1906	1,454,200	1911	1,761,835	1916	2,072,702
1901	787,537	1907	1,538,970	1912	1,770,145	1917	2,371,434
1902	1,024,399						

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the steady growth in the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart will follow on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1917—thirty-seven years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart will show that there are 26,761 local unions in the 111 national and international unions and 845 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 2,371,434 for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1917.


MEMBERSHIP
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
1881 TO 1917
MEMBERS
YEARS

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Membership
American Federation
of Labor
For Year 1917
2,371,434
845
Local Trade and
Federal Labor
Unions
5
Departments
111
National and
International
Unions
45
State Federations
762
City Central
Bodies
441
Local
Department
Councils
26,761
Local Unions

HEADQUARTERS

The following comparative statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1917, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 4,686 letters, circular letters and packages per day, and 754,885 copies of the *American Federationist*, and 408,200 A. F. of L. News Letters, as follows:

	1916.	1917
Packages of supplies forwarded by express and parcel post	3,310	5,010
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others	64,730	32,783
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes	103,147	88,364
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes	168,555	140,060
American Federation of Labor News Letter	434,500	408,200
American Federationist	435,181	754,885
Total	1,209,423	1,429,302

IN CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I desire to express, through the delegates present, my sincere appreciation of the faithful earnest, and successful efforts put forth by the organizers of the American Federation of Labor and the national and international organizations to organize the unorganized workers, and the substantial assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the national and international unions and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

Frank Morrison

Secretary, American Federation of Labor.

TREASURER'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:

My report as Treasurer is hereby submitted, with congratulations for the trade union accomplishments of the year now closed, and with my very best wishes for success during the year now opening.

Financial statement, October 1, 1916, to September 30, 1917:

INCOME		EXPENSES.	
Received of Secretary Morrison:		Warrants paid:	
1916.		1916.	
October 31	$32,683 26	October 31	$28,044 83
November 30	24,215 76	November 30	27,434 24
December 31	21,857 63	December 31	33,857 08
1917.		1917.	
January 31	41,357 00	January 31	33,924 70
February 28	27,145 12	February 28	29,974 31
March 31	38,069 09	March 31	37,329 00
April 30	28,902 56	April 30	28,890 94
May 31	31,298 36	May 31	31,177 65
June 30	41,512 07	June 30	34,780 36
July 31	35,330 62	July 31	34,466 08
August 31	35,153 67	August 31	34,865 75
September 30	54,522 62	September 30	47,695 46
Total income for year	$412,047 76	Total expenses for year	$402,440 40
Balance in hands of Treasurer, September 30, 1916	87,360 48		
Total funds	$499,408 24		

RECAPITULATION.

Total funds (cash balance and income)	$499,408 24
Deduct total expenses	402,440 40
September 30, 1917—Balance in hands of Treasurer	$96,967 84
September 30, 1917—Balance in hands of Secretary	2,000 00
Total cash balance September 30, 1917	$98,967 84
Treasurer's balance, where deposited:	
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., interest bearing certificates	$75,000 00
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., subject to check	11,967 84
Liberty Bonds in hands of President Gompers	10,000 00
Treasurer's balance	$96,967 84
Deposits guaranteed by American Surety Company:	
Interest collected and paid to Secretary	$2,010 40
Total funds handled in twenty-eight years	$4,123,761 56

Respectfully submitted.

JOHN B. LENNON,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., *September 30, 1917.*

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

We submit for your consideration the following report of the receipts and expenses of the A. F. of L. Building for the twelve months ending September 30, 1917.

The income from all sources for twelve months, $16,637.32; cost of maintenance, $13,053.52. Income over cost of maintenance, $3,585.80.

The interest paid upon money borrowed was $5,435.43, which added to cost of maintenance leaves a deficit of $1,851.63.

The total cost of lot and erection of building, $189,317.68; the total amount borrowed $189,240. The indebtedness was reduced $24,240, this year. The total reduction of indebtedness last year and this year, $34,240. Total amount of indebtedness upon the building on September 30, 1917, $155,000.

INCOME

Balance on hand September 30, 1916		$1,636.95
Loans:		
From American Security and Trust Company	$12,500.00	
From Riggs National Bank	26,740.00	
		39,240.00
Rents:		
American Federation of Labor	$10,560.00	
Building Trades Department	840.00	
Int'l Association of Machinists	2,325.00	
Federal Employes' Unions	735.00	
Union Label Trades Department	660.00	
Metal Trades Department	660.00	
Mining Department	300.00	
National Fed. of Post Office Clerks	360.00	
Brotherhood of Railway Postal Clerks	120.00	
		16,560.00
Waste Paper		77.32
From General Fund, A. F. of L.:		
March 31, 1917	5,000.00	
June 30, 1917	2,500.00	
July 31, 1917	1,740.00	
July 31, 1917	5,000.00	
August 29, 1917	10,000.00	
September 27, 1917	2,500.00	
		26,740.00
Total		$84,254.27

EXPENSES

Maintenance:		
Pay-roll, building employes	$6,874.22	
Fuel (coal)	1,759.65	
Taxes (lot)	271.09	
Electricity	1,520.92	
Supplies	1,706.17	
Insurance	398.37	
Water rent	54.28	
Ice	266.77	
Hauling ashes	114.25	
Upkeep and repairs	96.52	
		$13,062.24

Architects' fees	$2,188.25
Contracts (erection cost)	25,666.70
Miscellaneous, erection cost	12,125.02
Moving I. A. M. headquarters to A. F. of L. Building	288.75
Interest on Money Borrowed	5,435.43
Payments on Notes Nos. 3 and 4 (Amer. Sec. & Trust Co.)	5,000.00
Payments to Riggs Nat'l Bank ($1,740, $5,000, $10,000)	16,740.00
Third payment to Defense Fund, A. F. of L.	2,500.00
Total Expenses, Oct. 1, 1916, to Sept. 30, 1917	$83,006.39

RECAPITULATION

Receipts	$84,254.27
Expenses	83,006.39
Balance on hand September 30, 1917	$1,247.88

It is extremely fortunate that the American Federation of Labor owns and occupies its own building at the present time. Since war was declared Washington has become the center of national life and activity of every nature, and as a consequence not only have rents increased but it is difficult to secure office accommodations of a suitable or satisfactory character so great are the imperative needs of the government which, of course, has prior consideration in all cases.

At no time in its history has the A. F. of L. felt greater necessity for having rooms appropriate for conferences and gatherings, and for having sufficient space to accommodate those assisting in the work of the Federation.

During the past months an unusually large number of conferences and committees have met in our Labor Temple. Many of those who participated in these meetings were strangers, either labor representatives from foreign countries, or men and women not closely in touch or in sympathy with the labor movement. The Labor Building gives these persons a fitting impression of the ability, the strength, and the influence of the American organized labor movement, and in itself constitutes a demonstration of the constructive nature of the movement.

Five-sixths of the office rooms are now occupied and the labor organizations grouped in the building have appreciated the fact that centralization enables them to cooperate better and thus to better promote common interests. This has been particularly helpful during the past months when emergencies called for immediate and decisive action in most important situations and problems.

Not only has the A. F. of L. Building office facilities, but it is a bright airy structure, well adapted to the purposes for which it was built. The good judgment which selected the site has been attested by the improvements that are being made in the immediate vicinity of the building. These improvements, in addition to adding to the pleasure and comfort of those occupying our building, increase appreciably the value of the structure. One feature of the building which never fails to elicit a comment of admiration is the unbroken view, presented from the windows and roof, of the city and surrounding country. The beautiful sweeping horizon is an inspiration.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
FRANK MORRISON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

LIBERTY LOAN BONDS

Many of our affiliated organizations as such, and the individual members thereof responded generously, loyally and patriotically to the call of the government for the purchase of Liberty Loan Bonds. Your Executive Council directed, and the purchase was made of two bonds for $5,000 each in the name of the American Federation of Labor. As a matter of historic interest and record we quote herein the letter from the Secretary of the Treasury regarding the purchase of these bonds.

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
Washington

June 6, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. GOMPERS: My attention has just been called to your letter of May 31, notifying me that the Federation has invested $10,000 of its funds in Liberty Loan bonds. Please assure the members of the Federation of my deep appreciation of their patriotic action.

I read with great interest your recently published statement endorsing the Liberty Loan and urging working men to subscribe, and have just seen the article by yourself in the June 2 issue of the Weekly News Letter of the Federation.

The response of yourself and of organized labor generally to the appeal for subscriptions to the Liberty Loan has been most gratifying. I knew that you and the Federation would cooperate patriotically to make the Liberty Loan a success, but I want you to know how genuinely gratified I am with your effective and cordial support.

Very sincerely yours,

W. G. McADOO.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, Esq.,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

When the government called for the purchase of Liberty Loan Bonds for the second issue we again authorized the purchase of two $5,000 bonds in the name of the A. F. of L. These bonds pay an interest of 4 per cent and are negotiable at any time.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

There has been practically no constructive development since the report to the Baltimore Convention on this subject. As was reported to that convention, there was, at that time, under consideration a meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions to be held in Berne, Switzerland, some time in December, 1916. The authorized representatives of the various trade union centers did not indorse this proposal and the conference was not held. Later in the year an effort was made to revive this project for holding a conference at Berne, Switzerland, but that also was not successful. For the convenience of the delegates to this convention as well as for the assistance of committees dealing with this particular subject, the correspondence upon this matter, as well as upon all other matters affecting international labor relations, is published in the November, 1917, *American Federationist.*

The announcement of the overthrow of despotism in Russia and the establishment of governmental control by the people is one of the encouraging results of the terrible European conflict. The change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom created a situation that was extremely critical. The advocates of freedom in Russia had had little practical experience and only opportunity for theorizing. The ardent advocates of human freedom were now made responsible for putting their theories and ideals into actual practice.

Since the overthrow of Czardom came in the midst of the European war the Russian people found themselves confronted by two gigantic problems, either of which was enough to test the mettle and ability of any nation well disciplined and well schooled in governmental activities. They had to develop methods and agencies for carrying on the war against the central European powers and also to devise and establish immediate provisional governmental agencies and to develop permanent constitutional institutions. All who had the best interest of Russia at heart were keenly apprehensive lest the Russian people, in

their eagerness to establish freedom and their natural desire that every vestige of despotism within the country should be abolished, might be more eager to achieve these purposes than was at the time compatible with practical constructive results.

Nations with free institutions have found that the ideals of human freedom can not be established at once but that it is a matter of development following a constantly broadening ideal. Governmental agencies can only afford opportunity for freedom—people achieve freedom in their daily life.

The people of the United States, one of the oldest republics, felt keenly their responsibility to place at the disposal of the Russian people the experience that we have acquired since our declaration of freedom in 1776. No class of citizens rejoiced more deeply in the newly established freedom of Russia and felt more keenly their obligation to assist the Russian people than the workers of America.

The enforced abdication of the Czar was followed by a provisional government, which made the following declaration of principles as the basis of an appeal for support:

> "The new Cabinet will base its policy on the following principles:
>
> 1. An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offenses, including terrorist acts and military and agrarian offenses.
> 2. Liberty of speech and of the press; freedom for alliances, unions and strikes, with the extension of these liberties to military officials, within the limits admitted by military requirements.
> 3. Abolition of all social, religious and national restrictions.
> 4. To proceed forthwith to the preparation and convocation of a constitutional assembly, based on universal suffrage, which will establish a governmental regime.
> 5. The substitution of the police by a national militia with chiefs to be elected and responsible to the government.
> 6. Communal elections to be based on universal suffrage.
> 7. The troops which participated in the revolutionary movement will not be disarmed but will remain in Petrograd.
> 8. While maintaining strict military discipline for troops on active service, it is desirable to abrogate for soldiers all restrictions in the enjoyment of social rights accorded other citizens.
>
> The provisional government desires to add that it has no intention to profit by the circumstances of the war to delay the realization of the measures of reform above mentioned."

The Russian revolution was, in a large degree, the result of the aspirations and the efforts of Russia's workers. It was, therefore, particularly fitting that an expression of the feeling of America's workers should be conveyed to those in charge of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Therefore, we, in the interim of conventions, as the spokesmen of the American labor movement, sent cablegrams* to the revlutionary leaders of Russia.

In order to assist the Russian leaders to steady the diverse and fervid movements in Russia which wished to direct constructive developments, the President of the United States determined to send a commission of special envoys to the Russian government. This commission was entrusted with the responsibility of conveying to the people and the revolutionary government of Russia a message of good will, hope, encouragement and support, and offering service and the experience and the methods of America in establishing and using free institutions. The Russian revolutionary government represents the will of the masses of the Russian people. That the American commission should receive the fullest confidence and trust of the revolutionary Russian government there was appointed upon the commission representatives of American workers and advocates of human freedom. In appointing the commission, President Wilson selected, among others, James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America. Mr. Duncan was the first representative of organized labor ever appointed on a diplomatic mission of the government of the United States.

From several different sources suggestions were made for the holding of international labor conferences. Early in the spring it was suggested that a meeting of International

*Published in the *American Federationist* for November, 1917.

Federation of Trade Unions be held in Berne, Switzerland, to consider several matters, among which the most important were the continuance of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the publication of the Weekly News Service of the International Secretariat, and the program adopted by the Leeds Conference, which met in England in July, 1916.

The Leeds program was a declaration formulated by representatives of the labor movements of the allied countries. It contains proposals, which it was suggested labor ought to seek to have incorporated in the peace treaty that shall be drawn up at the close of the war.

It is our opinion that the Leeds program* is not sufficiently constructive or comprehensive to enable the workers to take best advantage of the opportunity that will come in the Peace Congress. We feel that the Peace Congress will necessarily have to recommend some fundamental proposals for the better organization of international relations in order that in the future there may be some permanent agencies for dealing with the problems that arise in international affairs and to enable the nations to cooperate for the better management of their common interests and their individual needs.

Labor is vitally interested in the character and the scope of such proposals and can not afford to neglect the preparation of a concrete program. The Leeds program does not contain suggestions dealing with this broader problem of international organization. Many of the specific articles in the Leeds program are concerned with matters of a legislative nature, many of which in our country come under the jurisdiction of the several states and not of the federal government. For this reason alone, it would be inexpedient, so far as our country is concerned, to have these subjects included in the terms of an international peace treaty.

The feeling aroused by the war is so intense, and the customs affecting communications between peoples of warring countries are so unfavorable, that the proposed Berne conference was not held.

When the Russian situation became very acute and the impact of external and internal forces aroused serious apprehension as to the future of that country, there was an effort among certain Russian leaders to secure an international conference of labor representatives, either in Russia or in some neutral country. Stockholm was suggested. Labor representatives, chiefly from neutral countries and from the central allied powers, went to Stockholm to carry out this purpose. However, a general conviction prevailed that the forces controlling and perhaps manipulating the proposed Stockholm conference, were really disingenuous and were in furtherance of the interests of autocracy with the hope of misleading the working people of all countries. We believe that the purposes of those directing the Stockholm movement were of such character as has been properly designated by the term, "peace aggressive."

The labor movements of the United States and Great Britain felt that they could not send representatives to Stockholm and act in good faith with their own governments and fellow citizens who were sacrificing for the cause of human justice and democracy. Therefore the American labor movement refused to send representatives. The British labor movement at first acted in accord with the suggestion of Arthur Henderson, then a member of the British Cabinet, and voted to send delegates. However, when the British government refused to issue passports to the British delegates and Lloyd George published correspondence in which it was stated that Kerensky, the head of the Russian government, did not indorse the Stockholm conference as the proposition to hold a conference came originally from Russian leaders, it was felt that the conference did not carry enough sanction to make it effective.

The French government also refused to issue passports to French delegates.

In the meanwhile the British labor party issued invitations to the labor movements of the allied and neutral countries to attend an international conference in London in August. Exchange of telegrams disclosed the fact that neither the labor movement of Great Britain nor of France were consulted as to whether these conferences should be held. As a consequence the fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress were instructed not to attend that conference but to attend the conference called by the labor movements of the allied countries September 10 at London. This in addition to their duty to attend the British Trade Union Congress the week beginning September 3. In his cablegram President Gompers said that the American Federation of Labor was the official representative of the organized workers of America and that it could not and would not share with any political

*Published in the *American Federationist* for November, 1917.

party the right to represent the workers of this country. The London conference of August 28 and 29 consisted of representatives of political movements rather than labor movements.

As the fraternal delegates of the A. F. of L. to the British Trade Union Congress would be in England at that time, the Executive Council authorized them to represent the American labor movement in the London conference. This authorization was given and the fraternal delegates, Mr. Golden and Mr. Lord, participated in the London conference. Their report will be made to this convention.

BRITISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS

The Baltimore Convention elected as fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress to be held in Blackpool beginning September 3, 1917, John Golden, President of the United Textile Workers of America, and Frank Farrington, President of District No. 12 of the United Mine Workers of America.

A brief time before the day upon which the two delegates were to sail to Great Britain, Mr. Farrington tendered his resignation as the Executive Board of his organization had declared that in view of the serious situation in the coal industry resulting from war conditions his services were required at home. We selected James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the American Federation of Labor, as a fraternal delegate to the Blackpool Congress to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Farrington.

Inasmuch as a conference of representatives of the labor movements of the allied countries had been arranged to take place in London on September 10-11, we authorized the two delegates to the Trades Union Congress to represent the American trade union movement in the allied conference.

In regard to the conference of labor of the allied countries attention is called to the mail and telegraphic correspondence as published in the November, 1917, issue of the *American Federationist* under the caption, "Labor's International Relations."

PEACE TERMS

It is an imperative duty from which there is no escape that wage-earners as well as all other citizens of this Republic support our government in its righteous effort to defend principles of humanity and to establish democracy in international relations. Because we desire permanent peace it is our duty to fight and sacrifice until these purposes can be achieved.

When nations can send representatives to negotiate peace terms in accord with this concept, we maintain that the basic provisions of the peace treaty should be formulated with regard to the rights and welfare of the men, women, and children constituting the nations rather than the governments of the nations. The government should be only an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives. This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government.

We hold that the same principles should apply to relations between nations and that secret diplomacy should be replaced by diplomatic representatives responsible to the people of their own people and received by either the Parliament of the country to which they are accredited or by a representative of the people, responsible to them.

We made recommendation in our report to the Baltimore Convention for the organization of international relations. Existing international anarchy has invited imperialism on the part of strong governments and has furnished opportunity and occasion for war. Militarism finds its justification in international anarchy and can be abolished only when international relations are organized.

There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievement of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. Working people have never been properly represented in diplomatic affairs. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action.

We urge the adoption of the following declarations as the basis upon which peace must be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.
2. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.
3. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.
4. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.
5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."
6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.
2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.
3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.
4. Establishment of trial by jury.

The war has swept away the ante bellum world and has rendered antiquated and useless many institutions. Others have broken down under the difficulties and problems of war needs. We can benefit from our experiences by retaining that which has demonstrated its efficiency and rejecting that which has failed. Many of the problems of reconstruction can not be worked out during the war while feeling is so intense. With the coming of peace will come a different attitude of mind on the part of all. The situation and opportunities which peace will bring will be without precedent. It is of paramount importance that Labor shall be free and unembarrassed in helping to shape the principles and agencies for the future.

We suggest therefore all prejudice and partisan spirit can best be eliminated by reconstructing international labor relations and thus bring to new problems and a new era, activity and cooperation unhampered and unperverted by former alliances or old feuds.

The basis of reconstruction should be the trade union movements of the various countries. We recommend that an international labor conference of representatives of the trade union movements of all countries be held at the same time and place as the World Peace Congress that Labor may be in touch with plans under consideration and may have the benefit of information and counsel of those participating in the Congress.

PAN-AMERICAN LABOR RELATIONS

As authorized by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Baltimore November 13, 1916, and in pursuance of the directions of the Executive Council, the first Pan-American Federation of Labor conference was held in the A. F. of L. Building in Washington, D. C., on January 31, 1917, at which were present: Samuel Gompers, representing the A. F. of L.; Santiago Iglesias, representing the organized workers of Porto Rico; Carlos Loveira, representing the organized workers of Yucatan, Mexico, and John Murray, member of the International Typographical Union.

Permanent organization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee was effected, the committee electing Samuel Gompers chairman, and John Murray secretary.

The first public act of the committee was to draw up and mail to secretaries of the labor unions throughout Latin-America a manifesto in Spanish and English, sending greetings to the workers of Latin-America and suggesting an outline of the international work necessary

to the establishment of a Pan-American Federation of Labor. The manifesto urged that representatives from the organized labor movements of all Latin-American countries select and send delegates to Washington to join in the work of the committee. The manifesto was published in the March, 1917, *American Federationist*, page 196.

A mass of correspondence has been received and answered by the committee, correspondence containing data of infinite value in making public to the labor movement of the United States of North America the vast growth of the labor movement within the last few years, not only in Mexico but throughout South and Central America, Cuba, Porto Rico, and Santo Domingo.

Mexico alone has within the last two years organized nearly half a million workers in her various trades unions. The Carranza decree declaring strikes illegal and threatening those promoting strikes with death penalties was reported to the Baltimore Convention. This situation caused grave anxiety both to the labor movement in this country and in Mexico. Assurances were at that time given through the Mexican representatives on the United States-Mexico Commission, that the decree was only temporary in character and would not be used to destroy the labor movement.

The new constitution adopted by the Congress at Queratero contained a provision expressly recognizing the legality of the right to strike. That portion of the Mexican constitution is quoted in an editorial entitled, "Freedom Gives National Virility," published in the March, 1917, *American Federationist*.

Particular attention is drawn to the first actual and practical contact between the Mexican and American workers in the state of Arizona where it has been demonstrated throughout the strikes of the past two years that Mexican and American miners stand shoulder to shoulder when oppressed by organized capital seeking to lower standards of living and to disrupt labor unions. Fourteen thousand Mexican miners work in the copper, silver and gold mines of Arizona. Over half of the membership of the Arizona State Federation of Labor is either of Mexican blood or birth. At its last annual convention in Clifton, the State Federation elected a committee of five to hold an international conference with representatives of the Sonora Workingmen's Congress of Mexico for the purpose of devising practical plans for mutual aid in industrial action. In the United States today there are between one and two million Mexican workers concentrated particularly in Arizona, Texas, New Mexico, California, Utah, Oklahoma, Colorado, Louisiana, and Kansas. One-fourth of the coal miners in the Southern Colorado fields are Mexicans, and a much larger proportion are at work in the mines of New Mexico. Organizers in both the United Mine Workers of America and the Mill, Mine and Smeltermen agree that the Mexican is as quick to organize and maintain the solidarity of the labor movement as the American worker.

Cuba was the first to respond to the invitation of the committee to send a resident delegate to Washington; Antonio Correa Gonzales, who presented his credentials from thirty-four Cuban unions to the committee was regularly seated as a member of the committee on August 20, 1917.

On the same day Edmundo Martinez, representing the Federated Syndicates of Mexico, was also seated as a member of the committee.

The representative of Cuba and the representative from Yucatan, as well as the representative of Chili, have made reports upon the labor movement in their respective states and we recommend that these reports be published in an early issue of the *American Federationist*.

Communications received from Pan-American countries in regard to the holding of a Pan-American Congress show that the sentiment in the following countries, as expressed by labor organizations, is favorable: Cuba, Peru, Argentina, Mexico, St. Kitts Island, British West Indies, and Porto Rico.

Individual representatives of organized labor from Chili, United States of Columbia, Uruguay, and Panama have expressed their personal approval of the plan. In practically none of the South American states is there a general labor organization authorized to speak for all the workers of the country.

It is difficult to interpret sentiment in the various countries even with the replies that have been received. Many of the labor organizations are numerically and financially weak. The work of disseminating information about the proposed Pan-American conference and answering inquiries as to methods and policies is necessarily slow in development.

The conference committee has under consideration the advisability of calling a congress of the labor movements of Pan-American countries at an early date, possibly the early part of 1918.

JAPANESE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, through its President Bunzi Suzuki, at the Baltimore Convention extended an invitation for the American Federation of Labor to be represented at the celebration of the fifth anniversary of that society. On the eve of his departure for Japan, December 30, 1916, Mr. Suzuki urgently repeated this invitation to President Gompers. Acting upon our advice President Gompers replied to Mr. Suzuki. As a matter of record this correspondence is made part of this report. It is as follows:

LABORERS' FRIENDLY SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
MITA, TOKYO, JAPAN.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, *December 30, 1916.*

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GOMPERS: On the eve of my departure for Japan, I again take the liberty of urging upon you the necessity of your visit to Japan next year. In the formal invitation I addressed to you a few weeks ago I set forth the reasons why we desired your presence at the anniversary meeting of the Yu-Ai-Kai; but so important is the matter that I feel I am justified in reiterating them here.

I hope you will fully understand the delicate and difficult position I find myself. On the one hand, the ultra-radical elements charge me with following a policy of expediency and even insincerity. On the other hand, ultra-conservatives accuse me of stirring up unnecessary troubles and leading the working class into the dangerous path of radicalism. Between the two millstones I am doing my best to establish the labor movement in Japan upon a secure base. We have already 30,000 members, but working against such great odds I feel that I must have strong assistance and reenforcements that you can certainly give.

The greatest assistance that you can give us will, of course, be the encouragement that your words will convey to our 30,000 members. They need encouragement. Though loyal and faithful to the cause, they are still more or less uncertain of their position as an organization. I want you to assure them that the labor movement is a world movement in which all the workers of the world must join hands. I want you to tell them that they have the deepest sympathy of the American Federation of Labor, and that you will be willing to extend to them such assistance as will be necessary to put our organization upon sound base.

The conservative elements in my country look upon the labor movement as something very dangerous. They think it will sooner or later result in a complete disorganization of the social and political system upon which our country has rested these many centuries. They fear that it will even challenge the existence of our imperial dynasty. They regard us as a band of fanatics and cranks. I am sure that these ultra-conservatives will begin to look upon our movement in a new light after they have listened to your statesmanlike, constructive utterances. They have never had opportunity to come into close contact with prominent labor leaders of Europe or America, and they think that all labor leaders, no matter of what country, are dangerous fanatics. Beyond a doubt, your visit to Japan will remove most of such misconceptions.

We want you to visit all the industrial and mining districts of Japan so that you may see for yourself how much progress Japan has made along industrial lines and how much we need a sound labor movement. We are anxious to show you everything from the best conducted factory to the most wretched, miserable establishments so that you will not misjudge the real status of our labor conditions.

It is gratifying that the labor movement of America and Europe is more and more closely allied with the peace movement. We all feel that organized labor should be one of the strongest factors in the maintenance and promotion of world

peace. In inviting you to Japan, therefore, we feel justified in asking you to convey to Japan, among other messages, a message of peace and good will from the masses of your country. It is most unfortunate that Japan and the United States, which have been most faithful friends during the past half century, are now distrusting and suspecting each other. This is all the more unfortunate because when we come to think of it there is no reason why we should not continue to be the best of friends. We feel that yellow journals and yellow politicians of both countries have done a great deal to bring about the present unhappy situation. Since the preparedness movement came to a head in this country, the sensational newspapers in this country have been insisting that the movement for increasing the American Army and Navy is launched by the necessity of preparing especially against Japan. They have been asserting that the United States must not only check Japanese immigration, but protect and promote her various interests in China. From such assertions the Japanese have gotten the impression that the United States has made up her mind to confront Japan in the arena of battle. To you, who understands the situation clearly, such fear on the part of the Japanese must seem absurd. To the Japanese, however, the fear is real. Such apprehension can not be removed by hackneyed assurances of diplomatic officials. If a prominent leader of the masses of America comes to Japan with a message of friendship and good will, and assures my countrymen that the American people will never permit themselves to be beguiled by sinister interests into waging war against Japan, the Japanese will feel greatly reassured. I am sure that your visit will do great good not only to the cause of labor but to the cause of international peace. The mission which we venture to impose upon you in urging you to visit Japan is one of humanity, and we feel sure that you will not ignore our urgent request.

I am to leave San Francisco for Seattle January the second to catch the steamer that leaves Seattle on January 5. In bidding good-bye to you I again send you my sincere regards and highest esteem. Our meeting will be held about the beginning of April. It will be therefore necessary for you to sail from San Francisco in the early part or the middle of March. As soon as the decision is made by the Executive Council, kindly advise me by cable.

Yours very sincerely,

BUNJI SUZUKI.

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 3, 1917.*

Mr. BUNJI SUZUKI, *President,*
Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan,
Mita, Tokyo, Japan

MY DEAR MR. SUZUKI: The invitation extended by the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan to the President of the American Labor movement, to visit Japan on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of that organization was given most careful consideration by our Executive Council at our last session.

As I cabled to you, the E. C. decided that existing conditions make it impossible to avail ourselves of this courtesy and opportunity at the present time. It is the earnest desire of the American labor movement to do everything within its power to promote the cause of labor in all countries, but our primary duty is to the workers of the United States.

The immediate problems that confront us now are of such importance, not only to the workers but to the whole nation, that it would be doing all an injustice, and perhaps subjecting them to danger, by undertaking any new obligations at the present time. As the chosen representative of the American labor movement it is my duty to carry out the instructions of the E. C. in which my judgment concurs.

The relationships that have been established by your coming to this country can not but result in uniting more closely the workers of Japan and of this country, and therefore in bringing about mutual benefit.

The workers of the United States are interested in the organization of the Japanese workers within our country, as well as those in Japan. World-wide

organization of commerce and industry necessitates world-wide organization of wage-earners in order to protect the rights and interests of all.

While I regret that I can not give personal service at present in promoting organization in Japan, yet I am doing all within my power to promote organization of the workers in this country and in all Pan-America.

You no doubt will be pleased to learn that already steps have been taken looking to organization of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. International organization of workers will result in the establishment of greater confidence between the people of the various nations; confidence is the necessary basis for international peace, and in this critical time we desire the establishment of the best relations between all countries for mutual protection.

It is our sincere hope that the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan may find extension and success until the toilers of your country shall have been more thoroughly organized for the protection and promotion of their common interests. It is also our hope that the fifth anniversary of the founding of the society may be a most interesting and successful occasion.

I trust that you will continue to write me in regard to any matter of mutual interest to the workers of our two countries, as well as to our countries generally.

With best personal wishes and hoping to hear from you frequently, I am

Sincerely yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

LABOR AND THE WAR

It was not long after the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor that it became plain that our country could not long avoid taking part in the European war. The war had become world-wide in scope and involved issues of such a nature that our Republic could not much longer remain neutral.

The Imperial German Government flagrantly imposed upon the neutrality of this country and the unbroken relations of good-will and friendship that had existed between the people of the United States and the German people since the formation of our Republic. When it became plain that the German government intended to trifle ruthlessly with its pledges to our government and with the lives and rights of our citizens, self-respect and appreciation of the rights of our citizens demanded that there should be no receding from our definition of rights and principles.

Under all circumstances it is the duty ot any government to protect its people against willful and wholesale murder. A government unable or unwilling to make every sacrifice in maintaining that principle is unworthy the respect and support of the people and should be overthrown.

A people unwilling to make the supreme sacrifice in support of the government which undertakes to make that principle good are undeserving to live and enjoy the privilege of free, democratic government.

The situation in which our country found itself is best set forth in that masterly address which President Wilson made to the Congress of the United States in joint session on that memorable April 2, 1917. In addition to the value of the address because of the information it contains we wish to aid in immortalizing it by reproducing it in our report:

Address by the President

Gentlemen of the Congress, I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed

to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the prescribed areas by the German government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion and of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. **Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people can not be.** The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a warfare against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and the people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. **We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.**

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the



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defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the ineffectiveness of belligerents. **There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut at the very roots of human life.**

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable cooperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our recources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least 500,000 men, who should, in my judgment, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. **It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.**

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we must keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the

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unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-second of February. **Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.**

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no man has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it

is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. **We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of nations can make them.**

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reestablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us —however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and for-

bearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

The Congress of the United States on April 6 passed a resolution declaring war upon the Imperial Government of Germany and directed the President of the United States to employ the armed forces of our country to carry the purposes of the war to a successful end. We made every effort to prevail upon Congress to avoid compulsory military service, but we were not successful, the law having been enacted for the drafting of all available men between the ages of 21 and 30, inclusive.

The necessity for the development of plans for defense of the nation became imperative. The scope of the war was so gigantic and the nature of modern warfare so complex that mobilization of our nation necessitated reorganization of the entire nation from a peace to a war basis. Such plans affect the life and the work of the entire nation. Whether in peace or in war tools are the basic instrumentalities for all creative work. The determination of defense plans was of vital concern to wage-earners. The issues and the consequences were so tremendous that responsible agents had to have ready plans to meet any emergency. It was of vital importance that those immediately affected by these plans should have a voice in their determination. Clearly if wage-earners, as represented in the organized labor movement, remained aloof from all participation in defense activities and preparations, they would have to accept the determination of those outside of, and perhaps hostile to, the labor movement who either had no personal knowledge of the lives and problems of workers or were the active enemies of organized labor. If wage-earners did not take a responsible part in determining our relations to war work that field would be left undisputed to those not immediately concerned in their welfare.

In addition to this plain duty of defending their rights and interests, the radical changes necessary for mobilization afforded opportunity that would either be used by the wage-earners in furtherance of human welfare and progress or would be used by the agents of reaction and for the entrenchment of the privileges of wealth.

The only justification for the destruction of war is that the sweeping aside of existing conditions affords opportunity for the establishment of new ideals and conditions based upon broader and truer concepts of human rights.

It was, in view of this situation, that the Executive Council approved the proposition submitted to them by President Gompers that a conference of the representatives of the national and international trade unions be called at Washington to consider the position which American labor should take toward the war situation. Accordingly, a letter was sent to the representative officials of all national organizations, both those affiliated to the A. F.

of L. and those not affiliated, asking them to meet in Washington in the A. F. of L. Building March 12. The E. C. met on March 9 and devoted the following three days to the preparation of a statement to be submitted to the conference for consideration and action. There were present at that conference, in addition to the members of the E. C., 148 representatives of 79 affiliated organizations, 5 unaffiliated organizations, and 5 departments of the A. F. of L. The full list of those present is as follows:

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL—President, Samuel Gompers; Secretary, Frank Morrison; Treasurer, John B. Lennon; First Vice-President, James Duncan; Second Vice-President, James O'Connell; Third Vice-President, Joseph F. Valentine; Fourth Vice-President, John R. Alpine; Fifth Vice-President, H. B. Perham; Sixth Vice-President, Frank Duffy; Seventh Vice-President, William Green; Eighth Vice-President, William D. Mahon.

ASBESTOS WORKERS—Jos. A. Mullaney, V. E. McLelland.
BAKERY AND CONFECTIONERY—A. A. Myrup, Chas. F. Hohmann.
BILL POSTERS AND BILLERS—P. F. Murphy, Wm. McCarthy.
BLACKSMITHS—G. C. Van Dornes.
BOILERMAKERS—J. A. Franklin, Chas. F. Scott, A. E. Barksdale.
BOOKBINDERS—A. P. Sovey.
BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS—C. L. Baine, Collis Lovely.
BREWERY WORKMEN—A. J. Kugler, Joseph Obergfell, John Sullivan.
BRICKLAYERS—Thos. R. Preece.
BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS—Jos. E. McClory, Edward Ryan.
CARMEN, RAILWAY—M. F. Ryan, J. F. McCreery, J. S. Wilds, R. E. Hamilton.
CARPENTERS, UNITED BROTHERHOOD—Frank Duffy.
CARRIAGE, WAGON, AUTOMOBILE WORKERS—Wm. A. Logan.
CIGARMAKERS—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers.
CLERKS, POST OFFICE—Thos. F. Flaherty.
CLERKS, RAILWAY—Jas. J. Forrester.
CLERKS, RAILWAY POSTAL—Carl Freeman.
CLERKS, RETAIL—E. E. Baker.
COOPERS—Andrew C. Hughes.
DIAMOND WORKERS—Andries Meyer.
ELECTRICAL WORKERS—F. J. McNulty, Wm. A. Hogan, W. S. Godshall, J. J. Purcell, George L. Kelley, J. S. McDonagh.
ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS—Frank Feeney, Frank Schneider.
ENGRAVERS, PHOTO—Matthew Woll.
FIREMEN—Timothy Healy, Newton A. James.
FUR WORKERS—A. W. Miller.
GARMENT WORKERS, UNITED—Thos. A. Rickert, B. A. Larger, Abe Berkson.
GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS—John A. Voll, Harry Jenkins, James Maloney.
GLASS WORKERS, FLINT—Wm. P. Clark.
GRANITE CUTTERS—James Duncan.
HAT AND CAP MAKERS—M. Zuckerman, Max Zaritsky.
HATTERS—John W. Sculley, Martin Lawlor.
HODCARRIERS—D. D'Alessandra.
HORSESHOERS—Hubert S. Marshall, John F. Kane.
HOTEL AND RESTAURANT EMPLOYES—Edward Flore.
IRON, TIN AND STEEL WORKERS—John Williams, M. F. Tighe.
JEWELRY WORKERS—Julius Birnbaum, Abraham Greenstein.
LACE OPERATIVES—David L. Gould.
LATHERS, WOOD, WIRE—Wm. J. McSorley.
LAUNDRY WORKERS—Harry L. Morrison.
LEATHER WORKERS ON HORSE GOODS—W. E. Bryan.
LONGSHOREMEN—Anthony J. Chlopek, Wm. F. Dempsey.
MACHINISTS—Wm. H. Johnston, Fred Hewitt, E. L. Tucker, A. E. Holder.
MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYES—Allan E. Barker, Henry Irwin.
MASTERS, MATES AND PILOTS—J. H. Pruett, Ulster Davis, Alfred B. Devlin, Robert S. Lavender.
MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN—Homer D. Call.

METAL POLISHERS—W. W. Britton.
METAL WORKERS, SHEET—John J. Hynes, O. E. Hoard, Harry H. Stewart.
MINE WORKERS, UNITED—Wm. Green, Van Bittner, Wm. Diamond.
MOLDERS, IRON—John P. Frey.
MUSICIANS—Jos. N. Weber, J. E. Birdsell.
PAINTERS—Geo. F. Hedrick, J. C. Skemp.
PATTERN MAKERS—James Wilson, James L. Gernon, A. J. Berres.
PAVING CUTTERS—Carl Bergstrom.
PLASTERERS, OPERATIVE—E. J. McGivern, Chas. Smith.
PLATE PRINTERS—Jas. E. Goodyear, William G. Holder.
PLUMBERS—John R. Alpine, Wm. J. Spencer, Wm. J. Tracy.
POTTERS, OPERATIVE—Edward Menge, Frank H. Hutchins, John T. Wood, S. M. Moore.
PRINT CUTTERS—Ralph T. Holman.
PRINTING PRESSMEN—Jos. C. Orr, Henry J. Hardy.
QUARRY WORKERS—Fred W. Suitor.
RAILWAY EMPLOYES, STREET AND ELECTRIC—W. D. Mahon.
ROOFERS, COMPOSITION—J. T. Hurley.
SEAMEN'S UNION—Andrew Furuseth, V. A. Olander.
SIGNALMEN, RAILROAD—A. E. Adams.
STEEL PLATE TRANSFERRERS—Benj. Goldsworthy.
STAGE EMPLOYES, THEATRICAL—Chas. C. Shay.
STEAM SHOVEL AND DREDGEMEN—T. J. Brady.
STEREOTYPERS AND ELECTROTYPERS—James S. Briggs.
STONECUTTERS—Sam Griggs, Walter W. Drayer.
SWITCHMEN—S. E. Heberling.
TAILORS—Thos. Sweeney.
TEACHERS—Chas. B. Stillman.
TEAMSTERS—Daniel J. Tobin, P. H. Jennings.
TELEGRAPHERS, RAILROAD—H. B. Perham, J. F. Miller.
TEXTILE WORKERS—John Golden.
TOBACCO WORKERS—A. McAndrew, E. Lewis Evans.
TUNNEL AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTORS—Michael J. Carraher, Tito Pacelli.
UPHOLSTERERS—Jas. H. Hatch, John Hanley.
WEAVERS, AMERICAN WIRE—John F. Curley.
WHITE RATS ACTORS—Jack Hayden.

Unaffiliated Organizations

LOCOMOTIVE FIREMEN AND ENGINEMEN—W. S. Carter.
RAILWAY TRAINMEN—W. G. Lee.
RAILWAY CONDUCTORS—L. E. Sheppard
LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS—W. S. Stone.
NATIONAL WINDOW GLASS WORKERS—Herbert Thomas.

A. F of L. Departments

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT—John Donlin.
METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT—A. J. Berres.
MINING DEPARTMENT—James Lord.
RAILROAD EMPLOYES DEPARTMENT—A. O. Wharton.
UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT—J. W. Hays.

The declaration was submitted to the conference. A spirit of intense seriousness pervaded the deliberations. The representatives of the workers in practically every trade had encountered new situations developing out of defense measures that made them realize the nearness of war and its consequence to the labor movement. With profound attention they listened to the reading of the following declaration:

American Labor's Position in Peace or in War

We speak for millions of Americans. We are not a sect. We are not a party. We represents the organizations held together by the pressure of our common needs. We represent the part of the nation closest to the fundamentals of life. Those we represent wield the nation's tools and grapple with the forces that are brought under control in our material civilization. The power and use of industrial tools is greater than the tools of war and will in time supersede agencies of destruction.

A world war is on. The time has not yet come when war has been abolished. Whether we approve it or not, we must recognize that war is a situation with which we must reckon. The present European war, involving as it does the majority of civilized nations and affecting the industry and commerce of the whole world, threatens at any moment to draw all countries, including our own, into the conflict. Our immediate problem, then, is to bring to bear upon war conditions instructive forethought, vision, principles of human welfare and conservation that should direct our course in every eventuality of life. The way to avert war is to establish constructive agencies for justice in times of peace and thus control for peace situations and forces that might otherwise result in war.

The methods of modern warfare, its new tactics, its vast organization, both military and industrial, present problems vastly different from those of previous wars. But the nation's problems afford an opportunity for the establishment of new freedom and wider opportunities for all the people. Modern warfare includes contests between workshops, factories, the land, financial and transportation resources of the countries involved; and necessarily applies to the relations between employers and employes, and as our own country now faces an impending peril, it is fitting that the masses of the people of the United States should take counsel and determine what course they shall pursue should a crisis arise necessitating the protection of our Republic and defense of the ideals for which it stands.

In the struggle between the forces of democracy and special privilege, for just and historic reasons the masses of the people necessarily represent the ideals and the institutions of democracy. There is in organized society one potential organization whose purpose is to further these ideals and institutions—the organized labor movement.

In no previous war has the organized labor movement taken a directing part. Labor has now reached an understanding of its rights, of its power and resources, of its value and contributions to society, and must make definite constructive proposals.

It is timely that we frankly present experiences and conditions which in former times have prevented nations from benefiting by the voluntary, whole-hearted cooperation of wage-earners in war time, and then make suggestions how these hindrances to our national strength and vigor can be removed.

War has never put a stop to the necessity for struggle to establish and maintain industrial rights. Wage-earners in war times must, as has been said, keep one eye on the exploiters at home and the other upon the enemy threatening the national government. Such exploitation made it impossible for a warring nation to mobilize effectively its full strength for outward defense.

We maintain that it is the fundamental step in preparedness for the nation to set its own house in order and to establish at home justice in relations between men. Previous wars, for whatever purpose waged, developed new opportunities for exploiting wage-earners. Not only was there failure to recognize the necessity for protecting rights of workers that they might give that whole-hearted service to the country that can come only when every citizen enjoys rights, freedom and opportunity, but under guise of national necessity, Labor was stripped of its means of defense against enemies at home and was robbed of the advantages, the protections, the guarantees of justice that had been achieved after ages of struggle. For these reasons workers have felt that no matter what the result of war, as wage-earners they generally lost.

In previous times Labor had no representatives in the councils authorized

to deal with the conduct of war. The rights, interests and welfare of workers were autocratically sacrificed for the slogan of "national safety."

The European war has demonstrated the dependence of the governments upon the cooperation of the masses of the people. Since the masses perform indispensable service, it follows that they should have a voice in determining the conditions upon which they give service.

The workers of America make known their beliefs, their demands and their purposes through a voluntary agency which they have established—the organized labor movement. This agency is not only the representative of those who directly constitute it, but it is the representative of all those persons who have common problems and purposes but who have not yet organized for their achievement.

Whether in peace or in war the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth-producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against the inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers.

Labor demands the right in war times to be the recognized defender of wage-earners against the same forces which in former wars have made national necessity an excuse for more ruthless methods.

As the representatives of the wage-earners we assert that conditions of work and pay in government employment and in all occupations should conform to principles of human welfare and justice.

A nation can not make an effective defense against an outside danger if groups of citizens are asked to take part in a war though smarting with a sense of keen injustice inflicted by the government they are expected to and will defend.

The cornerstone of national defense is justice in fundamental relations of life—economic justice.

The one agency which accomplishes this for the workers is the organized labor movement. The greatest step that can be made for national defense is not to bind and throttle the organized labor movement but to afford its greatest scope and opportunity for voluntary effective cooperation in spirit and in action.

During the long period in which it has been establishing itself, the labor movement has become a dynamic force in organizing the human side of industry and commerce. It is a great social factor, which must be recognized in all plans which affect wage-earners.

Whether planning for peace or war the government must recognize the organized labor movement as the agency through which it must cooperate with wage-earners.

Industrial justice is the right of those living within our country. With this right there is associated obligation. In war time obligation takes the form of service in defense of the Republic against enemies.

We recognize that this service may be either military or industrial, both equally essential for national defense. We hold this to be incontrovertible that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service should also demand the service, in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property.

We hold that if workers may be asked in time of national peril or emergency to give more exhausting service than the principles of human welfare warrant, that service should be asked only when accompanied by increased guarantees and safeguards, and when the profits which the employer shall secure from the industry in which they are engaged have been limited to fixed percentages.

We declare that such determination of profits should be based on costs of processes actually needed for product.

Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war and they also recognize that wrapped up with the safety of this Republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might

live in this country—a heritage that is to be maintained and handed down to each generation with undiminished power and usefulness.

The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights. The American labor movement has always opposed unnecessary conflicts and all wars for aggrandizement, exploitation and enslavement, and yet it has done its part in the world's revolutions, in the struggles to establish greater freedom, democratic institutions and ideals of human justice.

Our labor movement distrusts and protests against militarism, because it knows that militarism represents privilege and is the tool of special interests, exploiters and despots. But while it opposes militarism, it holds that it is the duty of a nation to defend itself against injustice and invasion.

The menace of militarism arises through isolating the defensive functions of the state from civic activities and from creating military agencies out of touch with masses of the people. Isolation is subversive to democracy—it harbors and nurtures the germs of arbitrary power.

The labor movement demands that a clear differentiation be made between military service for the nation and police duty, and that military service should be carefully distinguished from service in industrial disputes.

We hold that industrial service shall be deemed equally meritorious as military service. Organization for industrial and commercial service is upon a different basis from military service—the civic ideals still dominate. This should be recognized in mobilizing for this purpose. The same voluntary institutions that organized industrial, commercial and transportation workers in times of peace will best take care of the same problems in time of war.

It is fundamental, therefore, that the government cooperate with the American organized labor movement for this purpose. Service in government factories and private establishments, in transportation agencies, all should conform to trade union standards.

The guarantees of human conservation should be recognized in war as well as in peace. Wherever changes in the organization of industry are necessary upon a war basis, they should be made in accord with plans agreed upon by representatives of the government and those engaged and employed in the industry. We recognize that in war, in certain employments requiring high skill, it is necessary to retain in industrial service the workers specially fitted therefor. In any eventuality when women may be employed, we insist that equal pay for equal work shall prevail without regard to sex.

Finally, in order to safeguard all the interests of the wage-earners organized labor should have representation on all agencies determining and administering policies of national defense. It is particularly important that organized labor should have representatives on all boards authorized to control publicity during war times. The workers have suffered much injustice in war times by limitations upon their right to speak freely and to secure publicity for their just grievances.

Organized labor has earned the right to make these demands. It is the agency that, in all countries, stands for human rights and is the defender of the welfare and interests of the masses of the people. It is an agency that has international recognition which is not seeking to rob, exploit or corrupt foreign governments but instead seeks to maintain human rights and interests the world over, nor does it have to dispel suspicion nor prove its motives either at home or abroad.

The present war discloses the struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experiences of other nations. Democracy can not be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific principles of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace or war.

We, the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in national conference assembled in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the stand-

ards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic.

In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service.

After careful consideration and thorough discussion of each paragraph of the declaration the members of the conference unanimously adopted it. Thus the declaration of Labor's attitude whether in peace or in war was unanimously set forth by the conference before the declaration of war by the Congress of the United States.

In addition to the declaration of principle it is necessary to organize agencies for carrying the declaration into effect. As was reported to the Baltimore Convention President Wilson appointed the President of the American Federation of Labor one of the seven men composing the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. In carrying on the work of the Advisory Commission each member of the Commission was authorized to appoint a committee to help him in performing his duties. Mr. Gompers, as chairman of the Committee on Labor Including Conservation and Welfare of Workers, asked a number of representative men and women to accept membership on his committee. Since the jurisdiction of the committee was to be as wide as the labor relations arising out of war work for the government, it was fitting that the members of the committee should represent all elements concerned in determining or regulating labor conditions. The personnel of the committee, therefore, included employers of labor, financiers, directors of corporations, publicists, technicians, as well as representatives of men and women employed as wage-earners. The functions of the committee were purely advisory and necessarily subject to the approval of the Advisory Commission and the Council of National Defense. For practical work the following committees were organized:

Executive Committee.
Wages and Hours.
Mediation and Conciliation.
Women in Industry.
Information and Statistics.
Press.
Publicity.
Cost of Living and Domestic Economy.

Welfare Work, which includes the following divisions:

(a) Industrial Safety.
(b) Sanitation.
(c) Vocational Education.
(d) Housing.
(e) Recreation.
(f) Public Education in Health Matters.
(g) Standard Guides for Employers.

English Labor Commission

Realizing that the experience of workers in other countries who had been meeting and solving labor war problems would be of benefit to the workers of this country who were taking the initial steps in war matters, President Gompers cabled to Premier Lloyd George

of Great Britain and Premier Ribot of France asking them to send representative labor men to advise with American workers. Mr. Lloyd George promptly cabled that he would send a commission of labor men as requested. Ambassador Jusserand of France wrote Mr. Gompers that he was instructed by his government to see that the best and most appropriate plan for Mr. Gompers to follow in securing representatives of French workers was to communicate directly with Mr. Jouhaux asking him to send two French workmen. In accord with this suggestion Mr. Gompers cabled to Mr. Jouhaux and Mr. Keufer of Paris. A cable in reply was received to the effect that it was impossible for the French labor movement to comply with the request from America. Upon the receipt of the cable from the British government a similar request was sent to the Prime Minister of Canada that Canadian representatives of labor be sent to the conference. The British Commission consisted of the following:

Right Hon. C. W. Bowerman, Privy Councillor and member of British House of Commons; secretary of British Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee.
Right Hon. James H. Thomas, Privy Councillor, member of Parliament; general secretary National Union of Railwaymen, Great Britain and Ireland.
Joseph Davies, member of the secretariat of the prime minister.
H. W. Garrod, representing labor, department of Ministry of Munitions.

The Canadian representatives were:

J. C. Waters, President of the Trades and Labor Council of Canada.
Giddeon D. Robertson, Vice-President of the National Association of Railway Telegraphers.

As soon as the British delegates arrived in this country a meeting of the Committee on Labor was arranged for April 2. There was a large attendance at the meeting which lasted all day and evening. The British labor men were given ample opportunity to relate the full story of the war experiences of the English workers and to tell how the British Government and the English workers have worked out their joint problems and to answer all questions asked by the members of the Committee on Labor. The valuable information presented in these meetings was recorded stenographically, published in the *American Federationist* and later was made a Senate document.*

Arrangements were made for the British delegates to visit some of the industrial centers and to speak to representative audiences in various cities which included New York, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Cleveland, Albany, Schenectady, and Boston. In these meetings the members of the British Labor Commission told how the English people were meeting their labor problems arising out of war work and conditions and made suggestions to Americans how to deal with local situations.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Compensation

One of the most conspicuous services rendered by the Committee on Labor is the Soldiers' and Sailors' Compensation Legislation. In the first meeting of the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor, compensation to be paid to soldiers and sailors and the problem of taking care of their families were discussed. Later, through Mr. Gompers, the matter was presented to the Council of National Defense with the suggestion that the Committee on Labor be authorized to take up the whole subject-matter and to draft appropriate legislation. The suggestion was approved by the Council of National Defense. Mr. Gompers appointed Judge Julian W. Mack as chairman of the committee to draft the legislation. This committee reported to the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor the most comprehensive legislation of this character ever drafted.

Judge Mack and his committee afterwards cooperated with the committee appointed by the Treasury Department to investigate the matter of insurance for soldiers and sailors and to make report to that department. As a result of conference the bill, as drawn by Judge Mack, was adopted as the report of the Treasury Committee and in this form was

*The document is No. 84, 65th Congress, 1st session.

approved by the Council of National Defense and the President of the United States. The bill thus became an administration measure.

The military and naval compensation and insurance bill extends the work of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, which was established at the beginning of the war, first, to provide insurance for ships and then for merchant seamen. It is a great step forward in giving to the men in the service not charity but justice, in telling them in advance just what they will get, and thus freeing them and their families from that worst of all fears, the fear that they and their loved ones may become objects of charity.

It provides for a generous contribution by the government to the wife and the children of all enlisted men during the period that the husband and father is fighting for his country, but it does not absolve him from his primary duty of contributing in proportion to his pay to their support. Every man with wife or child must give at least $15 a month; if his pay exceeds $30 a month, he must give more than that, up to one-half his pay, provided the government itself contributes more than that. The government adds monthly from $5 for a single orphan child, up to $50 for a wife and five children. While a man does not have to give anything to other dependents, he may give a small amount monthly to dependent father, mother, brother, sister or grandchild, and in that event the government will help along. The highest amount, however, that the government adds is $50 a month.

If a man becomes disabled or dies in the line of duty, he and his family are no longer given a gratuitous pension, but they are given compensation, in analogy to the compensation given to working men in the civil employment of the government. But this disability compensation differs from that provided in any other law. It takes the family as the unit that is serving the country, not the individual man. It bases the compensation upon the size of the family from time to time. While a totally disabled bachelor will get $30 a month, the man with a wife and four children will get $75 a month. Twenty dollars is added if a nurse or attendant is required; $10 more if a man has a dependent widowed mother; but if he loses both feet, both hands, both eyes, or becomes totally blind, or helplessly bedridden, he gets $100 a month regardless of whether he is married or not. In case of his death resulting from injuries or disease received in the line of duty, the widow and children and widowed mother get sums ranging from $20 to $75 a month, according to the size of the family. And no distinction is made between a private and the highest officer.

But the great new feature of this bill, the feature that marks it as the most progressive social legislation of any country in the war, is the insurance article. Men who go into the war can not protect themselves by insurance because private companies necessarily charge a prohibitive rate. Under this law the entire people bear the war risk. The government is selling insurance to the men at peace time rates; but more than this, it is not even charging what private companies charge in peace times; it cuts off all that they add for expenses. And this is done because the government, in the first place, has only the expense of administration and none of the other expenses that private companies have, and, in the second place, because it was believed right and just that the entire people should bear the cost of administering this branch of the service. And as the only sensible kind of insurance for a man to take when, as in these cases, he is about to go into an extra-hazardous employment for a short time, is the cheapest possible insurance, the government is offering only that—a yearly renewable term insurance that costs a man of 29 about $8 per thousand annually. But as that kind of insurance costs more each year and would be a terrible burden if the man reached old age, the law compels him to change it into one of the ordinary forms, costing somewhat more but much better as a permanent thing, within five years after the war. This permanent insurance, however, will also be issued at net rates without any charge for expenses.

Men must make up their minds promptly whether they want the insurance or not. They are given four months time, and any man, private or officer, can take from $1,000 to $10,000 worth of it. The insurance is wisely guarded. It can not be assigned; it can not be taken by creditors either of the insured or of the beneficiary; it is payable only to certain relatives—wife, child, grandchild, parent, brother or sister; and when it falls due it will not be paid out in a lump sum, but in monthly installments over a period of 20 years, with 3½ per cent interest on the unpaid installments. That means that on a $10,000 insurance policy, the family will get $57.50 a month for 20 years. And for good measure the government has thrown in this additional provision, that if a man becomes totally and permanently

disabled these monthly payments will begin and they will continue during his entire life, even though he lives more than 20 years.

Housing

Another big problem upon which the Labor Committee has been helpful is the housing problem resulting from congestion in centers where war production is being carried on and where the number of workers that have been gathered together far exceed the provisions for housing them. The Sub-Committee on Housing of the Committee on Labor investigated the situation existing in many localities. As a result of the investigation and the data secured it was shown that in places where work necessary for the continuation of the war was being carried on, there was already inadequate housing and such conditions that the necessary number of workers could not be secured because they could not find lodging. This situation was reported to the Advisory Commission and the Council of National Defense. It was agreed by these two bodies that a commission be appointed upon which Labor was represented by Mr. Wm. J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L.

This committee is to report definite plans and the matter is then to be brought to the President of the United States for consideration, for such action as may be immediately necessary to meet emergencies.

Other Sub-Committees of the Committee on Labor have under consideration proposals that will be submitted at the proper time.

Labor Representation

In accord with the policy adopted by the Baltimore Convention that wage-earners should have representatives on all government boards, committees, and agencies dealing with matters which concern wage-earners, an effort has been made by the organized labor movement to secure proper representation on agencies carrying on defense work. Representatives of wage-earners are upon many of the state and local committees cooperating with the national council.

One of the first war measures which vitally concern wage-earners was the selective conscription act. To see that this law was administered without discrimination and prejudice was of vital concern to them. The President of the A. F. of L. presented to the War Department that representatives of wage-earners should be appointed on the District Exemption Boards which had appellate jurisdiction over all exemption cases and direct jurisdiction over industrial cases. These District Boards were to consist of 5 persons. President Gompers was asked to submit the name of one wage-earner for membership upon each board. Representative labor men in each state were asked to send names which were submitted to the War Department. Upon practically every District Exemption Board there is a representative of wage-earners.

From time to time there have been constituted various boards and commissions to deal with different phases of war work. Whenever this work concerned wage-earners a request has been made for representation. There are now wage-earners on the most important agencies dealing with such work: Mr. John Donlin, President of the Building Trades, on the Emergency Construction Board; Mr. John P. White, President of the United Mine Workers of America, assistant to Dr. Harry A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator; Mr. Charles L. Baine on the special committee on War Savings Certificates appointed by Secretary McAdoo; Miss Agnes Nestor, First Vice-President of the Glove Makers, on the Women's Board; Mr. J. W. Sullivan, member of the International Typographical Union, and Mr. Wm. N. Doak, Vice-President and Legislative Committeeman of the Railway Trainmen, on the Food Administration Board; Mr. Hugh Frayne, organizer for the A. F. of L., on the War Industries Board, which acts as a clearing house for the war industry needs of the government determining the most effective way of meeting them and the best means and methods of increasing production, including creation or extension of industries demanded by the emergency, the sequence and relative urgency of the needsof the different government services, and which also considers price factors, and, in first instance the industrial and labor aspects of problems involved, and general questions affecting the purchase of commodities. The work of the committee is subdivided into the following divisions: Raw materials, finished products, priorities. All labor relations connected with any of these divisions are referred to the labor representative, Mr. Frayne. An effort is now under way to secure proper labor representation on all sub-committees.

LABOR'S WAR AGREEMENTS AND REPRESENTATION

Under the hegemony of the American Federation of Labor the workers of America have constantly pressed home upon governmental industrial agencies the right of the workers to be represented by the responsible spokesman of the toilers. While there is yet much to be attained, considerable progress has been made in putting Labor's demand into practice in everyday living.

In addition to representation on boards and commissions that are authorized to determine war plans and policies, there are other agencies that carry these problems and policies into effect. Another type of labor war problems is associated with the activities with these boards—problems growing out of employment. The most imperative war need that confronted the government after the declaration of war and the passage of the conscription act was the construction of cantonments for housing enlisted men during the period of training. The War Department had the gigantic task of constructing sixteen cantonments and sixteen camps to be ready for the soldiers when called into active service. The essence of success in achieving this gigantic construction feat was uninterrupted production by mutual moral obligation.

Agreements

Secretary of War Baker understood that continuous production could not be secured without the cooperation of the working men and he knew that that cooperation was contingent upon just wages and treatment. In order that there might be a proper understanding as a basis for cooperation, a memorandum of agreement was signed by Secretary of War Baker and President Gompers, which provided that the basic standards for employment in cantonment construction should be the union scale of wages, hours and conditions in force June 1, 1917, in the locality where the cantonment was situated. The full text of the agreement is as follows:

> "For the adjustment and control of wages, hours and conditions of labor in the construction of cantonments, there shall be created an adjustment commission of three persons, appointed by the Secretary of War; one to represent the Army, one the public, and one Labor; the last to be nominated by Samuel Gompers, member of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, and President of the A. F. of L.
>
> "As basic standards with reference to each cantonment, such commission shall use the union scale of wages, hours and conditions in force June 1, 1917, in the locality where such cantonment is situated. Consideration shall be given to special circumstances, if any, arising after said date which may require particular advances in wages or changes in other standards. Adjustments of wages, hours or conditions, made by such boards are to be treated as binding by all parties.
>
> "June 19, 1917.
>
> "NEWTON D. BAKER.
> "SAMUEL GOMPERS."

The Labor Adjustment Board established under this memorandum consisted of Gen. E. A. Garlington, representing the Army, Walter Lippmann, representing the public, and John R. Alpine, representing organized labor, appointed by President Gompers.

On July 27 an additional memorandum, signed by Secretary Baker and President Gompers, extended the application of the agreement to all other construction work which "is now or may from time to time during the war, be carried on by the War Department."

On August 10 the Secretary of the Navy approved the memorandum of June 19 and agreed to extend the operation of the Cantonment Adjustment Commission to all construction work on land which should be undertaken by the Navy Department.

On August 20 and September 4 Secretary Baker extended the memorandum to apply to repair work and to the construction of stores and warehouses.

An undertaking essential to entering the war was the work of building ships which the government had delegated to the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the Shipping Board. In launching so important and so large an enterprise the Shipping Board and the Fleet Corporation desired to avert interruptions of work due to efforts of workers to secure indus-

trial justice. They therefore entered into an agreement with representatives of labor organizations concerned, whereby an agency was organized to deal with labor relations. The text of the agreement is as follows:

Memorandum for the Adjustment of Wages, Hours, and Conditions of Labor in Shipbuilding Plants

When disputes arise concerning wages, hours, or conditions of labor, in the construction or repair of shipbuilding plants or of ships in shipyards under the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, or under said Shipping Board, or under contract with said corporation or with said board, adjustment of such disputes shall be subjected to an adjustment board of three persons, hereinafter called "the board" to be appointed by the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, one to represent the said corporation, one to represent the public, and to be nominated by the President of the United States and one to represent labor, the last to be nominated by Samuel Gompers. Two persons shall be so nominated by Samuel Gompers—one from the metal trades to sit when the matter under consideration concerns construction of shipyards or steel ships and one from among the trades primarily concerned to sit when the matter under consideration has reference to wooden hulls. Where such matter concerns wages, hours or conditions applying to the production of both kinds of ships, only one of the two said nominees representing labor shall sit on said board, the question as to which of such nominees is to sit to be determined between them, or in the event of their disagreement to be determined by Samuel Gompers. When matters concerning any plant or plants are before the board, it shall invite a person representing and designated by the owner or owners of such plant or plants, and also a person representing, or selected by the majority of the workers in the particular craft or crafts directly interested in the disputed matters, both of said representatives to sit with voting power as associate members of said board in connection with such matters.

If a question coming under the jurisdiction of the board arises with reference to such construction in a private plant in which construction is also being carried on for the Navy Department, the Secretary of the Navy or such person as he may designate shall sit with voting power as a member of the board. In the event of a tie vote, when the board is so constituted, the decision shall be referred to the chairman of the Council of National Defense or to such person as he may designate. This memorandum shall in no way serve as a precedent for procedure in government plants under the War or Navy Departments.

The plants where such construction is being carried on shall be geographically districted by the board. In each district, the contractors in whose plants such construction is being carried on, and the representatives of such international labor organizations as have members engaged in such production or construction in such plants, and as are selected for the purpose by the labor member of the board, shall be called upon, under conditions to be laid down by it, to agree upon a person or persons who shall act under the direction of the board as examiner or examiners in such district. If the board does not succeed in having an examiner so selected, then the board shall by unanimous action select a person or persons for such position. The examiner shall be subject to removal by the board at any time by unanimous vote. It shall be the duty of the District Officer of the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to report promptly to the board any dispute with reference to wages, hours or conditions of labor which he is unable to adjust satisfactorily to the principals concerned; but the board will take cognizance of such dispute when information concerning it comes from any source whatsoever. Before the district officer shall refer such dispute to the board, he shall confer with the local spokesmen or representatives of such crafts as are involved in such dispute, or with such authorized heads of any local labor organizations interested therein as may be designated by the labor member of the board, or on their request with the national head or heads of such organization or organizations or his or their duly authorized representative or representatives. When it appears to the

board that such dispute can not be so adjusted, it will promptly send an examiner for said district to such plant to bring about mutually satisfactory adjustment, the terms of which shall, if they receive the approval of the examiner, be in a report submitted by him to the board for its ratification. If the examiner does not succeed in bringing about such adjustment, he shall in his report to the board recommend terms of adjustment. The board, after due consideration and such investigation as may seem necessary, shall decide the questions at issue.

As basis standards with reference to each plant where such construction is being carred on, the board shall use such scales of wages and hours as were in force in such plant on July 15, 1917, and such conditions as obtained on said dates in such plants. Consideration shall be given by the board to any circumstances whatever arising after such wages, hours or conditions were established, and which may seem to call for changes in wages, hours or conditions. The board shall keep itself fully informed as to the relation between living costs in the several districts, and their comparison between progressive periods of time. The decisions of the board shall, under proper conditions, be retroactive, in which case accounting such as may be proper shall be made in accordance with the directions of the board. The decisions of the board will, in so far as this memorandum may be capable of achieving such result, be final and binding on all parties; but at any time after six months have elapsed following such ratified agreement or any such final decision by the board on any question as to wages, hours or conditions in any plant, such question may be reopened for adjustment upon the request of the majority of the craft or crafts at such plant affected by such agreement or decision.

August 20, 1917.

The above final draft being the same with minor changes as that agreed to by the Secretary of the Navy on August 16, is hereby approved:

F. D. Roosevelt, August 20, acting Secretary of the Navy.
Edward N. Hurley, Chairman U. S. Shipping Board.
W. L. Capps, General Manager Emergency Fleet Corporation.
Jas. O'Connell, President Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.
Wm. H. Johnston, President International Association of Machinists.
A. J. Berres, Secretary-Treasurer Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.
Approved as approved by the above August 20, 1917, Samuel Gompers.
Joseph F. Valentine, President International Molders' Union, per S. G.
Representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
Theobald M. Guerin, General Executive Board, First District.
John Donlin, President Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.
Frank J. McNulty, President International Brotherhood of Electricial Workers, per S. G.
John R. Alpine, President United Association of Plumbers, Gas, Steam and Hot Water Fitters, etc., per S. G.
Milton Snellings, President International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, per S. G.
Joseph A. Franklin, President International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, per A. J. B.
Jas. Wilson, President Patternmakers' League of North America, per S. G.
J. W. Kline, President International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths of America, per S. G.
W. W. Britton, President Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' Union of North America.
J. J. Hynes, President Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance.

Submitted as signed Aug. 25, 1917:
LOUIS B. WEHLE.

The board constituted under this agreement consists of V. Everett Macy, representing the public, appointed by President Wilson; L. A. Coolidge, representing the Fleet Corporation, and A. J. Berres, representing organized labor and appointed by President Gompers.

The Shipping Board entered into an agreement which would enable it to secure the cooperation of the seamen of the country and to offer to these workers inducements to remain in their calling, and to bring back others who had left the calling, and to attract American citizens of worth to accept service on board ships. A sufficient supply of seamen is indispensable to the merchant vessels of our country, and the Shipping Board felt that the only basis upon which they could rightly expect such a supply was by assuring fair conditions of work and pay to the seamen. A memorandum of understanding had beer reached in a conference between the ship owners and seamen's organizations on May 8 1917. At a conference held in Washington on August 8, at which were present six representatives of the ship owners, six representatives of the seafaring employes, a representative each from the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor, and the Shipping Board, the following memorandum was adopted:

> "The representatives of the steamship lines and of the organized seamen agreed with the Shipping Board that some action ought to be taken looking to an increase in the number of seamen in order to furnish men for the vessels trading to England and France carrying supplies and to yet continue an uninterrupted coastwise trade.
>
> To attain this purpose the representatives of the shipping lines in cooperation with the Shipping Board and the organized seamen tentatively agreed to cooperate for the attainment of this end in the following manner:
>
> Substantially all the steamship lines will agree to pay the following wage: Sailors and firemen, $60 per month; coal passers, $50 per month; oilers and watertenders, $65 per month; boatswains, $70 per month; carpenters, $75 per month; *overtime pay for cargo work 50 cents, for ship work, 40 cents per hour.* Bonus going to the war zone 50 per cent of the wages, wages and bonus to continue until crew arrive back in the United States; $100 compensation for loss of effects caused by war conditions. *The scale of wages and bonus for cooks and stewards at present in force be maintained and continued during the continuance of this agreement.*
>
> That a certain number of boys determined by the number of men carried are to be employed in addition to the usual crew, that a number of ordinary seamen will be employed in proportion to the able seamen carried, taking as an instance a vessel now carrying eight men on deck will carry six able seamen, two ordinary seamen and two boys, such boys and ordinary seamen to have ample opportunity to learn the work usually demanded of able seamen.
>
> That the representatives of the organized seamen shall have access to and be permitted on docks and vessels during reasonable hours.
>
> The representatives of the seamen tentatively agree to join with the shipowners in an appeal to seamen now employed on shore to come back to the sea.
>
> That the bonus and other conditions arising from the war shall terminate with the war and that the wages set shall remain for one year to the end that wages be stabilized and that the men now on shore may be induced to return to the sea.
>
> That the seamen will use earnest efforts in cooperation with the officers to teach seamanship to the boys and ordinary seamen."

The memorandum was afterwards ratified by the organizations represented in the conference.

The Shipping Board also entered into the following agreement with the Longshoremen's International Association:

> *Agreement for the Adjustment and Control of Wages, Hours and Conditions of Labor in the Loading and Unloading of Vessels on the Atlantic, Gulf and Pacific Coasts.*
>
> For the adjustment and control of wages, hours and conditions of labor in the loading and unloading of vessels, there shall be created a National Adjustment Commission, located in Washington, D. C., comprised as follows: One member nominated by the Shipping Board; one nominated by the Secretary of War; one nominated by the International Longshoremen's Association; one nominated by the Committee on Shipping of the Council of National Defense, to represent the coastwise carriers and to act only in cases involving coastwise service; one nomi-

nated by the Committee on Shipping of the Council of National Defense, to represent carriers engaged in foreign trade, and to act only in cases involving foreign service.

The National Adjustment Commission shall appoint in each important port a local adjustment commission, comprised as follows: One member to repesent the Shipping Board and War Department; one to represent the International Longshoremen's Association, nominated by the International Longshoremen's Association; one to represent the carriers in foreign trade, nominated by the Committee on Shipping of the Council of National Defense, and to act only in cases involving foreign service; one nominated by the Committee on Shipping of the Council of National Defense, to represent carriers engaged in coastwise trade, and to act only in cases involving coastwise trade.

The union scale of wages, hours and conditions in force August 1, 1917, in said port shall be adopted as the basic standard with reference to each such port.

All differences which may arise in any particular port shall be adjusted by the local commission, if possible. In case either party is dissatisfied with the decision of the local commission, it may appeal to the National Commission for a review.

In case of expiration of any agreement as to scale of wages, hours and conditions now in force, the National Commission shall adjust the new scale of wages, hours and conditions, provided an agreement can not be reached by the employers and the union.

Consideration shall be given to special circumstances, if any, arising after said date of August 1, or after the acceptance of a new scale of wages, hours and conditions, which may require particular advances in wages or changes in other standards.

In all cases work shall continue uninterruptedly pending the action of any local commission or the decision of the National Adjustment Commission.

All adjustments of wages, hours and conditions made by the National Commission shall be binding on all parties.

The commission shall adopt rules of procedure and shall construe the meaning of this agreement and any ruling made by it thereunder.

The board constituted under this agreement consists of Chairman R. B. Stevens, United States Shipping Board; Stanley King, War Department; P. A. S. Franklin and H. H. Raymond for the Ship Operators; and T. V. O'Conner for the International Longshoremen's Association.

For years the leather workers have been struggling to secure just terms and conditions on contract work for the government. The following agreement was entered into by the United States of America and employes and employers in the leather goods industries:

Agreement Between the United States of America and the Parties Hereunto Subscribed

1. There shall be created a national Harness and Saddlery Adjustment Commission hereinafter referred to as "the commission," composed of four members of which two members shall be appointed by the Secretary of War to represent the public; one member by the manufacturers signatory hereto, and one member by the United Leather Workers' International Union. One of the members of this commission appointed by the Secretary of War shall be designated by him as chairman. Each member including the chairman shall be entitled to one vote, and a majority vote shall govern in all cases.

2. The commission shall adjust all differences now existing or that may hereafter arise between the contractors and employes engaged in the production of articles under agreement to which the United States is a party, including wages, hours and conditions of labor. The commission may adopt rules, regulations and methods of procedure in order to carry this agreement into effect and all decisions or adjustments made by it shall be binding upon and complied with by the contractors signatory hereto, who have contracts with the United States, and also by the operatives, members of the United Leather Workers' International Union represented in the execution of this agreement by their president.

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3. This agreement shall be in full force and effect for the duration of the present war.

4. The parties hereto severally agree that during the war there shall be no interruption of work upon which they are engaged in the carrying out of contracts to which the United States is a party.

5. In the event that any changes in wage scales are made or approved by the commission in carrying out its functions under this agreement, compensatory adjustments shall be made by the United States in accordance with the recommendations of the commission.

6. The scale of wages for operatives for work done under contracts to which the United States and the contractors signatory hereto are parties, shall in no case be less than is now in effect.

7. The contractors signatory hereto agree that non-union labor employed in carrying out work under a contract to which the United States is a party shall receive the same rates of compensation as the members of the United Leather Workers' International Union.

September 26, 1917.

Manufacturers:

The Strecker Bros. Co.; Nashville Saddlery Co.; McIntyre Burrall Co.; Walter Boyt Saddlery Co.; The Julius J. Bantlin Co.; Morley Bros.; The J. H. & F. A. Sells Co.; Kansas City Saddlery Co., by H. B. Wilbur, Pres.; G. H. Schoellkopf Saddlery Co.; John C. Nichols Harness Mfg. Co., by John C. Nichols; Columbia Harness Co., by B. H. Pye, Pres.; Janney Semple Hill & Co., by Jas. A. Mayer; Wm. Purcell Harness Co., by Wm. Purcell; Hart Saddlery Co., by W. R. Medearis, Vice-Pres.; Ruwart Saddlery Co., by Jos. E. Ruwart, Pres.; Dorries & Co., Inc., by A. S. Butler, Pres.; A. N. Edwards, Chicago, Ill.; Armstrong & Graham, Detroit, Mich., by Edwin E. Armstrong.; Sears Saddlery Co., by I. L. Sears, Pres.; J. B. Sickles Saddlery Co., by Secretary; Henry Hotze & Sons, per Henry Hotze; J. Straus Saddlery Co., by I. Sickel, Sec. & Treas.; Rice, Sorin Saddlery Co., by H. E. Rice, Pres.; Chas. Kronauer & Co., by Chas. Kronauer; The Waterloo Saddlery Co.; Paris Saddlery Co., by W. A. Callin, Pres.; Fort Wayne Saddlery Co., B. H. Thompson, Mgr.; Harbison & Gathright, by Owen Gathright; Forman Breen Mfg. Co., by E. M. Breen, Pres.; Des Moines Saddlery Co., by G. M. Braband; The Atchison Saddlery Co., by Henry Diegel; Straus Bodenheimer Saddlery Co., by A. Bodenheimer, Pres.; S. C. Gallup Saddlery Co., by Jas. Wimmer, Pres.; Clinton Saddlery Co., B. Thompson, Pres.; J. H. Haney & Co., by J. H. Haney; Scheffer & Rossum Co., by J. W. Gaver, Pres.; Frank F. Kress, by F. F. Kress; La Porte Harness Co., O. H. Worch, Pres.; Dodson Saddlery Co., by E. C. Dodson, Pres.; L. Frank Saddlery Co., by Henry Othmer; Tenison Bros. Saddlery Co., by F. Schankenberg; W. Davis & Sons, by J. W. Gaver; F. S. Johnson & Co., by J. W. Gaver; Keyston Bros., by J. W. Gaver; A. A. Van Voorhies & Co., by J. W. Gaver; Brauer Bros. Mfg. Co.; Ellsworth Haffner Co.; Hess & Hopkins Leather Co.; Naylon-Pierson-Hough Co.; Hermann Sanford Saddlery Co., Springfield, Mo.; Indianapolis Saddlery Co., Indianapolis, Ind.; Simmons Saddlery Co., St. Louis, Mo.; J. P. Krieger Saddlery Co., Louisville, Ky.; Kline Savidge Co., Philadelphia, Pa.; Duncan & Sons, Inc., Seattle, Wash.; The Wolf Mfg. Co., Quincy, Ill.; Lerch Brothers, Inc., Baltimore, Md.

Leather Workers:

W. E. Bryan, Genl. Pres., United Leather Workers' International Union, 504-505 Postal Building, Kansas City, Mo.

The board constituted under this agreement is composed of the following: Henry Diegel, W. E. Bryan, Col. John S. Fair, Major John R. Simpson and Stanley King.

These various agreements constituted but a beginning of the necessary organization of relations between workers engaged upon war work and the government. There remains

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yet the broad field of the production of supplies and munitions. Agreements for the adjustment of labor relations upon this necessary work must be based upon the same principles embodied in the agreements already consummated accepting as basic standards union contitions of hours and work already established, together with provisions for meeting higher wages necessary to meet increasing costs of living. It is our hope that agreements covering this important general field will soon be entered into by the government and the organizations of the workers concerned.

THE PRESIDENT'S MISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE LABOR CONDITIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST AND MOUNTAIN REGION

The extent and the nature of industrial unrest that has been manifested in the western part of this country has been the cause of deep concern to those responsible for the conduct of the nation's affairs. This unrest has a background of discontent growing out of industrial and social injustice. Wage-earners and the common people generally feel that their struggles for a square deal have met with tremendous opposition. In some of the western states and localities the machinery of government and justice had broken down and constitutional and legal rights disregarded. Inquiries and appeal for assistance were made to the office of the American Federation of Labor by wage-earners who were unable to secure protection through state authorities. From Washington, Montana, Idaho, Michigan, New Mexico, Arizona and other places came reports that wage-earners and representatives of the organized labor movement were illegally arrested, denied the rights of free citizens, and in some cases, driven out of the state or locality. The most audacious of these invasions of the rights of free citizens were the deportations of wage-earners and others from New Mexico and Arizona. Irresponsible bands of vigilantes, or so-called Loyalty Leagues, usurped powers denied to any governmental agency and in a most arbitrary manner dictated the movement of citizens in the locality. These irresponsible agencies forbade the use of public highways, prevented travel from city to city, and finally exercised the authority to determine what men should be allowed to live and work within the community.

The rule of the vigilantes, or so-called Loyalty Leagues, of Arizona brought the situation to such a crisis in that state that the State Federation of Labor was convinced that unless some relief could be found the organized labor movement of Arizona would be completely exterminated. The "Loyalty League" of the state is composed of those who have for years waged relentless war against bona fide organized labor and by their efforts to prevent improved industrial conditions have frequently planned and fostered border warfare between this country and Mexico. In Arizona the deportation of over a thousand people from the state was part of the tactics to defeat a strike that was in progress. Over 10,000 Mexican copper miners were on strike for the right to organize and higher wages. So critical was the situation in Arizona that the State Federation of Labor sent a committee to place the situation before the President of the A. F. of L. When the documents and information had been carefully considered, President Gompers secured a conference with the President of the United States and asked him to take some action to protect the rights of the peaceful, law-abiding workers dwelling within that state. In this same conference similar conditions in other states were also presented. President Wilson, fully appreciative of the seriousness of the conditions, asked the Council of National Defense to take the matter under advisement. That Council requested the President to appoint a commission to deal with the western situation. President Wilson appointed a commission and sent the following memorandum of instructions to the chairman of the commission, Secretary of Labor, W. B. Wilson:

Memorandum For the Secretary of Labor

I am very much interested in the labor situation in the mountain region and on the Pacific Coast. I have listened with the closest attention to the charges of misconduct and injustice that have been made against each other by representatives of employers and employes. I am not so much concerned, however, with the manner in which they have treated each other in the past as I am desirous of seeing some kind of a working arrangement arrived at for the future, particularly during the period of the war, on a basis that will be fair to all parties concerned. To assist in the accomplishment of that purpose, I have decided to appoint a commission to visit the mountain and Pacific Coast states as my personal representa-

tives. The commission will consist of William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor; Col. J. L. Spangler, of Pennsylvania; Verner Z. Reed, of Colorado; John H. Walker, of Illinois; and E. P. Marsh, of Washington. Felix Frankfurter of New York will act as secretary of the commission.

It will be the duty of the commission to visit in each instance the governor of the state, advising him that they are there as the personal representatives of the President with a view to lending sympathetic counsel and aid to the state government in the development of a better understanding, and also to deal with employers and employes in a conciliatory spirit, seek to compose differences and allay misunderstanding and to foster a feeling that the national government is actively interested in the situation. Wherever it is deemed advisable conferences of employers and employes should be called with the purpose of working out a mutual understanding between them which will insure the continued operation of the industry on conditions acceptable to both sides. The commission should also endeavor to learn the real causes for any discontent which may exist on either side, not by the formal process of public hearings but by getting into touch with workmen and employers by the more informational process of personal conversation. I would be pleased to have the commission report to me from time to time such information as may require immediate attention.

September 18, 1917.

The President appointed J. H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and E. P. Marsh, President of the Washington State Federation of Labor, upon the recommendation of President Gompers. The commission left Washington Sunday, September 30, and it is believed that the duties assigned to it can not be completed within a time which will permit a report to this convention.

For further information upon this subject we refer to the article which appeared in the October issue of the *American Federationist* under the title, "Law Versus Vigilante."

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR

Immediately after the declaration of war by the United States Government, an agitation was commenced for the purpose of organizing what was to be known as an "Industrial Reserve." It was proposed that men in industry should become part of a semi-military organization to be directed and controlled by our military establishment, to the end that those employed in industry could be shifted from one location to another. Because of its military feature, the proposition was opposed by the officers of the American Federation of Labor. In the light of the experience gleaned in foreign countries now engaged in war, it appears that the shifting of workers has not only been necessary but vital to the carrying on of the great conflict. Several plans have been proposed, but none thus far has been accepted as a proper solution of the problem. If the war continues for any considerable period, this question will have to be met. The primary agency necessary for dealing with proper adjustment of workers is a national employment bureau, equipped to give workers information of employment opportunities and employers information of available and suitable workers. It is one of the necessary and essential activities of the war that certain industries on occasions are called upon to materially increase production, and, in this event, some plan must be inaugurated to meet the needs of the government.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

With the vast changes going on in economic organization, in addition to the demands made upon it because of the participation of millions of men engaged on the battlefields of Europe and with the entrance of the United States into the world war thus drawing other hundreds of thousands from industrial pursuits, there are presented questions of labor supply and adjustment that we will undoubtedly be called upon to meet in the near future. While it is not clear yet that with a proper distribution of present labor there is an actual shortage, yet if the present conditions and tendencies continue, it may come about that the demands made upon the population of this country for man power in both the military service and necessary industries, a more general advent of women as workers in industry will come about.

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The responsibilities resting upon this government to supply the allied forces on European battlefields with foodstuffs, raw materials and other necessary commodities, and to build ships, presages a constantly increasing demand by the industries of this country for workers. The American Federation of Labor throughout its history has realized that women in industry would become a continuing economic problem and has endeavored to the best of its ability to extend organization among women. The policy of the organized labor movement has been to demand for women equal pay with men for like service.

The A. F. of L. reiterates its well-defined position and insists that equal pay should be given for equal work without regard to sex. We urge that wherever the introduction of women in industry becomes necessary because of shortage of man power, every effort be put forth, not only by the Federation, but by every national union, state federation, and local union to the end that equal pay for equal work shall be accorded to the women who are in industry and who shall come into it. To pay women workers less than men is to tear down the American standard of life, not only during the war but for a long time after.

This purpose can be achieved only through organization. Trade unionists in those industries in which women may be employed must see to it that the women who are fellow wage-earners learn the principles and the methods of collective action. The problems and the principles of betterment for women workers are identical with those of men workers. Mutual interests, therefore, necessitate united action for common protection and welfare.

HIGH COST OF LIVING

At the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor, 1916, there were several resolutions introduced and adopted by the convention, directing that efforts be made by the officers of the Federation to secure the passage of legislation which would insure relief from the high cost of living. These resolutions specifically demanded the creation of a Federal Commission empowered to investigate all phases of the subject and recommend to Congress measures designed to remedy the abnormal conditions brought about since the inauguration of the world war, and also to prevent a recurrence of similar conditions in the future.

Other resolutions were passed, the intent of which was to secure legislation authorizing an embargo upon the exportation of foodstuffs with a view to lessening prices in this country. The Executive Council at its January meeting had these resolutions under consideration, and directed President Gompers to carry into effect, so far as possible, the purport of the convention action.

In accordance with the adoption of the resolution directing the E. C. of the A. F. of L. to secure a Federal Commission to investigate all phases of the subject, our efforts were directed in assisting to secure the passage of H. R. 4188, known as the Food Survey Bill, which passed Congress and became a law August 10, 1917.

Upon the designation by the President of Herbert C. Hoover, as Food Administrator, a conference was called at the A. F. of L. Building of representatives of the labor organizations having their headquarters in Washington, together with the representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods and members of the labor group in Congress, as well as a number of sympathetic Congressmen. Mr. Hoover was invited to attend. At this meeting, Mr. Hoover outlined his plans to meet the situation, and urged that the A. F. of L. give its support to the Lever Bill, H. R. 4961, known as the Food Control Bill.

The Federation gave its full support to the principles involved in this legislation, but suggested that the provision which said: "That any person who conspires, combines, agrees, or arranges with any other person to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any necessaries; to restrict the supply of any necessaries; to restrict the distribution of any necessaries; to prevent, limit, or lessen the manufacture or production of any necessaries in order to enhance the price thereof shall upon conviction thereof, be fined not exceeding $10,000 or be imprisoned for not more than two years, or both," be added to by the incorporation of an amendment declaring that the intent of this section was not to repeal any of the labor provisions of the Clayton Law. It was feared that the language in this section might be construed to make it unlawful for workmen engaged in food transportation and production to strike.

An amendment was introduced for the purpose of safeguarding Labor's interests in accordance with the above suggestion, and, while Mr. Hoover stated that the section was

not intended to prevent workmen from ceasing work, yet acquiesced in the amendment proposed and rendered valuable assistance in an effort to secure its adoption. Upon our failure to secure the adoption of this amendment, the matter was taken up through the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense. The Attorney-General concurred in the view that the section was not intended to restrict the right of workmen to strike. As a further precaution, an arrangement was made whereby the Attorney-General was to communicate with all of the attorneys representing the government, informing them of his opinion and directing that no action be instituted against workmen engaged in the industries referred to for ceasing to perform labor.

During the period that the Food Control Bill was being considered by the administration, the United States Supreme Court rendered its decision in the case of the Paine Lumber Co. *vs.* United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in which the court decided that the conspiracy clauses of the Sherman Law could not be made operative by a private party suing for an injunction against another private party or by one corporation against another corporation. The remedy for such a person or corporation is to apply to the Attorney-General of the United States and have him institute a suit for injunction or restraining order.

Therefore, also in view of our successes since the first session of the Sixty-third Congress in having enacted and reenacted at each recurring session of Congress the prohibitory section of the appropriation provision in the anti-trust section of the Sundry Civil Act, whereby none of the money so appropriated can be used by government officials to prosecute workers in their endeavors to increase wages, decrease hours, or improve working conditions under the general charge of conspiracy or restraint of trade under the Sherman Act, we felt that our position was sufficiently safe not to press further for similar legislation in the Food Control Bill. President Gompers made the situation clear in a telegram to Secretary Bohm, of the Central Federated Union of New York, which reads as follows:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 9, 1917.*

"American Federation of Labor did not delay passage of Food Administration measure for following reasons: Under the interpretation of United States Supreme Court in the case of Paine Lumber Company *versus* United Brotherhood of Carpenters it was held that private individuals could not institute legal proceedings under anti-trust legislation. Only the government could take action. Sundry Civil Appropriation Laws contain provisions that no appropriation for judiciary can be used to prosecute labor organizations under anti-trust legislation. High authority has given assurance that section 4 of Food Administration measure would not be interpreted to apply to normal and necessary activities of trade unions. The proviso suggested by A. F. of L. that section 4 should not be interpreted to repeal labor sections of Clayton Anti-trust Act will be introduced in Senate as a separate measure. This course has the approval of President Wilson who will assist toward the enactment of proposed measure."

It is only just that we should incorporate in this record a tribute to the splendid services rendered the cause of labor in this endeavor by Representative Edward Keating, of Colorado, and Senator Henry F. Hollis, of New Hampshire. These gentlemen did everything within their power to protect and conserve the interests of Labor while the Food Control Bill was before the two Houses of Congress.

The enactment of drastic food price control legislation to meet the exigencies of war is a departure from the usual conception of legislative prerogatives. It could not be expected, however, that radical reductions in food prices would be brought about immediately subsequent to the passage of this legislation, for the reason that a complete reorganization of usual commercial methods was authorized by the terms of the food control law.

The establishment of governmental agencies necessary to the enforcement of the act imposed a task of great magnitude upon those directed to carry into effect its provisions. Definite results have been secured in stabilizing the price of wheat, which has also had a sympathetic influence in steadying the price of flour. The details of the complete program of food price control have not yet been fully worked out and promulgated. The A. F. of L. was accorded the opportunity of having a representative, J. W. Sullivan, appointed to assist in formulating plans to carry out the provisions of the food price control law. William N.

Doak, representing the railroad brotherhoods, was also appointed to collaborate with Mr. Sullivan.

Indications point to a slight modification of the prices of staple commodities as a result of the operation of the law, although, as previously stated, appreciable effect of the law has not yet been made manifest. If it is eventually demonstrated that the present legislation is inadequate to secure the relief to which all of the people of our country are entitled, the A. F. of L., in accordance with the action of the Baltimore Convention, will make still further efforts to assist in securing legislation that will provide the relief sought.

In connection with this general subject, it is exceedingly important that the matter of cooperation among trade unionists should be developed to the end of supplementing or anticipating legislation for the purpose of still further reducing the cost of staple products. Under the stress of war conditions, an added stimulus is given this important question, and it is suggested that trade union groups give consideration to the purchasing of supplies in quantity to meet their needs and arranging for their distribution among the members of a group or district. At a time when the cost of living is such a serious problem, it is timely and opportune for trade unionists to give a careful study to this question. A committee on cooperation will report to this convention, but the Council believes that the calling of attention to this matter was necessary because of its allied nature to food control legislation.

FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

The conflict almost inconceivably gigantic, which is being waged to make the world safe for democracy, is, at the same time, testing the efficiency and reliability of existing democratic institutions. The situation develops a number of most difficult problems. The necessity for immediate results creates a situation in which compulsion seems to have superior advantages, but the methods and agencies of autocracy are completely at variance with democracy. Its spirit and attitude of mind are essentially different. It holds that compulsion is not an efficient method; that the best permanent results can not be secured without the consent of the people. For the wonderful advantages and opportunities which democracy affords, some penalties are incurred. The mistakes of democracy result from the shortcomings of human nature and intelligence and from insufficient experience in the methods of freedom. The labor movement has always contended that the remedy is more freedom—greater opportunity for educational development and experience.

One of the especially puzzling problems which confront our people today is that connected with freedom of the press. We know that in all ages freedom of the press has been the palladium of free institutions.

The only environment in which free institutions can be maintained is generated through freedom of expression and press. Untrammeled discussion is the only safe preliminary to determination of policy. All aspects and relations of the proposition should be considered In national issues every group and every citizen has the right to express his views and information by exercising his constitutional right to freedom of expression. If he can not convince his fellows, at least his personality and his mentality are not repressed though he must yield to the expressed will of the majority.

A minority group suffering from injustice can more readily secure redress when freedom of speech exists. The minority cause of today becomes the accepted method of tomorrow.

Repression never removed any injustice or corrected an evil. Restricted expression results in constricted mental development and vision.

The public press is the public forum. It creates and directs public opinion. Publicity calculated to mislead can be counteracted by increased publicity for truth. Not restricted discussion, but more complete and enlightened discussion.

If any one abused the opportunities of freedom, there are established agencies for protecting free institutions. Let those who speak or write treasonable thoughts be tried by the courts.

We are entering upon an era that will test our constructive imagination and untrammeled thought to the uttermost, if we take advantage of the opportunities that will be presented. Timid expression and restricted discussion would be a sorry preparation for the new age we are entering.

Those who are in hearts and minds democrats are apprehensive when we see democracy about to make mistakes deplored in autocracy. While we recognize the exigencies of war

conditions, yet we hold that democracy must be more intelligent in meeting those needs than autocracy has been.

However, we recognize that war conditions present very different problems than those of peace. We know that this very freedom of expression, which is one of the great opportunities of a free people, constitutes an equally potential opportunity for the enemies of our country and our cause. Those who abuse freedom of the press in order to endanger the perpetuity of our Republic and to undermine our free institutions, should be punished as traitors to the nation. We believe that this is the only way in which this problem can be dealt with safely. To attempt to define the standards which every right-thinking citizen ought to establish to guide his public expressions and publications, would involve a very great danger to this basic right of free citizens. If these restrictions of free speech are not voluntarily assumed by citizens we hold that they ought to be vigorously dealt with at law.

The emergency through which our nation is passing puts to a test our free institutions. It devolves upon those who advocate freedom to demonstrate its effectiveness in this situation which involves the existence of the nation. Abuse of the opportunities of freedom will inevitably endanger the sacred right. We urge upon all the duty making only such usage of the right of free press as will promote the general welfare. Freedom must not be confused with license.

EIGHT HOURS

The principle of a maximum workday of eight hours has been indorsed by society and officially by the United States Government. The eight-hour workday represents a standard of productivity, of living, and of conservation. By protecting workers against over fatigue and enabling them to sustain their highest degree of productivity and skill, the eight-hour workday not only is an assurance that workers will make their most effective contribution to production, but that they will also be more useful and honorable members of society.

The eight-hour workday is no longer an experiment. It has been tried in nearly all countries and everywhere results have demonstrated that it is a basic principle upon which industry and commerce should be organized. Representatives of our Republic incorporated this humanitarian standard in an eight-hour law applying to government work and contracts.

Under war conditions the United States Government becomes the center of the nation's industry and commerce. Central authority has shifted from every private or corporation office to the government at Washington. The nation's needs are paramount. Anything that interferes with several of the collective needs of all the people must, under war conditions, be eliminated or regulated. There has resulted a complete reorganization of industrial and commercial life centered in government needs and purposes. As a result the nation's work has become government work or contracts. This condition has vastly increased the importance of the Federal eight-hour law, its interpretation and application.

The first law fixing eight hours as the maximum workday was practically nullified by narrow interpretation and application, which defeated the purpose of Congress in enacting it. This necessitated the enactment of the present eight-hour law. Again, there was manifest the tendency of officials to apply the eight-hour regulation within the narrowest possible scope. This tendency was strengthened by legal interpretations which took the heart out of the law. But organized labor refused to be defeated by legalistic interpretations and persistently stated their case for a wider interpretation and application of the law in accord with the purposes of those of Congress that enacted it.

Progress had been made before the beginning of war. The present Attorney General, Mr. Gregory, rendered an opinion which gives labor greater protection. When the large contracts for war materials were being let organized labor insistently presented their case for the application of the eight-hour law to government contracts and government work. For a time the influences of existing officialdom were strong and an enlightened policy did not prevail. Protests came from all labor organizations affected. Case after case was taken up with the government.

At the beginning of war Congress, in order to protect the eight-hour principle included in one of the sections of the Naval Appropriations law the following provision:

> **"That in case of national emergency the President is authorized to suspend the provision of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons**

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engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States: Provided further, That the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours work with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight hours."

This provision maintains the eight-hour principle while at the same time it takes care of any emergency that may necessitate longer hours of work and penalizes overtime in an effective manner that will prevent occurrence without real necessity. Whenever it has been necessary for the President of the United States to issue a proclamation suspending in any department the eight-hour workday he has quoted this clause as his warrant, despite the fact that he was amply authorized to take such action under the original law. However, this section of the Naval Appropriations law provides for overtime which is not included in the original law.

When this question of policy came to the responsible members of the present administration, a change came, and Secretary of War Baker, despite the opinions of those who had the legalistic viewpoint, decided in favor of a more liberal interpretation, and inserted in contracts already made, the eight-hour provision. A similar policy was followed by Secretary Daniels who reopened a case already decided in his department. The case in point was that of the sub-contract let by the Fore River Shipbuilding Company to the Farrell Foundry and Machine Company at Ansonia, Connecticut. The Fore River Company had established the eight-hour day, but the Farrell Company had a nine-hour day. The molders in the latter company, who were working on the government contract, requested time and one-half for all time over eight hours. Secretary Daniels investigated the case and decided that under the eight-hour law time and one-half should be paid these molders on the sub-contract for all overtime.

With this extension of government work, carrying with it the principle of the basic eight-hour workday, the question has become acute in all industries that are still under private control or engaged in work for private concerns. The failure of all concerns to adopt the eight-hour basis is the cause of more industrial discontent and unrest than any other one condition. In many cases failure of private employers to establish this standard creates labor disturbances that interfere with work for the government and seriously impede plans for national defense. We urge, therefore, that some general action be taken by administrative authority declaring for an eight-hour day in all commerce and industries as a war measure. In our judgment such an action would be the most effective fundamental provision that could be adopted to promote general interests and welfare. In many provisions for the benefit of those saving the nation in this critical emergency, the administration has shown honest and understanding concern for the welfare of those who are risking their lives and their all for the sacred cause in which our Republic is engaged. It is in accord with this policy that we urge this additional measure.

It is a measure based upon appreciation of the value of human life. Conservation of that wonderful yet perishable thing called human productivity is of fundamental consequence to the continued progress and perpetuity of the whole nation.

Such a policy adopted by the foremost Republic of the world, engaged in a titanic world conflict for universal freedom and democracy, would come with a tremendous inspiration that would stir the whole world to its depths. No one single policy could do more to hearten the entire nation, to put courage into those upon the firing line, and to demonstrate beyond a shadow of a doubt the honesty of purpose and the idealism of our government in the fight it is making for better standards of life and for humanity as a whole.

THE AMERICAN ALLIANCE FOR LABOR AND DEMOCRACY

In May of this year a convention call was sent out through the city of New York by the so-called Workingmen's Council asking the labor organizations to send delegates to a conference to be held in New York City to consider what provisions ought to be made to protect the interests of labor during the war. The Workingmen's Council was a branch of the so-called People's Council, an organization that seemed to be under the domination of forces out of harmony with our government and the policy declared by the authorized representatives of our people.

The names of organizations on the letterhead used in calling the conference were the United Hebrew Trades, the Capmakers and Ladies' Garment Workers. The officers of the

capmakers and ladies' garment workers' organizations gave solemn assurance that they were neither consulted nor did they give consent to the use of the names of their organizations to that call. The possible influence of such a conference aroused great indignation among the wage-earners of New York. The situation in New York City was already very critical. Among the great number of those who lived in New York and who lived in a world out of touch with American thought and action, public opinion was molded and directed by foreign press whose policies and activities were clearly in furtherance of the interests of the enemies of western democracy. There was apprehension lest wage-earners of New York City would become alienated from the best interests of America and from cooperation with American workers.

Because of the seriousness of the situation, President Gompers met with the Central Federated Union of New York City and pointed out the dangerous situation to the delegates. The C. F. U., convinced of the correctness of Mr. Gompers' viewpoint disapproved the proposed conference of the Workingmen's Council and indorsed an effort to unite the workers of New York City and State, in furtherance of cooperation for labor and democracy. A local organization was formed in New York and given the name American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. However, as the activities of the Workingmen's Council were carried to other states, the activities of the American Alliance also became nation wide. The simple declaration upon which the alliance began work was as follows:

> "It is the sense of this conference that it is the duty of all the people of the United States, without regard to class, nationality, politics or religion, faithfully and loyally to support the government of the United States in carrying the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion, and we pledge ourselves to every honorable effort for the accomplishment of that purpose."

When the insidious efforts of the enemies of our country had reached out into many of the states, it became clear that the true representatives of labor and democracy in this country ought to call a national conference to make plain not only their position but to disclose the disrupting destructive purposes of the other movements. A conference was therefore held in Minneapolis beginning September 5. The following letter was sent to the President of the United States because it was felt that he was in accord with the purposes of the alliance:

WASHINGTON, *August 24, 1917.*

SIR: As chairman of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, and by authority of the Advisory Board thereof, I beg to have the honor to respectfully invite you to deliver an address at the national conference called by the Alliance to be held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, September fifth, sixth and seventh.

May I as briefly as possible recite a few incidents which have led to the call for this national conference?

On Friday evening, June 29, having been invited to deliver an address before the New York Central Federated Union, I accepted and performed that service. It is not necessary that I should dwell upon that which I communicated to my fellow-workers of New York. Suffice it to know that as a result of that meeting the New York Central Federated Union being the representatives of the organized labor movement of New York and vicinity, and affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, adopted a resolution expressing appreciation of the service which I had rendered; determined upon a larger campaign for the more thorough Americanization of the labor movement of New York and vicinity (that is as far as its jurisdiction went) and it appointed a committee to cooperate with me for the purpose of putting that declaration into effect.

For some time there has been in existence a labor publicity bureau in New York. I called and held a conference to discuss ways and means by which the resolution of the New York Central Federated Union might become most effective. Several conferences were held in New York thereafter, in which a constantly growing number of persons participated. It was decided to organize a body of active men and women and to invite the cooperation of organizations of labor, and the following title was adopted as the name of that organization: American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

At one of the earliest conferences, the following was adopted as a declaration of its purposes:

"It is the sense of this conference that it is the duty of all the people of the United States, without regard to class, nationality, politics or religion, faithfully and loyally to support the government of the United States in carrying the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion, and we pledge ourselves to every honorable effort for the accomplishment of that purpose."

This declaration has been and will be our guide in the activities in which we may be engaged or the services we may be called upon to render.

The Alliance has established headquarters at 280 Broadway, New York City, and has a competent force of writers, speakers and clerical assistants. We have conducted a campaign of publicity in the printed and spoken word, and much has already been accomplished in disseminating information and securing the cooperation of many, so that there shall be the greatest possible solidarity in spirit and action among the working people and all the people, so that the republic of the United States and the democracies of the world may be triumphant in this great world struggle to make an accomplished fact what you have so well declared—that the world may be made safe for democracy.

To more thoroughly disseminate the principle and purpose for which our movement stands, to bring the message home to those who may have the opportunity of hearing and visualizing the cause for which our country has entered this titanic war, the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy has called a national conference to be held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, for the three days, beginning September 5, 1917.

Conscious of the tremendous responsibilities devolving upon you and the inconvenience which you might experience in undertaking the trip, if you will accept our invitation to deliver an address to our national conference at Minneapolis I am of the opinion that there is not any one act which would be of greater importance and of such far-reaching influence upon all our people, our country and the great cause in which we are engaged under your leadership.

Very respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Honorable WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

The President's reply follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 31, 1917.

MY DEAR MR. GOMPERS: I am sure that you understand that my inability to accept the invitation to address the Minneapolis conference of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy is due only to official necessity, and not in any degree to lack of appreciation of the importance of the occasion. The cause you and your fellow patriots uphold is one with the cause we are defending with arms. While our soldiers and sailors are doing their manful work to hold back reaction in its most brutal and aggressive form, we must oppose at home the organized and individual efforts of those dangerous elements who hide disloyalty behind a screen of specious and evasive phrases.

I have read with real pride the names of the men and women who are to take part in the Minneapolis conference. Not one but has a record of devoted service to fundamental democracy; not one but has fought the long, hard fight for equal justice, braving every bitterness that the humblest life might know a larger measure of happiness.

With all my heart I want them to feel that their devotion to country is in no-wise a betrayal of principle, and that in serving America today they are serving their cause no less faithfully than in the past. I myself have had sympathy with the fears of the workers of the United States; for the tendency of war is toward

reaction, and too often military necessities have been made an excuse for the destruction of laboriously erected industrial and social standards. These fears, happily, have proved to be baseless. With quickened sympathies and appreciation, with a new sense of the invasive and insidious dangers of oppression, our people have not only held every inch of ground that has been won by years of struggle, but have added to the gains of the Twentieth Century along every line of human betterment. Questions of wages and hours of labor and industrial readjustment have found a solution which gives to the toiler a new dignity and a new sense of social and economic security. I beg you to feel that my support has not been lacking and that the government has not failed at any point in granting every just request advanced by you and your associates in the name of the American worker.

No one who is not blind can fail to see that the battle line of democracy for America stretches today from the fields of Flanders to every house and workshop where toiling, upward striving men and women are counting the treasures of right and justice and liberty which are being threatened by our present enemies.

It has not been a matter of surprise to me that the leaders in certain groups have sought to ignore our grievances against the men who have equally misled the German people. Their insistence that a nation whose rights have been grossly violated, whose citizens have been foully murdered under their own flag, whose neighbors have been invited to join in making conquest of its territory, whose patience in pressing the claims of justice and humanity has been met with the most shameful policy of truculence and teachery; their insistence that a nation so outraged does not know its own mind, that it has no comprehensible reason for defending itself, or for joining with all its might in maintaining a free future for itself and its ideals, is of a piece with their deafness to the oft-repeated statement of our national purposes.

Is it, perhaps, that these forces of antagonism have not yet learned to know the voice of that America we love and serve? It may well be that those among us who stand ready to forward the plans of aggression bred in secret do not understand the language of democracy when it proclaims the purposes of war in terms of a peace for the peoples that shall be untroubled by those to whom men are but the pawns in their struggle for power and gain. But true Americans, those who toil here for home and the hope of better things, whose lifted eyes have caught the vision of a liberated world, have said that of the policy of blood and iron there shall be an end and that equal justice, which is the heart of democracy, shall rule in its stead.

May not those who toil and those who have made common cause of the larger hope for the masses of mankind take renewed heart as they think on these days when America has taken its stand for the rights of humanity and the fellowship of social and international justice?

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Each person who participated in the Minneapolis conference signed the following statement:

The undersigned hereby affirms that it is the duty of all the people of the United States, without regard to class, nationality, politics or religion, faithfully and loyally to support the government of the United States in carrying on the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion and gives this pledge to uphold every honorable effort for the accomplishment of that purpose, and to support the A. F. of L. as well as the declaration of organized labor's representatives made March 12, 1917, at Washington, D. C., as to "Labor's Position in Peace or in War," and agrees that this pledge shall be his right to membership in this conference of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

The purpose and the spirit of the conference held at Minneapolis is disclosed in the following declaration unanimously adopted:

> The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, in its first national conference, declares its unswerving adherence to the cause of democracy, now assailed by the forces of autocracy and militarism. As labor unionists, social reformers and socialists, we pledge our loyal support and service to the United States government and its allies in the present world conflict.
>
> We declare that the one overshadowing issue is the preservation of democracy, either democracy will endure and men will be free, or autocracy will triumph, and the race will be enslaved. On this prime issue we take our stand. We declare that the great war must be fought to a decisive result; that until autocracy is defeated there can be no hope of an honorable peace, and that to compromise the issue is only to sow the seed for bloodier and more devastating wars in the future.
>
> We declare our abhorrence of war and our devotion to the cause of peace. But we recognize that there are evils greater and more intolerable than those of war. We declare that war waged for evil ends must be met by war waged for altruistic ends. A peace bought by the surrender of every principle vital to democracy is no peace, but shameful servility. Our nation has not sought this war. As a people, we desired peace for its own sake, and we held fast to our traditional principle of keeping aloof from the political affairs of Europe. Our President, with a forbearance and a patience which some of us thought extreme, exhausted every honorable means in behalf of peace; and the declaration of war came only after many months of futile efforts to avoid a conflict. This war, so relentlessly forced upon us, must now be made the means of insuring a world-wide and permanent peace.
>
> We declare that in this crisis the one fundamental need is unity of action. The successful prosecution of the war requires that all the energies of our people be concentrated to a common purpose. After more than two years of exhaustive deliberation, in which every phase of our relation to the great world problem had been thoroughly debated, the constitutional representatives of the people declared the nation's will. Loyalty to the people demands that all acquiesce in that decision and render the government every service in their power.
>
> We strongly denounce the words and actions of those enemies of the Republic who, falsely assuming to speak in the name of labor and democracy, are now ceaselessly striving to obstruct the operations of the government. In misrepresenting the government's purposes, in traducing the character of the President and of his advisers, in stealthily attempting to incite sedition and in openly or impliedly counselling resistance to the enforcement of laws enacted for the national defense, they abuse the rights of free speech, free assemblage and a free press. In the name of liberty they encourage anarchy; in the name of democracy they strive to defeat the will of the majority, and in the name of humanity they render every possible aid and comfort to the brutal Prussian autocracy. If the sinister counsels of these persons were followed, labor would be reduced to subjection and democracy would be obliterated from the earth. We declare that the betrayal of one's fellow-workers during a strike finds its exact counterpart in the betrayal of one's fellow-citizens in time of war, and that both are offenses which deserve the detestation of mankind.
>
> We declare that a sturdy defense of the interests of labor is wholly compatible with supreme loyalty to the government. We fully recognize the many proofs given by the President and the administration chiefs to the principle that the war shall not be made an excuse for lowering any of the standards which have been established by labor in its long struggle. We declare, however, that predatory influences are at work at all times—and particularly in time of war—to lower these standards. These efforts, wherever made, must be resisted. Not only must all present standards be maintained, but there must be no curtailment of any of the present agencies which make for the betterment of the condition of labor. Our loyalty to the government is the loyalty of free men who will not acquiesce in any surrender of principle.
>
> This war, which on our part is waged for the *preservation* of democracy, has

already set in motion base forces for the *furtherance* and *extension* of democracy. Revolutionary changes have been made—changes which reveal the power and determination of a democratic people to control its own economic life for the common good. We declare that peace shall not be another name for reaction, but that the gains thus far made for labor should be maintained in perpetuity.

We declare that a condition which demands the conscription of men likewise demands the conscription of wealth, and that incomes, excess profits and land values should be taxed to the fullest needs of the government.

We declare that industrial enterprises should be the servants and not the masters of the people; and that in cases where differences between owners and workers threaten a discontinuance of production necessary for the war, the government should assume complete control of such industries and operate them for the exclusive benefit of the people.

We declare that the government should take prompt action with regard to the speculative interests which, especially during the war, have done so much to enhance prices of the necessaries of life. To increase the food supply and to lower prices, the government should commandeer all land necessary for public purposes and should tax idle land in private possession on its full rental value.

We declare that the right of the wage-earners to collective action is the fundamental condition which gives opportunity for economic freedom and makes possible the betterment of the workers' conditions. The recognition already given to this principle should be extended and made the basis of all relationships, direct or indirect, between the government and wage-earners engaged in activities connected with the war.

We declare that the wage-earners must have a voice in determining the conditions under which they are to give service, and that the voluntary institutions that have organized the industrial, commercial and transportation workers in time of peace shall be unhampered in the exercise of their recognized functions during the war; that labor shall be adequately represented in all the councils authorized to conduct the war and in the commission selected to negotiate terms of peace.

We declare our full accord with the declarations agreed upon by the conference of American trade unionists called by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., held in Washington, D. C., March 12, 1917, in which the representatives of affiliated national and international trade unions and the railroad brotherhoods participated.

Believing that the material interests of the nation's soldiers and sailors and of their dependents should be withdrawn from the realm of charity and chance, and that health and life should be fully insured, we indorse the soldiers' and sailors' insurance bill now before Congress.

We declare for universal equal suffrage.

Fully realizing that the perpetuity of democratic institutions is involved in freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage we declare that these essential rights must be guarded with zealous care lest all other rights be lost. We declare, however, that where expressions are used which are obstructive to the government in its conduct of the war, or are clearly capable of giving aid or comfort to the nation's foes, the offenders should be repressed by the constituted authorities in accordance with established law.

Inspired by the ideals of liberty and justice herein declared as a fundamental basis for national policies, the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy makes its appeal to the working men and women of the United States, and calls upon them to unite in unanimous support of the President and the nation for the prosecution of the war and the preservation of democracy.

A declaration dealing with the Russian situation was considered separately. It is as follows:

Sons of liberty in all lands are now watching with heavy hearts the desperate contest of their brothers in spirit and arms now battling on the plains of Russia. Born amidst the thunders of the greatest war of all times, the great Russian democracy brought to all lovers of man's freedom a new hope and inspiration.

Assailed on all sides by a terrible and insidious foe, now spreading death and devastation in its ranks and now masquerading as a friend and penetrating, under the guise of a revolutionist into the very councils of the revolution, the Russian democracy is now passing through the most critical time in its struggle for existence.

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy sends greetings to the fighters for liberty in Russia as brothers in the same cause. The aims of the Russian democracy are our aims; its victory is our victory and its defeat is our defeat; and even the traitors that assail the Russian democracy likewise assail us. In the conflict for the liberty of Russia, the liberty of America is likewise at stake. Every Russian soldier who faces unflinchingly the enemy in the field is striking a blow for the liberty of America.

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy representing every loyal thought of American labor and American Socialism, pledges and dedicates the American working class to the support and service of the Russian democracy. It calls upon the working people and the socialists of America and also upon the government of the United States to strain every effort and resource in their command to the aid of the Russian democracy, and be it

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed for the purpose of communicating with the leaders of the Russian democracy and extending to them the support here pledged.

Upon the general problem of dealing with small nations the convention made the following declaration:

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy expresses its unqualified approval of the avowal by President Wilson that one of the motives for America's entry into the war is to secure for the small nationalities the right to live their own lives on their own soil and to develop their own culture under free national auspices.

Inasmuch as among all these small nationalities the Jews alone have no homeland of their own, we urge upon the President and the international congress which will negotiate terms of peace, the legitimate claims of the Jewish people for the reestablishment of a national homeland in Palestine on a basis of self-government.

The declaration on Russia was cabled to Premier Kerensky.

Since the Minneapolis Convention of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, trade unionists in many parts of the country have organized local Alliances affiliated with the central body in order that workers everywhere might be organized in support of the principles in which they believed.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON MILITARISM

The Baltimore Convention instructed the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a committee of five, of which he should be chairman, to gather data, hear evidence, record and publish same, and report to the Executive Council upon the subject of militarism.

The international situation which was extremely threatening even during the Baltimore Convention, became increasingly tense within a few weeks. The situation was so critical that our national government found it necessary to consider and adopt definite policies upon military defense and service. It did not seem sufficient, under the circumstances, to appoint a committee to perform the character of work outlined in the Baltimore resolution, but a conference of the authorized representatives of all labor organizations was called by us and was held in Washington, D. C., March 12 to determine American Labor's position in Peace and in War. That declaration is reported elsewhere.

RAILROADS AND EIGHT HOURS

During the year 1916 the railroad brotherhoods made an effort to secure an agreement with the railroad transportation companies for a basic eight-hour workday. Negotiations were continued for many months; in fact, until it finally became apparent that no amicable adjustment of the controversy would be reached. Therefore, the railroad brotherhoods, by

an almost unanimous vote of their membership, decided to call a strike on transportation lines of the country on September 4, 1916—Labor Day.

President Wilson appealed to Congress to act in the emergency and the Adamson law, which provided a basic eight-hour day and pro rata pay for overtime, was passed. The law further provided for a committee to investigate and determine the effects of the eight-hour day and the facts and conditions affecting relations between employers and employes and report within nine months. This law was to become effective January 1, 1917.

The transportation companies immediately challenged the constitutionality of the law by the institution of applications in the courts to enjoin its operation. In one of these cases Judge Hook declared the law unconstitutional. It was agreed that a test case should be made and that the appeal should be immediately taken to the United States Supreme Court. This litigation had the effect of preventing the Adamson law from going into effect on January 1, 1917. The arguments on the unconstitutionality of the Adamson law began on January 8, 1917, and it was hoped that an early decision would be handed down, but in that hope the railroad brotherhoods were disappointed.

Early in March, the executive officers of the four railroad brotherhoods announced that, in accordance with the vote of the membership, the order had gone out for a strike to take place on Saturday evening, March 17, unless the eight-hour basic workday was conceded before that time. The brotherhoods also announced that in the event of war (which was then impending) the brotherhoods would furnish men for the operation of railroads to fulfill the requirements of the government.

Because of the seriousness of the situation and the acuteness of international relations, Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, addressed the following communication to Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Hon. Wm. B. Wilson, Mr. Daniel Willard, and Mr. Samuel Gompers:

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington, D. C.,*
March 16, 1917.

GENTLEMEN: At a meeting of the Council of National Defense, it was resolved that you be requested at once to seek an interview with the representatives of the railroad brotherhoods and the railroad executives with reference to the differences now existing between them and apparently threatening to produce a general railroad strike in the country; that you present to the representatives of both sides the grave peril involved in such a situation at this time, and that you request them so to adjust their differences as in any event to lead to a postponement of any acute difficulty during the present national emergency.

Respectfully yours,

NEWTON D. BAKER, *Secretary of War,*
Chairman, Council of National Defense.

This committee went to New York and held conferences with the four chiefs of the railroad brotherhoods and the general railway managers, who had in charge the affairs of the railroad companies. The railroad brotherhood chiefs assumed the responsibility for postponing the strike order for forty-eight hours, thus giving an opportunity to arrange an adjustment of the controversy.

The railroad managers after forty-eight hours of almost continuous conference accepted the mediation of the commissioners and granted the eight-hour basic workday. The following is the communication of the commissioners by Elisha Lee:

NATIONAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE OF THE RAILWAYS.
NEW YORK, *March 19, 1917.*

Hon. FRANKLIN K. LANE,
Hon. WM. B. WILSON,
Mr. DANIEL WILLARD,
Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Committee of the Council on National Defense.

GENTLEMEN: In the national crisis precipitated by events of which we learned this afternoon, the National Conference Committee of the Railways joins with you in the conviction that neither at home nor abroad should there be fear or

hope that the efficient operation of the railways of the country will be hampered or impaired.

Therefore, you are authorized to assure the Nation that there will be no strike; and as a basis for such assurance, we hereby authorize the Committee of the Council on National Defense to grant to the employes who are about to strike whatever adjustment your Committee deems necessary to guarantee the uninterrupted and efficient operation of the railways as an indispensable arm of national defense.

Yours very truly,

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
COMMITTEE OF THE RAILWAYS,
By ELISHA LEE,
Chairman.

The Committee of the Council of National Defense appointed by the President assumed the responsibility imposed upon it and the following award made which was put in the form of an agreement, the last signature being appended at 5 o'clock, Monday morning, March 19, 1917. The award follows:

NEW YORK, *March 19, 1917.*

SETTLEMENT AWARDED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE.

In all road service except passenger, where schedules now read "100 miles or less, 9 or 10 hours or less, overtime at 10 or 11 miles per hour," insert "8 hours or less for a basic day and 12½ miles per hour for a speed basis" for the purpose of computing overtime. Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

In all yard, switching and hostling service, where schedules now read "10, 11 or 12 hours or less shall constitute a day's work," insert "8 hours or less shall constitute a day's work at present 10 hours' pay." Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

In yards now working on an eight-hour basis, the daily rate shall be the present ten-hour standard rate, with overtime at one-eighth of the present standard daily rate.

In case the law is declared unconstitutional, 8 hours or less at present 10 hours' pay, will constitute a day's work in hostling service.

In passenger service the present mileage basis will be maintained. On roads now having a flat ten-hour day in passenger service, the rule will be amended to read "8 within 10 hours."

For all classes of employes in short turn-around passenger service, where the rule now reads "8 within 12 hours," it will be amended to read "8 within 10 hours."

For such territory as has no number of hours for a day's work in short turn-around passenger service, the 8 within 10 hour rule applies.

Overtime to be paid for at not less than one-eighth of the daily rate per hour.

The General Committees on individual railroads may elect to retain their present overtime rules in short turn-around passenger service, or the foregoing provisions, but may not make a combination of both to produce greater compensation than is provided in either basis.

In the event the law is held to be constitutional, if the foregoing settlement is inconsistent with the decision of the court, the application will be adjusted to the decision. If declared unconstitutional, the above stands with all the provisions as written.

The foregoing to govern for such roads, classes of employes and classes of services represented by the National Conference Committee of the Railways.

Schedules except as modified by the above changes remain as at present.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
COMMITTEE OF THE RAILWAYS,
By ELISHA LEE,
Chairman.
FRANKLIN K. LANE.
W. B. WILSON.
DANIEL WILLARD.
SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Accepted by:
W. G. LEE,
President Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.
W. S. STONE,
Grand Chief Engineer Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.
L. E. SHEPPARD,
Acting President Order Railway Conductors.
W. S. CARTER,
President Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen.

About seven hours later the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its decision affirming the constitutionality of the Adamson eight-hour law, the vote of the court being five to four.

HATTERS' CASE

The Hatters' case has come to a close. A report was made to the Baltimore Convention of the money accruing in accord with the request that every wage-earner contribute one hour's wages for the relief of the Danbury Hatters. As the members of organized labor were unwilling that the firm of D. Loewe & Company should benefit through their services, the money had been held in a special bank account subject to such situation as might develop.

The President of the United Hatters of North America appeared at our June meeting, and stated that a concerted effort was being made to create the impression that the labor movement had not kept faith with the Danbury Hatters. He described the predicament in which these aged hatters found themselves when their homes were about to be sold over their heads. The Executive Council then decided upon the following course in the Hatters' case:

1. That the Hatters be requested to transmit to Secretary Morrison the funds they have on hand for the relief of the Hatters affected by the award against the hatters in the D. E. Loewe Company suit.
2. That President Gompers, Vice-President O'Connell and Secretary Morrison personally transmit and pay over to President Scully and Secretary Lawlor the entire moneys collected by the American Federation of Labor for the relief of the hatters in the suit of D. E. Loewe Company.
3. That the transmittal shall be in the form of a brief letter and copies of all the actions of the A. F. of L. with a schedule citing the actions so taken.
4. That the entire subject-matter of the form of relief of the hatters shall be left entirely in the hands of the officers of the United Hatters of North America.
5. That an itemized statement of the receipts and expenses of the Hatters' fund be printed in pamphlet form and a copy mailed to each contributor and to the secretaries of national and international unions, state branches and city central bodies; and that the cost of the printing of the itemized statement, namely, the envelopes in which the pamphlet is mailed, addressing the envelopes and postage, be paid for out of the interest received from the Riggs Bank on the money deposited in that fund.

On July 9 a certified check for $214,688.95 and on August 28 a certified check for $222.25 was sent to the Secretary-Treasurer of the United Hatters of North America together with the records in the case. A report was printed of all moneys received from appeals issued asking for contributions for the relief of the Danbury Hatters and also a

statement showing to whom the money was paid. This was sent to all contributors and labor organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. A copy of that printed statment can be had by any delegate to this convention.

And thus is closed one of the most epochal contests in the history of Labor's struggle for justice. It is quite true that by reason of the strained construction of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, Labor lost the case before the courts, but we won in the legal establishment of the principle in our country, "that the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

DIRECT DEMOCRACY

Despite the distractions of war the cause of popular government goes forward. It will interest you to know that twenty-one states, aggregating one-third of the voting population of the United States now have the initiative and referendum in some form in their state constitutions. It is a satisfaction to remember that the American Federation of Labor, in 1892, was the first national organization to endorse this great reform, now accepted by all progressive statesmen, the present President of the United States being its most distinguished champion.

Organized labor has taken a conspicuous part in the struggle to establish the initiative, referendum and recall. It has been and still is bitterly contested by the forces of reaction.

The Seattle Convention of 1913 approved the recommendations of your Executive Council in issuing a warning against "jokers" in direct legislation amendments. That part of the report was printed as a separate pamphlet and circulated widely by our office and by the National Popular Government League, with which we are affiliated. The wisdom of the Federation in taking its stand squarely against destructive "safeguards and restrictions" has been amply proven by the experience of initiative and referendum states since that time. It has had great effect in the struggle to secure the extension of these principles in other state constitutions. For example, the legislature of Mississippi was induced to withdraw a very defective resolution and to substitute therefor the form suggested in the report of the E. C. This was adopted and is now safely placed in excellent form in the constitution of that state.

Again, a constitutional convention to revise the constitution of Massachusetts has been in session since June of this year. The great issue has been the initiative and referendum. The Massachusetts State Federation of Labor has been exceedingly active and a majority of the delegates elected to the convention were pledged to the I. and R. The danger came when the opponents of democracy sought to exclude the right of the people to initiate amendments to the constitution and limit the initiative merely to statutory law. In a letter to the officers and members of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, dated August 20, 1917, President Gompers urged them to stand firm for popular control of the situation, and it is a pleasure to report that by a test vote the delegates refused to exclude the constitutional initiative, which is a distinct victory for labor's contention.

It seems to be a period of constitutional revision. A constitutional convention meets in Arkansas on November 19, at the fall elections, this year, and the question is being agitated in several other states. The forces of reaction will seek to take advantage of the absorption of our people in the war and will seek to secure the insertion of extensions in these constitutions inimical both to the interests of organized labor and of popular government. We must be alert.

That there are still some opponents of progress who are active is amply proven by the fact that even in this war-time three national organizations have been formed specifically to fight the progress of democratic government. These are the Sound Government League of the United States with headquarters at Chicago, the National Association of Constitutional Government and the National Citizens' Union, with offices at Washington, D. C. The avowed object of these is to fight against the establishment of "mere majority rule," through such instruments as the initiative, referendum and recall; to defeat the growing demand for easier methods of amending the federal constitution and to protect what they are pleased to call the "sacredness of the courts."

The power now exercised by the federal courts, both in the matter of injunctions and in overruling the legislative departments of the government, still remains a vital matter to labor and the American people. No law enacted by the Congress to meet twentieth century

requirements is safe until it has been approved by a majority of the nine members of the Supreme Court. The exercise of such power is inconsistent with popular sovereignty.

We desire to call your attention to a resolution now pending in Congress which will deprive the federal courts of this power. The resolution, in short, provides that since the Supreme Court can exercise appellate jurisdiction only "with such extensions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make," it is clearly within the power of Congress to order that the court shall have no jurisdiction in a case where the constitutionality of an act of Congress is questioned. Since the right of Congress to do this has been established by Supreme Court decisions, and since the vast bulk of the cases for the Supreme Court come up on appeal, it would seem clear that we have here a simple method to avoid many of the dangers to which we are now subject by the exercise of these powers by the court. We desire to recommend that this resolution be endorsed by the convention and proper steps be taken to acquaint the workers and all the people with its provisions.

The National Popular Government League, in whose organization we took part, has been helpful and is now actively engaged in promoting popular government reforms with which we are mutually concerned. It has given great assistance in many states and cities in which active campaigns were being conducted, and we recommend that this convention make a recommendation to aid the league in every honorable way in its work of establishing those new instrumentalities of self-government which are so effective in the hands of the people in combatting "invisible government."

REPORT ON LABOR LEGISLATION

Preceding our detailed report on Federal legislative matters pending at the close of the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, and additional legislative proposals referred to us by the Baltimore Convention, we enumerate herewith, in summarized form, a record of statutes passed by the Federal Congress since our last report to the Baltimore Convention.

This summary includes measures passed by the second session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, and those passed by the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, which session adjourned on October 6, 1917.

For the information and ready reference by members of our organizations, students, friends and critics, we call attention to our report on legislation contained in the proceedings of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention held at Baltimore, Maryland, November, 1916, on page 85 of which will be found the summary of legislation enacted during the first session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, and on pages 87, 88, 89 and 90 will be found a complete summary of measures of interest to Labor enacted by the Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, Sixty-first, Sixty-second and Sixty-third Congresses.

For the sake of uniformity of style in presentation for ready and complete reference, and because of lack of space, which prevents us going into elaborate detail, this form of submitting our report on legislation affecting Labor has been standardized, thus making it easier to study, comprehend and appreciate the extraordinary legislative accomplishments of the American Federation of Labor since our historical declaration on a political program, made on March 21, 1906. In that declaration, a short list of fundamental issues were demanded from the Speaker of the House of Representatives, President of the Senate, and the President of the United States. We are pleased to report that all of those measures have been enacted into law, in accordance with our demands, with the exception of legislation covering an enabling act for the states to protect themselves from contract convict labor of other states. We have the strongest hopes that by giving especial attention to the convict labor issue during the next session of Congress, we will have then accomplished all of our original demands.

An analysis and close examination of the following summary, and those referred to, contained in the Baltimore proceedings, will disclose the fact that much more additional legislation in behalf of Labor and humanity than that contained in our first program has been secured because of the demands and increasing aspirations of the members of our affiliated organizations. We lay emphasis upon this fact because we find it essential that our own members and friends may study this list of legislative accomplishments and acquaint themselves with the real active, substantial progress of the American labor movement. To the critic or chronic faultfinder, either in or out of our organizations, we present these summarized facts and challenge their further disputation:

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Summary of Legislation Enacted Second Session, Sixty-fourth Congress, and First Session, Sixty-fifth Congress

1. Enactment of the Immigration law containing the literacy test, applicable to adult aliens over sixteen years of age. The test consists of the ability to read at least forty words in some language, dialect or tongue. An adult male able to pass the reading test may, however, bring with him his illiterate children under sixteen years of age, his wife, if unable to read, his father and mother or grandfather and grandmother, if unable to read, and otherwise admissible over the age of fifty-five.

The passage of this Immigration law also comprises a co-ordination and compilation of former laws dealing with the subject. A reference to our former reports on efforts to obtain immigration legislation reveal the fact that during the twenty years of struggle, the literacy test provision was vetoed four times, (1) in 1897, (2) in 1912, (3) in 1915 and (4) in 1917. On the last occasion it was passed over the President's veto by an overwhelming vote of Congress. (Public No. 301, 2d Sess., 64th Cong.)

2. Enactment of new organic law for Porto Rico, granting citizenship rights to the people of that island. The act also contains many essential humanitarian features. (Public, No. 368, 2d Sess., 64th Cong.)

3. Federal Eight-hour law, applicable to contractors doing work for the United States Government, greatly strengthened, particularly in reference to the basic wage for an eight-hour standard day and minimum overtime rates for employes of such government contractors. (Public, No. 391, 64th Cong., 2d Sess.)

4. Incorporation of provisions in all of the appropriation bills, excepting that for the Post Office Department, by which wages and salaries of Federal employes were increased; five per cent to those receiving from $1,800 a year to $1,200 per year, and ten per cent for those receiving less than $1,200 per year. (Public, Nos. 309, 369, 378, 381 and 391, 64th Cong., 2d Sess.; Public, Nos. 11, 21, 64, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

5. Re-enactment of the original proviso in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act, known as the Hughes amendment, prohibiting the Department of Justice from using funds provided in the appropriation for prosecuting the members of labor and farmers' organizations in their efforts to increase wages, reduce hours or improve working conditions as violations of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. This proviso is an additional safeguard and is in harmony with the labor provisions of the Clayton law (Public 21, 65th Congress).

6. Re-enactment of the Kenner amendment forbidding officials to use the stop watch or other offensive time measuring devices in government arsenals, gun factories, navy yards, naval stations and other producing establishments of the government, wherein schemes for speeding up workers beyond human endurance are likely to be encouraged or devised by officers in charge.

The payment of bonus or premiums for excessive production is also prohibited. This amendment was incorporated in the four large appropriation bills for the Army, the Navy, the Fortifications, and the Sundry Civil measures. (Public, Nos. 381 and 391, 64th Cong., 2d Sess.; Public, Nos. 11 and 21, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

7. Passage of the Vocational Trade Training law. (Public, No. 347, 64th Cong., 2d Sess.)

8. Passage of Food Control law. (Public, No. 41, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

9. Passage of Food Survey law. (Public, No. 40, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

10. Enactment of legislation amending the Judicial Code enabling longshoremen and other maritime workers to obtain compensation for injuries under the state compensation laws, better known as the Longshoremen's Compensation law. (Public, No. 82, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

11. Amendment to Urgent Deficiency bill providing appropriations for the Department of Labor to enable it to render better service in its Public Employment Service Bureau. (Public, 64, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

12. Enactment of liberal, comprehensive Compensation for Injuries law for

the benefit of enlisted soldiers and sailors, and their dependents, better known as the War Risk Insurance law. (Public, No. 90, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

13. Enactment of War Risk Insurance law for the relief of seamen employed in the merchant marine. (Public, No. 20, 65th Cong., 1st Sess.)

Federal Eight-Hour Law Strengthened

Early in the year when indications pointed strongly to this government being involved in the present war, the forces of this country engaged in industry hostile to according Labor any rights in determining the conditions upon which it should labor, and which are constantly employed in formulating some plan to destroy the organizations of labor and to cripple it in securing and having enforced humanitarian legislation, assumed it to be a propitious moment upon which to launch an agitation for the repeal of the eight-hour law so far as it applied to the institutions controlled and operated by the United States, as well as all contracts and sub-contracts entered into between the government and private employers.

Disregarding the costly experience of those countries engaged in the present conflict that were compelled to reduce the hours of labor because of decreased production, a considerable momentum was given to the demand for the repeal of the eight-hour day. The matter of the eight-hour law came up in the House of Representatives on February 3, 1917, during a discussion on the Naval Appropriation Bill. Representative Loud of Illinois, interjected in the discussion the question of the repeal as follows:

> "Mr. Loud. Would it not be well to embody in the amendment some provision doing away for the time being with the eight-hour limitation upon government employes and government contracts, by which the President might be empowered to set it aside temporarily in case of emergency?"

In addition, Representative Padgett of Tennessee and Joseph Cannon of Illinois also made observations in the same vein as had Mr. Loud. While no definite action was taken in the House on this matter, yet President Gompers deemed it advisable to bring to the attention of the House of Representatives the terms of the eight-hour law. He did so in the following letter, which was read by Speaker Clark before the House on February 6th, 1917, and was made a part of the Congressional Record:

WASHINGTON, D. C., *February 4, 1917.*

Honorable CHAMP CLARK, *Speaker,*
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

SIR: In the discussion in the House of Representatives on the Naval Appropriations Bill, H. R. 20632, as published in the Congressional Record February 3, 1917, it is plainly evident that some members have not had in mind at least one provision of existing law regulating and limiting the hours of labor. Section 1 of the eight-hour law of August 1, 1892, reads as follows:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the service and employment of all laborers and mechanics who are now or may hereafter be employed by the Government of the United States, by the District of Columbia, or by any contractor or subcontractor upon any of the public works of the United States or of the said District of Columbia, is hereby limited and restricted to eight hours in any one calendar day, and it shall be unlawful for any officer of the United States Government, or of the District of Columbia, or any such contractor or subcontractor whose duty it shall be to employ, direct, or control the services of such laborers or mechanics to require or permit any such laborer or mechanics to work more than eight hours in any calendar day except in case of extraordinary emergency."

Attention is respectfully called to the last six words of this section. For emphasis I quote as follows: **"Except in case of extraordinary emergency."** That is, whenever an emergency shall arise the eight-hour workday limitation may be waived.

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The eight-hour law of June 19, 1912, specifically declares that "nothing in this act shall be construed to repeal or modify the act entitled 'An act relating to the limitation of the hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed upon the public works of the United States and the District of Columbia.'"

It is respectfully submitted that under existing law there is ample power vested in the government to waive the provisions of the eight-hour workday both in government establishments and as it applies to contractors and subcontractors doing work for the government. Surely, a state of war or possibly impending war is an emergency contemplated by the provisions of the eight-hour law of August 1, 1892, and June 19, 1912, and that therefore there is no necessity for the passage of any law repealing the provisions of either of the eight-hour laws which I have mentioned.

Should the Congress pass a law repealing the eight-hour laws when as I have shown there is no necessity for it, after the existing emergency shall have disappeared, it will require all the work to be gone over again to secure the enactment of an eight-hour law.

There need be no apprehension entertained by any one that the working people of the United States will fail in the performance of duty and to give service for the safety, the integrity and the ideals of our country.

Should emergency befall the country, the destiny of our nation is dependent upon the creative labor power of men and women. Should Congress not more properly give consideration to the conservation of the human rather than to uneconomic utilization of that force? These workers constitute the rank and file of our nation.

I think I am in a position to know as well as any other man in America the feeling and the spirit of America's workers. While I am sure they earnestly hope that war may be averted, yet when the emergency arises they will give a good accounting of themselves.

Respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor.

Indicating the interest manifested by the speaker, the following letter is also incorporated:

"*February 6, 1917.*

"Honorable SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President, American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I received your letter and as you requested, I read it to the House and it was applauded. I was glad to do it, because on Saturday I stated that in my judgment labor union men were just as patriotic as anybody else and if necessity required it under stress they would be willing to work sixteen hours a day.

Your friend,

CHAMP CLARK."

The closing session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, which expired at midnight March 3, 1917, was engaged in enacting legislation for the purpose of increasing the military establishments of our country, owing to the then imminence of war. During the discussion of the various appropriation measures, it was feared that an effort would be made to nullify the government eight-hour law. In order that we might protect the best interests of labor and to maintain the basic eight-hour work day so far as the government was concerned, we were successful in having the following provision inserted in the Naval Appropriation Bill:

"That in case of national emergency the President is authorized to suspend provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States: *Provided further*, That the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours work, with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight hours."

The Naval Appropriation Bill was approved by the President on March 4, 1917. Under the authority conferred upon him by the above clause, he issued the following proclamations:

"*Executive Order Issued by the President of the United States*

"In order to enable the Navy Department to meet the requirements of law to secure the more expeditious construction of ships and procurement of munitions authorized, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the provisions of the Act of Congress approved March 4, 1917, entitled 'An Act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and for other purposes,' whereby it is provided 'That in case of national emergency the President is authorized to suspend provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States:

"'Provided further, That the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours work, with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight hours,' I do hereby authorize the suspension of the provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours of labor in any one day of persons engaged in such work under contract with the Navy Department in all navy yards and private establishments where such suspension of the provisions of the law will result in hastening preparation to meet present emergency conditions.

"This order shall take effect from and after this date.

"WOODROW WILSON.

"THE WHITE HOUSE,
22 March, 1917."

"*Executive Order Issued by the President of the United States*

"Under authority contained in the Naval Appropriation Act approved March 4, 1917 (Public No. 391, 64th Congress), whereby it is provided—

"'That in case of national emergency the President is authorized to suspend the provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States: *Provided further*, That the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of eight hours work with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight hours.'

"It is hereby ordered that the provisions of the Act approved June 19, 1912, limiting the hours of daily service of mechanics and laborers on work under contracts to which the United States is a party are suspended with respect to all contracts for ordnance and ordnance stores and other military supplies and material, contracts for buildings under construction or to be constructed at the arsenals, and contracts for fortification work during the pending emergency and until further orders. This order shall take effect from and after this date.

"WOODROW WILSON.

"THE WHITE HOUSE,
24 March, 1917."

"*Executive Order Issued by the President of the United States*

"In order to enable the Department of Agriculture to meet the requirements of law to secure the more expeditious distribution of valuable seeds authorized by law, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the provisions of the Act of Congress approved March 4, 1917, entitled 'An Act making appropriations for the naval service for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and eighteen, and for other purposes,' whereby it is provided 'That in case of national emergency the President is authorized to suspend provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours labor in any one day of persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States: *Provided further*, That the wages of persons employed upon such contracts shall be computed on a basic day rate of

eight hours work, with overtime rates to be paid for at not less than time and one-half for all hours work in excess of eight hours,' I do hereby authorize the suspension of provisions of law prohibiting more than eight hours of labor in any one day of persons engaged in such work under contract with the Department of Agriculture for thirty days in order to meet present emergency conditions.

"This order shall take effect from and after date.

"WOODROW WILSON.

"THE WHITE HOUSE,
3 April, 1917."

"*Executive Order Issued by the President of the United States*

"Under authority contained in the Naval Appropriation Act approved March 4, 1917 (Public No. 391, 64th Congress), it is hereby ordered that the provisions of the Eight-Hour Act of June 19, 1912, are suspended with respect to persons engaged upon work covered by contracts with the United States, made under the War Department for the construction of any military building or for any public work which in the judgment of the Secretary of War is important for purposes of national defense in addition to the classes of contracts enumerated in Executive Order of March 24, 1917.

"It is further declared that the current status of war constitutes an 'extraordinary emergency' within the meaning of that term as used in the Eight-Hour Act of March 3, 1913 (37 Stat., 726) and that laborers and mechanics employed on work of the character set forth above whether employed by government contractors or by agents of the government, may, when regarded by the Secretary of War as necessary for purposes of national defense, be required to work in excess of eight hours per day, and wages to be computed in accordance with the proviso in the said Act of March 4, 1917.

"This order shall take effect from and after this date and shall be operative during the pending emergency or until further orders.

"WOODROW WILSON.

"THE WHITE HOUSE,
28 April, 1917."

It will be observed that these proclamations all specifically mention the Act of March 4, 1917, which completely protects the basic eight-hour day and also insures the payment of price and one-half for all overtime. While there have been numerous complaints relative to the strict enforcement of this law, yet the law has been broadened and enforced in a generally satisfactory manner.

Conscription Law

On April 6, 1917, the Congress of the United States declared that a state of war existed between this country and the Imperial German Governmnet. On April 19, 1917, Representative Dent of Alabama introduced H. R. 3545 (which was reported to the House on the same date) a bill for the purpose of authorizing the President to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States. It contained provisions authorizing the President to increase the United States Army to an approximate strength of 900,000 men by voluntary enlistment. It further provided, however, that in the event the raising of this number of men by voluntary enlistment was unsuccessful, the President was authorized to conscript a sufficient number of men to reach the increase stated.

For information, it is well to state that the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives disagreed with the plans of the President and the War Department of raising an army by conscription. The committee's report to the House was against the conscription features advocated by the President and the War Department, and provided, as stated above, that efforts should be made to raise an army by voluntary enlistment, but, in the event of failure, then the President would be authorized to conscript a sufficient number of men to secure the quota desired.

While the bill was being debated in the House of Representatives, Representative Kahn of California moved to amend the bill by substituting the conscription feature for

the voluntary system and as advocated by the President and the War Department. This amendment caused considerable debate for several days, it finally being carried on April 28, 1917, by a vote of 313 ayes to 109 nays, 10 not voting. After this conclusive vote on the conscription feature, the bill finally passed the House on the same date, the vote being 397 ayes to 24 nays, 1 present, 10 not voting.

The bill then went to the Senate and was referred to the Senate Committee on Military affairs April 28, 1917; reported with amendments on the same day, and passed the Senate May 1, 1917. The House disagreed with the Senate amendments, and a conference committee was appointed consisting of Senators Chamberlain, Hitchcock, and Warren, and Representatives Dent, Fields, Quin, Kahn, and Anthony. The report of the conference committee was made in the Senate on May 10, 1917, and in the House on the following day, May 11, 1917. The House, after considering the conference report recommitted the same to the conferees on motion to instruct House conferees to agree to the so-called Roosevelt provision. This occurred on May 12, 1917. The Roosevelt provision authorized Mr. Roosevelt to raise an army division for the purpose of going to France under his command. It was eventually defeated. A second conference was held on May 14, and report made to the House and Senate on May 15, 1917, but, because of the differences between the two Houses, a third conference was held and a final report made in the House and agreed to on May 16, 1917, while the Senate concurred on May 17, 1917. The bill was signed by the Speaker and Vice-President on May 18, 1917, going to the President for his approval on the same day, and was finally approved by President Wilson on May 25, 1917. The conscription section as finally passed provides:

> "That all male persons between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, both inclusive, shall be subject to registration in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the President; and upon proclamation by the President or other public notice given by him or by his direction stating the time and place of such registration it shall be the duty of all persons of the designated ages, except officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, the Navy and the National Guard and Naval Militia while in the service of the United States, to present themselves for and submit to registration under the provisions of this act; and every such person shall be deemed to have notice of the requirements of this act upon the publication of said proclamation or other notice as aforesaid given by the President or by his direction; and any person who shall wilfully fail or refuse to present himself for registration or to submit thereto, as herein provided, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction in the district court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year, and shall thereupon be duly registered: Provided, That in the call of the docket precedence shall be given, in courts trying the same, to the trial of criminal proceedings under this act: Provided further, That persons shall be subject to registration as herein provided who shall have attained their twenty-first birthday and who shall not have attained their thirty-first birthday on or before the day set for registration, and all persons so registered shall be and remain subject to draft into the forces hereby authorized, unless exempted or excused therefrom as in this act provided: Provided further, That in the case of temporary absence from actual place of legal residence of any person liable to registration as provided herein such registration may be made by mail under regulations to be prescribed by the President."

The American Federation of Labor has always been opposed to compulsion. Its entire history emphasizes its unbroken opposition to any system of government based upon compulsory military service. The position of the labor movement has been that in all affairs of the government, voluntary cooperation could be secured in the prosecution of whatever activities might be deemed essential. With the advent of this country into the great world war, and with a military establishment inadequate to meet the needs of the government, a sentiment rapidly crystallized to the effect that if this country was to meet the responsibilities imposed upon it by the declaration of war, it would be necessary to raise a large army within the shortest period of time possible.

Realizing the actions taken by the A. F. of L., and fully comprehending the sentiments

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of our movement, the legislative committee of the A. F. of L. appeared before the Military Affairs Committee of the House and also before the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate and vigorously opposed the adoption of a law which carried with it conscription of men for military service. In addition to the appearance of the legislative committee before the committees mentioned, President Gompers addressed a communication to each of these committees, which is as follows:

> "The organized labor movement has always been fundamentally opposed to compulsion. It has maintained that institutions and relations of a free people can and should be based upon the voluntary principle. It now maintains that what has been the directing basic principle in industrial organization and service must be the initial basic principle in the military. The declaration unanimously adopted by the representatives of the entire organized labor movement of the United States is based upon this adherence to the voluntary principle.
>
> "It has been the hope of the men and women of labor that if this Republic should inevitably be drawn into active participation in the present world conflict that the Republic of the United States might demonstrate to the world that free institutions and ideals are effective and sufficient in war as well as in peace.
>
> "It is the hope of organized labor to demonstrate that under voluntary conditions and institutions the Republic of the United States can mobilize its greatest strength, resources and efficiency.
>
> "We know that only under voluntary institutions can the nation mobilize good will. Good will is essential to enthusiastic and effective united action.
>
> "The labor movement stands firmly by the voluntary principle. We declare that at no time have voluntary institutions been given a real effective and conclusive test. Until such a test shall have been given there is no good reason for abandoning the principle which was born of the spirit of 1776 and which has enabled us to establish the ideals and the traditions that have given this Republic meaning as a country, free, efficient and capable of meeting any condition or emergency."

As indicated above, the House Military Affairs Committee reported on the conscription feature in accordance with the contentions of the A. F. of L., but the House, on a test vote and on the final passage of the bill, concurred in the conscription substitute offered by Representative Kahn.

The A. F. of L. performed its service in accordance with its expressed policy, but was unsuccessful in preventing the enactment of the conscription feature of this war measure.

Further, in accordance with the declaration of the representatives of the national and international trade unions of America, on March 12, 1917, which said:

> "But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labor, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service."

Here again we complied with the expressed declaration of the representatives of the organized labor movement and accepted the action taken by Congress as necessary in carrying out the purposes for which this country had entered the war.

Second-Class Postal Rates

In 1911 an attempt was made by the Post Office Department to secure the enactment of legislation by Congress which would increase the rate on all those publications entering the mails as second-class matter. The A. F. of L. strongly objected to any raise in the second-class rate, and, in cooperation with others interested in keeping second-class rates at such a point as not to interfere with those publications which are classed as trade union,

fraternal, scientific, and others of a like character, we were successful in securing an amendment to the Post Office Appropriation bill, providing for the appointment of a special commission to take the whole subject-matter of second-class mail under investigation and report to the President December 1, 1911. Representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared before this commission and acquainted it with the attitude of the labor press and the labor movement. As the result of a report by the commission, amendments were secured to the Post Office bill, approved August 24, 1912, which provided that periodicals and publications issued not less than four times a year and published by trade unions, benevolent and fraternal organizations, organized under a lodge system and having a bona fide membership of not less than one thousand, and other bona fide state institutions, shall have the benefit of the second-class postal rate; that is, one cent per pound.

After war was declared by this country, bills were introduced in the Senate and House for the purpose of providing revenue to defray war expenses and for other purposes. It was proposed in these bills to materially increase the second-class rate, which would thereby not only affect labor, fraternal, scientific and other publications of that character, but all other publications. There was also evolved what is known as a zone system similar to that now in operation by the parcel post, the rates being graduated in a similar manner. Another additional feature in these bills was the increasing of the rates on periodicals carrying over 5 per cent of their total space in advertisements. There was a distinction made in the fixing of the various increases, in that all publications not falling under the classification of religious, educational, scientific, philanthropic, agriculture, labor or fraternal organizations, or associations not organized for profit and none of the net income of which inures to the benefit of any private stockholder or individual, were given a higher rate and subjected to the operation of the zone system. The character of publications mentioned, irrespective of zone, carries an increase from one cent per pound to one and one-eighth cents per pound or fraction thereof on and after July 1, 1918, and until July 1, 1919, and on and after the latter date one and one-fourth cents a pound or fraction thereof.

The A. F. of L., assisted by representatives of the printing trades, made every effort possible to defeat any change in the rates of the second-class division of the Post Office Department. A pamphlet was issued by President Gompers and Matthew Woll, President of the International Allied Printing Trades Association, and addressed to all organizations of labor, asking that protests against any increase in second-class rates be filed with their United States Senators and Representatives in Congress. This pamphlet was distributed throughout the country and many responses came as a result. The Legislative Committee of the Federation, together with the officers, exerted every effort to secure the defeat of the raise in second-class postal rates, even continuing by interviewing the conferees after the bill had passed both the Senate and the House, but apparently because Congress was being pressed to raise a stupendous amount to defray equally stupendous expenditures, our efforts were unavailing and the increase in the second-class postal rates is now a part of the War Revenue bill which was approved by the President October 3, 1917. Under normal conditions, no effort would have been made to raise the second-class rates, but because of the pressing need for war revenue, we were unable to successfully oppose the raising of these rates as a war measure.

Wage Increases of Government Employes

Government employes whose wages for the most part have remained stationary during the rapid rise of living costs, appealed through their affiliated organizations for relief to meet the acute condition. A number of conferences were held at the headquarters of the A. F. of L. between the officials of the A. F. of L., representatives of affiliated organizations that had members in government employment, and members of the labor group in Congress. Plans were formulated for a concerted appeal to the Sixty-fourth Congress to grant wage increases to government workers. A mass meeting was held in Washington, D. C., on December 18, 1916, and the urgent need of the men and women workers of the government for additional pay was given wide publicity.

The Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L., together with a committee of seven trade unionists representing the organized government workers, was delegated to acquaint the various congressional committees with the wishes of their members in regard to wage increases. This committee was successful in having provisions inserted in all the appropria-

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tion measures, excepting the postal appropriation bill, for a 10 per cent horizontal wage increase for all government employes receiving less than $1,200 a year, and a 5 per cent increase to those receiving from $1,200 to $1,800, inclusive. These increases are for the current fiscal year only, and went into effect July 1, 1917.

The Comptroller of the Treasury ruled that the 5 and 10 per cent raises only applied to salaried employes in so far as the limitations of $1,800 and $1,200 per year were specified. He used the divisor of 360 working days per year and by that system eliminated many of the per diem workers whose wage ratings are based on a per diem basis. It was necessary, therefore, to secure additional legislation for the protection of the per diem employes because of the fact that the Comptroller's decisions are final, from which there is no appeal. We later succeeded in securing remedial legislation included in the Urgent Deficiency act, approved October 6, 1917, granting the per diem employes whose total earnings on a basis of 312 working days per year would not exceed the limitations of the salary increase law.

These increases were incorporated in all the appropriation measures, except the postal appropriation bill, which contained a modified provision excluding those employes receiving $800 or more a year.

Although postal employes receiving $800 a year and over were excluded from the scope of the horizontal wage increases voted by the Sixty-fourth Congress to all other government employes, they nevertheless succeeded in getting a total of 9,000 wage increases in addition to those carried in the automatic promotion law for post office clerks and city letter carriers. The wage-scale of post office laborers was raised from $840 to $900 a year, and these laborers were brought within the scope of the holiday compensatory time law. The postal weekly rest law and the holiday compensatory time law were amplified to cover postal workers heretofore excluded from their scope.

Railway mail clerks succeeded in securing the adoption of a number of important reforms for which the affiliated clerks have long been striving, namely, an increased travel allowance, limitation of substitute service to 313 days and a provision to prevent wage reductions because of a change in assignments.

In many cases, however, the salary increases provided in the law have not been given to those who have taken employment with the government since the passage of the law.

The metal trades workmen and other employes of the government navy yards whose per diem wages, based on a year of 312 days, did not exceed $1,800 per year on July 1, 1917, have not only been granted the proportionate 5 and 10 per cent increase included in the Naval Appropriation act of March 3, 1917, but through negotiations conducted by the International Trade Union officials of the trades interested with the officials of the Navy Department, an additional increase of wages averaging 16 per cent was granted.

In addition, a grievance of long standing was agreeably adjusted, whereby the numerous classifications formerly existing were reduced to three classes.

At this writing, a committee is now negotiating with officials of the War Department for a similar wage increase granted the employes of the Navy Department.

Convict Labor

No federal convict labor legislation has been secured since the report made to the last convention upon this subject. In the previous Congress—the Sixty-fourth—the A. F. of L. bill on convict labor was introduced by Senator Hughes of New Jersey as S. 901 and by Representative Booher of Missouri as H. R. 6871. The introduction of these bills was in continuation of our years of effort to secure legislation on the subject. These bills proposed to place—

> "All products manufactured by convicts under the operation of the effect of the laws of such state or territory to the same extent and in the same manner as though such goods, wares and merchandise had been manufactured, produced or mined in such state or territory and should not be exempted therefrom by reason of being introduced in the original package or otherwise"

The bills are designed to remove the impediment to the effective operation of the local laws of the several states upon the subject of the sale within their borders of convict-made goods imposed by the construction of the interstate commerce clause in the inaction of Congress on the subject. In other words, it was proposed to confer upon the legislative authority of the various states the right to exclude from within the borders of their states

any products manufactured by convicts in any other state. During the Sixty-fourth Congress both of these bills were favorably reported by the House Committee on Labor and the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, but no action was secured in either House.

In the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress our bills were again introduced by Senator Smith of Georgia, being S. 2115, which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor of the Senate, and by Representative Booher of Missouri—H. R. 3357— which was referred to the Committee on Labor. Efforts were made to secure action, but, as Congress devoted its time almost exclusively during the session just closed to the legislation made imperative by the entrance of the United States into the world war, these bills, with others, were deferred for future sessions.

There is now under discussion the advisability of the introduction of a bill whereby it is proposed that convicts in the Federal penal institutions shall engage in the production of such materials as are needed by the government in the prosecution of the war. The A. F. of L. is keenly alive to former abuses practiced by officials conducting penal and reformatory institutions in the production of materials, and will use every effort to safeguard the rights and interests of free labor, while also protecting the convicts in the Federal prisons and advancing their interests as far as possible.

The historic Bill of Grievances adopted by the conference of trade union officials held in Washington, D. C., in 1906, contained numerous demands for legislative relief. It is interesting at this time to draw attention to the fact that all of the demands made at the time of the adoption of the Bill of Grievances have been translated into legislation, save that demanding a convict labor law. Eleven years have elapsed since that time, a short period in the cycle of time, and yet fundamental and vital legislation has been placed upon the Federal statute books. There is every reason for hoping that in the near future a convict labor law will be enacted by Congress, and the demands of the Bill of Grievances of 1906 will have been fully achieved.

Soldiers' and Sailors' Compensation

The origin of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Compensation law, H. R. 5723, is reported in a section entitled, "Labor and the War." The bill was formulated by the Sub-Committee of the Committee on Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, and after conference with representatives of the Treasury Department, received the endorsement of the administration, was introduced by Representative Alexander in the House of Representatives on August 11, 1917, under the title of "An Act to Amend an Act Entitled, 'An Act to Authorize Establishment of a Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department.'" On August 11, 1917, it was referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, which committee held hearings on the bill. The committee reported the bill to the House with amendments August 30, 1917. It was passed by the House on September 13, 1917, on a roll-call vote of 319 yeas, 5 answering present, 109 not voting. It will be observed that not a single vote was registered against the bill. On September 14, 1917, the bill went over to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Finance. This committee also held hearings and reported the bill favorably back to the Senate on October 2, 1917. The bill was amended and passed by the Senate October 4, 1917, the vote being 75 yeas, 25 not voting. The Senate appointed a conference committee and so reported to the House and the House appointed a like committee on October 5. The conference committee reached a conclusion on October 5, 1917, and the amended bill was reported to both houses and adopted without opposition, and was signed by the President on October 6, 1917.

Insurance for Seamen

An amendment was secured to an act entitled, "An act to authorize the establishment of Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department," which was approved September 2, 1914. This amendment provides:

> "That whenever it shall appear to the Secretary of the Treasury that the effecting of such insurance is desirable in the national interest in the case of vessels engaged in any trade, the owner of every American merchant vessel engaged in such trade shall insure the master, officers, and crew of such vessel against loss of life or personal injury from war risks, as well as for compensation during detention by an enemy of the United States following capture."

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The main provisions provided are that in case of death, permanent disability, which prevents the person injured from performing any and every kind of duty pertaining to his occupation, or the loss of both hands, both arms, both feet, both legs, or both eyes, or any two thereof, for the payment of an amount equivalent to one year's earnings or to twelve times the monthly earnings of the injured as fixed in the articles for the voyage, but in no case shall such an amount be more than $5,000 or less than $1,500. (Public, No. 20, 65th Cong.)

Workmen's Compensation

Resolution No. 162, adopted by the Baltimore Convention, dealt with workmen's compensation legislation with reference to longshoremen employed by the government on transports and government owned vessels.

On May 21, 1917, the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision that persons employed as stevedores in loading and unloading vessels are engaged in work of maritime nature; that injuries received in the course of such work are maritime, and that the rights and liabilities of the parties in connection therewith are matters within admiralty jurisdiction; that since exclusive jurisdiction of all civil cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction is vested in the Federal district courts, a state could not apply its workmen's compensation law to employes engaged in this character of work. The result of the decision was to deny to the states a power which they have been exercising and excluded workmen of the character mentioned from all of the compensation laws administered by the states, the existing Federal Compensation act applying only to government employes. After much deliberation to find a way out, it was finally decided that an amendment to the Judicial Code relating to the jurisdiction of the district courts was the only available remedy. In accordance therewith, Senator Johnson of California introduced S. 2916 on September 25, 1917, and Representative Gard of Ohio introduced an identical bill, H. R. 6321, September 27, 1917. The bill was passed by the Senate and the House and became a law on October 6, 1917.

By the passage of this law, amending the Judicial Code, the state compensation laws can now be made to operate to protect workmen engaged in loading vessels and other work of a similar character, thus eliminating the possibility of workmen and those dependent upon them being made to suffer because of judicial interpretation as to lines of legal demarcation in injury cases surrounded by similar circumstances.

Old Age Pensions for Government Employes

Our report to the last convention showed a large number of bills introduced in the 64th Congress, providing some plan of pensioning employes in the service of the Federal Government. None of these bills were passed. During the early part of the first session of the 65th Congress, a number of bills dealing with this subject were introduced. The bills introduced in this Congress, like those introduced in the 64th Congress, deal with this subject in various ways. Some of them provide for the contributory plan, while others are straight pension measures. Unfortunately, there has not been any plan suggested which has met with the full approval of all of the employes who would come under its provisions.

During the 64th Congress, on May 17, 1916, there was introduced S. Res. 197 by Senator Pomerene, which was agreed to, directing that the chief of the Bureau of Efficiency should gather data for use in drafting an old-age pension bill that would be commensurate for the needs of the civil employes.

The following is the Senate resolution:

> "*Resolved*, That the Bureau of Efficiency is directed to prepare and submit to the Senate estimates of the immediate and ultimate cost of pensioning or retiring the civil employees of the United States, and in order to prepare such estimates the Bureau of Efficiency shall obtain from the executive departments, from the chiefs of bureaus and independent establishments such information regarding persons appointed to and separated from the executive civil service as may be necessary for that purpose, including their salaries and dates of births, appointment and separation;
>
> "'*Resolved further*, That for said purposes the head of the executive departments, chiefs of bureaus, and other executive or administrative officers are hereby directed to furnish the said Bureau of Efficiency with said information."

The Bureau of Efficiency is to report to Congress upon the data secured early in the second session of the 65th Congress, which will convene in December.

An effort will be made to draft a measure that will meet the approval of Congress and provide the employes of the government who come under the act with that protection which they have long sought.

During this session of Congress, Senator McKellar of Tennessee, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Civil Service, held extended hearings on the subject of old-age pensions for Federal employes, at which representative employes of the several organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L. cooperated with us in presenting arguments for the enactment of this legislation.

Porto Rican Citizenship Law

An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico and for other purposes has been passed by Congress, and was approved March 2, 1917. H. R. 9533, by Representative Jones of Virginia, was introduced on January 20, 1916, and referred to the committee on insular affairs and reported to the House on January 25, 1916. The bill was amended and passed the House on May 23, 1916. It then went to the Senate and was referred to the committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico on May 24, 1916. The bill was reported out with amendments on July 3, 1916.

As a result of the pendency of this bill, the elections in Porto Rico were postponed from November, 1916, to January, 1917. After many delays, the bill passed the Senate on February 20, 1917. The House disagreed with the Senate amendments and the bill went to conference. Upon agreement by the conferees on the bill, it passed both Houses and went to the President who approved it on March 2, 1917.

The conspicuously obnoxious sections of the original bill provided for a property and educational qualification in order to be eligible to the legislature of Porto Rico. It was provided among other things that in order to be eligible to a seat in the Senate of the Porto Rican legislature, it was necessary that the person holding such office should possess in his own individual right taxable property in Porto Rico to the value of not less than $1,000. It was also provided that the members of the House of Representatives should also be elected upon a property qualification.

The American Federation of Labor exercised its full influence against these class distinctions, and was successful in having the property and other restrictive qualification clauses stricken from the bill. The civil rights, therefore, of the citizens of Porto Rioc have been protected under the new organic law passed by Congress, and the American Federation of Labor can feel justly proud of its influence in securing for the people of Porto Rico a system of government which provides an opportunity for all of the people to participate in its conduct.

Child Labor

It is with much pride we again refer to the enactment of the Federal Child Labor Law, and which became effective on September 1, 1917. On August 1, 1917, Representative Robinson of North Carolina introduced a bill, the purport of which was to repeal the Federal Child Labor Act, which was to go into effect just one month later than the date of introduction of the bill. The purpose of the Robinson bill was to postpone until one year after the conclusion of the war the operation of the Federal Child Labor Law. No action, however, has yet been taken upon this measure, or is likely.

In addition, an injunction was sought in the Federal Court of the Western District of North Carolina to restrain enforcement of the law on the ground that it is unconstitutional. The application for this injunction was made by Ronald H. Dagenhart, who was induced to declare that his two sons work in the cotton mills, their father to receive their wages until they became of age. Federal Judge Boyd, before whom this application was brought, rendered an opinion declaring the Child Labor Law unconstitutional, thus rendering the measure inoperative in the Western District pending a decision by the United States Supreme Court. The main issue is based upon the contention that the Federal Child Labor Law is an interference with state right. While it is regrettable that any judge should view this humanitarian measure as unconstitutional, yet its effect will be merely nominal, if any, for the manufacturers in the Western District of North Carolina (in which district Judge Boyd presides) are obeying the law, and the Child Labor Bureau

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reports that the effect of the decision by Judge Boyd has thus far been negligible. It is confidently believed that the highest judicial tribunal in this country will reverse the decision of Judge Boyd. We should do all in our power to have the law sustained by the United States Supreme Court.

Immigration Law

The efforts of the American Federation of Labor to secure the enactment by Congress of an Immigration Bill containing the literacy test has been at last successful. It will be recalled that the Immigration Bill passed the House on March 30, 1916, but did not pass the Senate until December 14, 1916.

The bill then went to conference and was presented to the President for his approval on January 18, 1917. On January 29, 1917, the President vetoed it. On February 1, 1917, the House passed the Immigration Bill over the veto of the President by a vote of *287 yeas to 106 nays, present 3, not voting 37*. On February 5, 1917, the Senate passed the Immigration Bill over the veto of the President by a vote of 62 yeas, 19 nays, not voting 15.

Subsequent to the passage of the Immigration Bill, Representative Riordan of New York introduced H. R. 3810 on April 25, 1917, which if enacted into law, would repeal the literacy test. No action has been taken upon the bill, neither have there been any hearings. The passage of this legislation closes a long and persistent struggle on the part of the American Federation of Labor to secure the enactment of an immigration law containing the literacy test. It is confidently believed that when normal times shall again return, its provisions will justify our efforts in securing its passage.

Civil Rights Bill

There was introduced in the House on September 29, 1907, by Representative Webb, what is known as the Civil Rights Bill, H. R. 6361. This bill is designed to protect the interests of conscripted men. In other words, if the law is finally passed by Congress, in its present form, it will protect the equities of conscripted men in mortgaged property, stay the statute of limitations, and otherwise protect the interest of conscripts.

The introduction of the bill was the result of many inquiries relative to the protection to be afforded to conscripted workmen who had homes partly paid for or other interests, such as life insurance premiums, which necessitated regular payments. The bill passed the House on October 4, 1917, and is now before the Senate. Some opposition developed prior to the adjournment of Congress on October 6, 1917, but efforts will be made to secure an early passage of this bill upon the reconvening of Congress.

Department of Labor Appropriation

An effort was made to secure an appropriation of $750,000 for the Department of Labor "to enable the Secretary of Labor during the present emergency, in addition to existing facilities, to furnish such information and to render such assistance in the employment of wage-earners throughout the United States as may be deemed necessary in the prosecution of the war. . . ."

In the regular appropriation bill, the estimates of the Secretary and his requests for this appropriation failed. However, upon the introduction of an urgent deficiency bill, the Department secured an appropriation of $250,000, although the Senate had designated the sum as $500,000, but when the House and Senate bills went to conference a compromise was effected whereby the Department only secured the sum named.

Food Control Law

H. R. 4961, the Food Control Bill, introduced by Representative Lever, passed the House on June 23, 1917, and bills dealing with the same subject, S. 2263 by Senator Gore, was afterwards substituted by S. 2463 by the same Senator, and still later on, House Bill 4961 was substituted for the Senate Bill. Owing to the prolonged discussions, in the Senate, this bill did not pass that body until July 21, 1917.

After the conferees of the two Houses agreed upon and reported a compromise, both the Senate and the House passed it and it became a law August 10, 1917.

Food Survey Law

H. R. 4188 introduced by Representative Lever and S. 2344 by Senator Gore, both dealt with measures calculated to make a survey of the food situation. This bill also became a law on August 10, 1917.

Daylight Saving Movement

An effort was made to pass legislation relative to what is known as daylight saving. The purpose is by turning the clock forward an hour during the summer months, to reduce gas bills, save eye sight, and permit working people and all others to stop work an hour earlier in the afternoon during hot weather. While the convention at Baltimore received a communication extending an invitation to attend a national convention to be held in New York on January 30, 1917, for the purpose of furthering the movement, no action was taken.

A measure dealing with daylight saving passed the United States Senate, but deferred in the House.

Industrial Education—Vocational Trade Training

Because all the necessary and essential details connected with the Vocational Trade Training bill, S. 703, were incorporated in our report to the Baltimore Convention, and in reports to previous conventions it is not necessary to repeat them here further than give this reference.

We are pleased to report that we succeeded in having the House of Representatives take up the bill for formal discussion on December 22, 1916, in the Second Session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, and again on January 2, 1917, when the bill was called up, discussion was confined to the plans proposed for the administration of the law, finally resulting in the House enacting part of the plan we proposed. Substantially the plan is the same. A combination of a board composed of Cabinet members and representative citizens was substituted by the House for the Senate plan which included only Cabinet members. Our proposition was an independent board without official representation of the administration in power.

The bill was further debated on several occasions and after other necessary minor amendments were perfected, it passed the House January 9, 1917. The measure was then sent to conference and finally agreed to without material change of the House amendments by House and Senate on February 16, 1917, and approved by President Wilson February 23, 1917.

The Federal Board for administration of the act took office on July 21, 1917, and is composed of Hon. David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture; Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce; and Hon. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor; Philander P. Claxton, Commissioner of Education; James P. Munroe of Boston, Mass., representing the manufacturing and commercial interests; Charles A. Greathouse of Indianapolis, Indiana, representing agricultural interests; and Arthur E. Holder of Sioux City, Iowa, representing labor.

The Espionage Law

During the closing days of the Sixty-fourth Congress a drastic espionage bill was hurried through the Senate without notice and without opportunity for hearings from any portion of the public that might be interested in its provisions. All endeavors on the part of Senators who tried to keep the bill within reasonable limitations were defeated. Nevertheless, through the efforts of our Legislative Committee and Secretary Morrison, we did succeed in preventing the inclusion in the Senate bill of some of the most extreme propositions. After the passage of this bill by the Senate, it was referred to the House Committee on Judiciary, the members of which were not disposed to hurry the bill through the committee and through the House, without a full, free and fair examination of its provisions. Brief hearings were held which afforded an opportunity to our Legislative Committee and others to present their views, the result being that no action was taken by the committee or by the House on the bill, during that session.

On the first day of the convening of the Sixty-fifth Congress, April 2, 1917, Chairman Webb of North Carolina, of the House Committee on Judiciary, introduced a re-draft of the Espionage bill which had come from the Senate to his committee in the previous Congress. Hearings were held upon it on April 9 and 12, 1917, at which our Legislative Committee and others again appeared before the House Committee on Judiciary and made arguments against certain drastic provisions of the bill, especially those provisions which appeared to be an unwarranted interference with the freedom of speech and freedom of the press, the right to petition and the right of assemblage.

The bill was reported on April 25 in a somewhat improved form. Animated debates followed, and on May 4, 1917, a roll-call vote was taken in the House, sustaining the constitutional provision for free press, the vote being 221 ayes, 167 nays. After the bill reached the Senate, and when this section was reached, a motion was made to strike the free press section out of the bill, on May 12, 1917. It carried by a vote of 39 ayes, 38 nays. On May 14, 1917, Senator Overman of North Carolina, acting Chairman of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, and who had charge of the bill, undertook to restore the free press section. It was again defeated by a vote of 48 to 34. Later during the session, when the bills H. R. 4960 and S. 2445, were before the Congress for the purpose of regulating trading with the enemy, greater power was extended to the Post Office Department officials and other government agents, to define the limits of expression in the press during the war.

To those who are interested in the further examination of the provisions of these laws, they may do so by securing copies of same free on application to their Senators or Congressmen, the numbers being Public, Nos. 24 and 91, First Session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Miscellaneous

Resolution No. 48, adopted at the Baltimore Convention, directing that efforts be made for a horizontal increase of $200 per annum for all employes in the classified civil service, as well as employes of the District of Columbia, could not be carried out for the reason that our efforts have been directed towards securing the enforcement of the 5 and 10 per cent increases passed by the Sixty-fourth Congress. It will be observed by reading the section devoted to these raises that some difficulty has been experienced in securing a complete enforcement of the law. In fact, new legislation had to be secured in order that these increases might be awarded to those whom the law plainly intended should be given increases. It was deemed the better part of discretion to secure these definite increases while the time was propitious rather than to attempt other legislation when the prospect of success was negligible.

Resolution 61 directed the Legislative Committee to draw a bill providing for universal suffrage in the District of Columbia. The American Federation of Labor has been committed to this policy for many years and its Legislative Committee has worked in complete cooperation with all of the civic organizations and other interested groups in an effort to secure this legislation. The Legislative Committee in consultation with the various groups interested in securing suffrage for the District of Columbia came to the conclusion that, because of the magnitude of the work with which Congress was confronted in the passage of war measures, it was inadvisable to attempt to secure any action during the extraordinary session of the Sixty-fifth Congress. At the coming session which opens in December, it is the purpose to have a bill drafted, and the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. will work in complete cooperation for the purpose of securing universal suffrage for the District of Columbia.

Resolution 65, favoring pensions for public school teachers and all school-house employes in the District of Columbia, has received attention, but it has been impossible to secure any legislation on this subject because of the pressure under which Congress has been working on war measures. This question will be considered, however, at the time that the Bureau of Efficiency makes its report to Congress in December.

Resolution 35 favored 20 per cent increase in wages of all women employes in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing who receive less than $2.25 per day. Under the legislation enacted by Congress granting a 5 and 10 per cent increase, the employes of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing were also included in this advance in wages. For reasons already stated, it was deemed inadvisable to attempt any further legislation in this direction until after the 5 and 10 per cent increase provision should be enforced.

Resolutions 8, 11 and 81, endorsing legislation with particular reference to the Post Office Department employes, directed the Legislative Committee to render assistance to the organizations involved. Such assistance has been rendered, and under the sub-head of "Wage Increases of Government Employes," will be found the detailed statements.

Resolution 91, regarding the six-day week and eight hours for United States' custom and immigration inspectors; Resolution 129, referring to government regulation of gill nets used in Bristol Bay, Alaska, for catching salmon; Resolution 136, favoring investigation charges made against milk and milk products; Resolutions 138 and 141, urging the government to install hospital ships in Bristol Bay and in Bering Sea; Resolution 143, providing for extension of laws of the United States applicable to steam vessels with reference to health, safety and protection of life to all fishing vessels of one hundred tons or more, including Federal inspection and exempting physical examination, received attention, but no action has been secured because of the great demand for legislation relating to the vital subjects connected with the war.

Resolution 148, favoring the enactment of legislation whereby money from postal savings banks might be loaned to municipalities for the purpose of building model homes was considered by the Executive Council. Because of the pressing and vital matters of immediate concern to the working people of our country, it was deemed advisable to defer this matter until a more propitious time.

Resolution 147, favoring the bringing of all employes of the District of Columbia under the classified civil service, is now under consideration, and will be urged upon the convening of Congress in December.

Resolution 151 urged all Central Bodies to render assistance to the International Union of Stationary Firemen for the purpose of securing the prevailing rate of wages to all members of this organization employed in the Federal service. The increases authorized by Congress for Federal employes applied to this class of labor.

Resolutions 7 and 106, endorsing the minimum wage bill which proposed to establish a minimum wage of not less than $3 a day for all persons who have been in the civil employment of the United States for at least two years, and which was not acted upon by the 64th Congress, will be taken up in the coming session of the 65th Congress and pressed for definite action.

The Bureau of Labor Saftey Bill which was before the 64th Congress, but failed of passage, will also be pressed for consideration during the coming Congress.

Summary

It will be observed that the general trend of legislation affecting the interests of labor has been to a large extent favorable. While it is the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to make an effort to secure legislation upon every subject of interest to labor, yet the fact must not be overlooked that our efforts should be directed in great part to the fundamental and vital questions that arise from time to time. Our movement is interested in every question which affects the activities and the lives of the people of our country, but our energy should be so directed that the influence of our organizations may be concentrated to secure legislation which vitally affects our general movement. With a continuance of this policy, we shall be able to achieve even greater successes in the future than we have in the the past.

HIGH PRICE OF PRINT PAPER

Resolution No. 105, Baltimore Convention, directed the Executive Council to take such steps as may be necessary to obtain action by the Federal Trade Commission, the Department of Justice and Congress, to the end that the printing industry may be rescued from the clutches of the conspiracies which are successfully manipulating the prices of paper used in the printing industry.

The E. C., at its January 20-27, 1917, meeting, had this matter under consideration, and President Gompers was directed to carry out the intent of the resolution. Communications were addressed to Attorney General Gregory, Chairman Hurley of the Federal Trade Commission, and members of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, and the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, enclosing a copy of Resolution No. 105.

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On February 13, 1917, a letter was received from the Department of Justice as follows:

> "The Department has received your letter of the 9th instant bringing to its attention a resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor relative to the material advance in the price of news print paper and urging that steps be taken to afford relief to the printing industry.
>
> "The Department is at present giving active consideration to conditions in the print paper market. Attorneys of the Department are at work examining the data which has already been collected and planning for such further inquiry as may be necessary in order to determine definitely whether there are grounds for prosecution under the Federal Anti-Trust laws."

On February 20, 1917, the following letter was also received from Leonidas L. Bracken, Secretary of the Federal Trade Commission:

> "Your letter of February 9, 1917, addressed to Hon. Edward N. Hurley, calling attention to the resolutions adopted by the A. F. of L. at its annual convention in November, has been received.
>
> "As you have doubtless noticed in the papers, grand jury proceedings are being conducted in New York and developments are under way which may afford substantial relief in the near future."

The Federal Trade Commission investigated the news print industry and last June announced in a public report its failure to relieve the situation and predicted an even worse situation in the future, providing Congress did not authorize a government pooling scheme to insure an equitable distribution of the product with a fair profit to manufacturers.

The Commission stated that its efforts to restore competitive conditions in this industry and to arbitrate and effectively project a fair price for news print paper had been unsuccessful. It was further urged that Congress enact a law whereby some governmental agency would supervise the operation of the print paper plants during the continuance of the war. It is interesting to note that the report of the Commission gives in detail the enormous profits to the news print paper manufacturers, resulting from the advance in prices. The report says:

> "The consumption of news print paper in the United States in 1916 amounted to about 1,775,000 net tons, valued at more than $70,000,000. At the prices now prevailing, this tonnage will cost news print consumers in 1917 more than $105,000,000, an increase of $35,000,000, or 50 per cent. Most of this increase will fall upon newspaper publishers. If the average increase in cost of manufacture in 1917 over 1916 is estimated at $10 per ton, which is liberal, one-half of the $35,000,000 increase in paper cost represents additional profits to the manufacturers."

It will be recalled that the Federal Trade Commission in an arbitration of the question of what constituted a fair price set $3.25 per hundred pounds for sheet news in carload lots and $3.50 per hundred pounds for sheet news in lesser amounts. The price on news print roll in carload lots was set at $2.50 per hundred pounds. These prices were arrived at by a due observance of the cost of manufacture with a fair profit per ton and were to obtain for a period of six months, from March 1 to September 1. Practically the same prices have been paid by Canadian publishers since early in 1917, as a result of governmental action.

Subsequent to this arbitration arrangement, a number of the paper manufacturers were indicted under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law for concerted activity in raising prices whereupon they withdrew from the arbitration and the arrangement between the paper manufacturers and the Federal Trade Commission with reference to prices on print paper never went into effect. Senator Smith of Arizona, carrying out the suggestion of the Federal Trade Commission, introduced S. J. 101 to provide further for the national security and defense by insuring to the government an adequate supply of paper at a fair price, and authorizing the operation of the print paper and pulp industries by the government. This joint resolution was introduced September 22, 1917, and referred to the committee on printing. The committee reported out the joint resolution on October 6, 1917, the day on which Congress adjourned. The report states that the Federal Trade

Commission's findings show beyond any question that the print paper manufacturers, in their greed for excessive profits, have imposed a most unjust burden on the American press, which faces a serious disaster if relief can not speedily be had from the oppressive prices now exacted.

While the prices of other lines of print paper increased greatly in 1916, there has since been a considerable decline in price. Some of the mills are not now being operated to full capacity on account of lack of orders.

On April 2, 1917, Representative Raker of California introduced H. R. 15, "authorizing and directing the Public Printer to provide a pulp and paper mill or mills for the manufacture of print paper for the government and other purposes." This bill provides for either by purchase or erection, or both, a pulp and paper mill or mills for the manufacture of print and all other kinds of paper for the Government of the United States. The daily capacity to be not less than fifty tons; to be located in some convenient location or locations in the Pacific Coast states, approved by the Joint Committee on Printing with special reference to the utilization of the forests, minerals, water power and other resources on the public lands.

The bill also further provides for the development of the natural resources by the construction of dams, locks, improvements to navigation, power houses, etc. No action has been taken on this bill. Efforts will be continued in the coming session of Congress to secure legislative relief from the excessive prices now charged by the manufacturers of paper.

LEGAL BUREAU OF INFORMATION

The Executive Council was authorized to establish a legal bureau of information by the last convention. A number of court decisions affecting labor have been compiled and transcribed in such form as to be available for the use of the organizations after the first of the coming year. These decisions and other data collected are to be listed and the list sent to affiliated organizations. Upon request copies of documents desired will be forwarded. Officers of all labor organizations which are involved in litigation should supply the American Federation of Labor headquarters with all valuable data growing out of these suits. The legal information already collected will be of material assistance in guiding our organizations in the conduct of controversies involving suits at law.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION LAWS

Resolution No. 68, adopted by the Baltimore Convention, presented the injustice of legislation which denies workers the right to stop work and instructed the Executive Council and all organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor to assist in securing the repeal of existing legislation of this character, and to prevent the enactment of similar legislation either by the federal government or by state governments. Representatives of the A. F. of L. were helpful in preventing the enactment of the proposed Newlands Compulsory Arbitration Law for railroad workers.

Every possible assistance was rendered to the organized workers of Colorado in their effort to secure the repeal of the Industrial Commission Act, which provides for compulsory investigation before the inauguration of a strike or lockout in that state. Although the effort did not result in the repeal of the law, a basis was laid which will facilitate future efforts. Practically every labor organization in Colorado insists upon the right of free workers to quit work despite the prohibition of the law, and yet strikes have been few. The A. F. of L. rendered assistance to other state organizations where compulsory arbitration legislation was proposed.

The information and data collected at headquarters on this subject were put at the service of the workers in all of the states. In addition, valuable information has been given to students and legislators who were studying the problem. As a result of this educational campaign the majority of those who looked upon such legislation as the method for solving labor difficulties have learned that no compulsory methods can be devised to replace self-restraint, natural, normal development.

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CAPMAKERS—HATTERS

The Executive Council in 1916 decided "that the making of all felt, panama and straw hats for men and women comes under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America, and that the finishing and trimming of such hats, through agreement between the United Hatters of North America and the Hat Finishers and Trimmers' Union, comes under the jurisdiction of the Finishers' Union, and that all cloth hat and cap-making comes under the jurisdiction of Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America."

The Baltimore Convention approved that decision and further directed that the capmakers should immediately discontinue the use of the words "Millinery Workers" in connection with their title. Complaints and counter-complaints were made during the year. Hearings were given by the E. C.; the Capmakers were notified and again notified that they were expected and required to conform to the decision of the American Federation of Labor. As yet no such assurance has been given.

We therefore regretfully recommend that the charter of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers be revoked.

FLINT GLASS WORKERS—MACHINISTS

Upon this subject we reported to the Baltimore Convention as follows:

"*Flint Glass Workers—Machinists*

"The Executive Council reported at two previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor regarding the dispute between the Machinists and Flint Glass Workers as to the making of molds for molding glassware. At the 1913 convention of the A. F. of L. the Committee on Adjustment reported on this controversy as follows:

" 'It finds that jurisdiction over the work of making molds for molding glassware is vested in the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and your committee recommends that this exclusive jurisdiction be recognized by all organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L.'

"Delegate Johnson of the machinists offered a substitute for the report of the committee as follows:

" 'That a committee of three be appointed, one each by the two trades in interest and one by the President of the A. F. of L.; said committee to visit the shops located at Alton, Illinois; Toledo, Ohio, and all other shops in question, if it deems it necessary, the committee to be appointed prior to the adjournment of this convention and arrange to visit such shops and render its decision on or before March 1, 1914; the committee to have full authority, and its decision shall be in full force and effect from date agreed upon; said decision to become a matter of record and contained in the report of the E. C. to the 1914 convention.'

"The substitute of Delegate Johnson was adopted by the convention. During the following year, President Gompers endeavored to secure a representative trade unionist to act on the committee who would be satisfactory to both the organizations in interest. After much delay it was finally agreed by both unions to accept Treasurer Lennon as the third member of this committee. During the past year Treasurer Lennon has endeavored from time to time to set a date that would be mutually satisfactory to enter upon this investigation and bring about its final adjustment; prior to the date of the holding of this convention the committee has not acted. Because of the pressure of other business upon the part of the Machinists and the sickness of a representative that they chose to undertake to adjust this matter in August last, at the time this report is being prepared the investigation has not been made but it is anticipated that it will be made as soon as possible after the close of this convention."

In conformity with Delegate Johnson's substitute resolution the committee proceeded with the work and rendered the following decision:

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., *May 8, 1917.*

In pursuance of action by the Seattle Convention of the A. F. of L., a committee was created to investigate the subject of the rights of the jurisdiction dis-

pute between the International Association of Machinists and the American Flint Glass Workers' Union over men making moulds for moulding glassware. The committee consisted of John B. Lennon, B. F. Lamb, and Fred P. Houck. Glass factories and mould shops were investigated at Alton, Illinois; Toledo, Ohio; Newark, Ohio; Cambridge, Ohio, and Cincinnati, Ohio, and the following report and finding is hereby submitted:

"During 1883, what was known as the Mouldmakers' Society was organized; during 1885 they were admitted to and became a department of the A. F. G. W. U. and worked in mould shops under the jurisdiction of the A. F. G. W. U. from 1885 to 1902, when the A. F. G. W. U. withdrew from the A. F. of L. During this period of time—1895 to 1902, no dispute as to jurisdiction over mouldmakers for moulding glasswares arose and jurisdiction was exercised solely by the A. F. G. W. U.

"On October 21, 1912, the application of the A. F. G. W. U. for reaffiliation was favorably considered by the E. C. of the A. F. of L., and the charter was issued over the protest of the I. A. of M. In the jurisdiction claims of the A. F. G. W. U. conceded by the A. F. of L. in the issuance of this charter the following appears:

" 'The control of glass engraving, cutting and the making of all moulds to be used for moulding glasswares.' "

This sketch of the history of this contention is conclusive evidence that the A. F. of L. has decided, that the making of all moulds to be used for moulding glasswares belongs exclusively under the jurisdiction of the A. F. G. W. U.

Your committee therefore reaffirms the decision of the Federation, to wit: "That the making of all moulds to be used for moulding glasswares" is under the jurisdiction of the A. F. G. W. U. and should be so recognized by all unions affiliated to the A. F. of L.

Your committee further recommends that all members of the machinists' union working as mouldmakers on moulds used for moulding glasswares shall on or before January 1, 1918, be transferred to the A. F. G. W. U. without initiation fees.

The A. F. G. W. U. shall bring about the affiliation with the I. A. of M. of all machinists employed at machinists' work in flint glass factories under the jurisdiction of the A. F. G. W. U. on or before January 1, 1918.

That in case of demand for mouldmakers to work in mould shops covered by the jurisdiction of the A. F. G. W. U. that can not be filled by mouldmakers' members of the A. F. G. W. U., the I. A. of M. shall be requested by the officers of the A. F. G. W. U. to furnish the class of men needed, who upon being employed are to become members of the A. F. G. W. U.

Your committee finds a general similarity in the work done by machinists and mouldmakers, but owing to rights of priority and the fact that the A. F. G. W. U. is now and always has been in a large measure an industrial union, a necessary and component part of which is mouldmakers who are a necessary element to the preservation of union wages, hours of labor and working conditions in the glass industry, most earnestly recommend the adoption of this report and the earnest cooperation of the two unions at interest in carrying it into effect.

JOHN B. LENNON,
Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

FRED'K. P. HOUCK,
Member of Mould Making Department, A. F. G. W. U.

LITHOGRAPHERS—PRINTING TRADES

We regret to be compelled to report that no adjustment or amalgamation in these trades has taken place. We had before us a document from the Lithographers purporting to be a protest against the findings and award of the investigation committee created under authority and direction of the San Francisco Convention. In order that the situation may be clearly understood, we recite the following facts.

Claims to jurisdiction were made by the Printing Pressmen and the Photo-Engravers' International Unions over the work performed by the members of the Lithographers'

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organization. Under instructions of the San Francisco convention, a committee of three was to be appointed by the Executive Council—

> "To make a thorough investigation of the whole subject matter contained in these resolutions (the resolutions introduced at the San Francisco Convention upon this matter), with power to make recommendations to the E. C., and that the E. C. upon such recommendations made to it, and in accordance with the opinions expressed in this report, is authorized to bring about upon an equitable basis an amalgamation of the unions involved in this controversy and that the terms of such amalgamation and jurisdiction claims of the various organizations involved shall be determined and decided upon by the E. C."

In compliance with these specific instructions, the committee on investigation was created in the following manner. The Lithographers' organization was requested to appoint a committeeman to represent that organization. The printing trades unions were asked to appoint one man and we appointed the third. The committee consisted of the following, appointed by the organizations named and us respectively:

James P. Holland.
Jacob Fischer.
James Wilson.

The committee met, made an investigation and a report. That report was submitted to the E. C. and by us approved.

The Lithographers then entered their protest and made their appeal, but not against any action of the convention, but in criticism of the report of the committee.

We held and hold that the instructions of the San Francisco Convention have been fully carried into effect; that when the committee made its report and findings the incident was closed; that the only question before the American Federation of Labor or its E. C. was the ways and means by which that decision and award could be carried out; that from that action an appeal could not lie, except a charge of fraud or corruption could be made and sustained as to the makeup and conduct of the committee, and that no such charge has been made.

Several conferences were held between the organizations named for the purpose of endeavoring to carry the award into effect, but without avail, the Lithographers insisting that its protest and appeal should be first determined.

While we were in session at headquarters the latter part of October, we received a communication from the Lithographers regarding the appeal and the protest to which we have already referred, but there was not any new vital point raised from the document to which we have already referred.

The entire subject-matter is reported to this convention for such action as it may direct.

SLATE AND TILE ROOFERS—CARPENTERS

The report of the Executive Council to the Baltimore Convention recorded an agreement reached by the Slate and Tile Roofers and the Carpenters. The Executive Board of the Carpenters, at their meeting January 17, 1917, cancelled this agreement to take effect April 1. The officers of the other organization protested. We urged that the two organizations send representatives to a conference. The response of the Carpenters was that there would be little, if any, use in holding such a conference unless the Slate and Tile Roofers would concede to the Carpenters jurisdiction over the laying of asbestos and asphalt shingles. The Fort Worth, 1916, convention of the Carpenters amended the constitution of the U. B., which was thereafter ratified by a referendum vote, extending the carpenters' claim of jurisdiction to include asbestos and asphalt shingles. However, a conference was finally held in Indianapolis, in which the representatives of both organizations participated, Vice-President William Green representing the American Federation of Labor. He reported that while the conference was friendly and the best of feeling prevailed throughout yet the attitude of the representatives of the two organizations interested made it absolutely impossible to bring about an agreement or a mutual understanding regarding the question at issue.

We recommend that this matter be referred to the Building Trades Department.

CARPENTERS—SHEET METAL WORKERS

Both in the report and the supplementary report of the Executive Council to the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor we dealt with the controversial jurisdictional claim between these two organizations. The history of the controversy has been reported on many an occasion, but in the report to which we refer recommendation was made to and adopted by the Baltimore Convention that the E. C. be empowered to further use its good offices in the endeavor to bring about an adjustment of the matters in dispute.

During the year we have, as an E. C., as well as officers and members thereof, given much of our attention in the effort to comply with the instructions and bring about amicable relations between these two great bodies. Conferences were held at our meetings and others held in our offices, as well as in other points in the country.

At our April meeting we decided to call further conferences between the officers of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Sheet Metal Workers for the purpose of inducing them to come to some agreement; we also decided to ask the responsible officers of both organizations each to submit to us their minimum respective claims as a basis upon which we might be helpful to them in order that a mutual advantageous result might be reached. However, our best efforts have been in vain. Indeed, from the documents submitted by the officers of both organizations they are farther apart in their contention than they were a year ago. At that time there was a manifestation of a willingness to yield some point or points. The documents submitted to us lay claim to the extreme points of their differences.

We submit this matter to the convention regretfully stating that we have been unable to effect an adjustment of this dispute.

CARPENTERS—BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS

The Baltimore Convention directed that if the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers failed to withdraw the charter of their New York local union known as Local Union No. 177 by April 1, 1917, the International Union of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers should stand suspended from the American Federation of Labor and in that event the Secretary of the A. F. of L. was instructed so to notify all central bodies, building trades councils and state federations of labor.

President Gompers was notified, under date of April 21, 1917, by President J. E. McClory of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers that the charter of Local No. 177 had been revoked.

At the meeting of the Executive Council held June 25-27, 1917, at headquarters, it was proved and admitted that though the charter of No. 177 of New York of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers had been revoked, that another local union composed of the same members as were in Local 177 was organized and chartered as Local Union No. 189a.

After a prolonged hearing and discussion the E. C. decided as follows:

1. That the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has failed to carry out the intent and purpose of the decision of the Baltimore (1916) Convention of the A. F. of L.
2. That the organization and the continuation of Local No. 189a is in violation of the intent and purpose of the Baltimore Convention's decision.
3. The E. C. therefore decides that the officers of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be called upon to revoke the charter and discontinue the organization of Local 189a.
4. That the officers of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be called upon to carry this decision into effect on or before July 1, 1917.
5. That unless the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers complies with this decision on or before the date set, that is, on or before July 1, 1917, the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers will on that date stand suspended from the A. F. of L. until it complies with the decision.

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Desirous of avoiding any disturbance in the relations between the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the A. F. of L., President Gompers on June 30 sent a telegram to President McClory calling his attention to the fact that no official communication had been received as to the action of that international union upon the A. F. of L. decision and expressing the hope for compliance and timely notice. The decision not having been complied with, Secretary Morrison in conformity with the A. F. of L.'s direction on July 14 officially notified all central bodies, building trades councils and state federations of labor of the action of the Baltimore Convention, and that because of the failure of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to comply with the decision it stood suspended from the A. F. of L. until compliance. We have communicated to the Building Trades Department the decision of the Baltimore Convention and the action of the E. C. thereunder.

CARPENTERS—BREWERY WORKERS

The Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor congratulated the Carpenters and the Brewery Workers upon the agreement reached between them as reported by the Executive Council to that convention. In January, 1917, the Carpenters notified the Brewery Workers that by order of the Carpenters' Executive Board on March 18, the agreement would be cancelled. Later, the two organizations entered into another agreement as follows:

> "Agreement entered into this 12th day of July, 1917, between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America covering differences existing between the members of both organizations.
>
> I. The Brewery Workers' International Union to use its best efforts with the employers in the breweries and bottling establishments to have only members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America employed in their buildings for building repairs, saloon repairs (when under control of the brewery) and for the manufacture of bar fixtures and boxes for bottled beer.
>
> II. The Brewery Workers' International Union agrees to appoint a committee to cooperate with a like committee from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America in unionizing the factories manufacturing boxes and cases for the breweries and soft drink establishments, and that on and after a date agreed on by the Executive Boards of both organizations the Brewery Workers will refuse to place bottles in new boxes or cases not bearing the label of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.
>
> III. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America agrees that all running repairs on bottle boxes in breweries and bottling establishments be done by the bottlers, members of the Brewery Workers' International Union of America.
>
> IV. The Brewery Workers' International Union of America agrees that members of their organization shall remain neutral in any jurisdiction dispute between the Carpenters and any other trade union on work in or about the breweries or other bottling establishments."
>
> NOTE.—This agreement may be terminated by either party giving sixty days' notice.

BUILDING TRADES—NEW YORK CITY

On June 21 we held a meeting in New York City. The presidents of the building trades unions and the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor were invited to participate in that meeting. This was done in conformity with the directions of our last convention, with the object of organizing a Building Trades Council in that city, affiliated to the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. The conference authorized the appointment of a committee of five by President Gompers for the purpose of conferring with all organizations and persons in order to bring about harmony between the building trades unions of New York City.

STEAM SHOVELMEN—STEAM ENGINEERS

We continued our efforts to effect the amalgamation of these two organizations. Conferences were held between the representatives of both executive boards. As yet neither amalgamation has been brought about nor an understanding reached for the prevention of jurisdictional disputes.

SHEET METAL WORKERS—STOVE MOUNTERS

The conference was held between the representatives of these two organizations in conformity with the directions of the last convention. Mr. George W. Perkins, President of the Cigarmakers' International Union was appointed the American Federation of Labor representative. The following report was received from him:

> "In accordance with your request that I act as representative of the A. F. of L. in the controversy between the Stove Mounters' International Union and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance, I submit herewith report of the conference which was held in Chicago, July 30, 1917, at the Chicago Federation of Labor headquarters.
>
> "Present at the meeting—representing the Sheet Metal Workers—James Ryan, E. W. Kinning, and Thos. Redding; representing the Stove Mounters—W. L. Funderburk, Chas. Ruhl, George Roth, James Cunningham, and E. Carmody; and representing the A. F. of L., G. W. Perkins.
>
> "The resolution referred to reads as follows: (Res. 71, Baltimore Convention Proceedings, page 332.)
>
> "This resolution authorizes the conference for the purpose of bringing about an amicable adjustment.
>
> "The representatives of the Sheet Metal Workers, after considerable talk indulged in by all present, decided to give them the same proposition submitted some time ago as a basis for present and future settlements. This proposition was refused by the Stove Mounters. As your representative I repeatedly urged the Stove Mounters to offer something as a basis upon which to continue negotiations. They submitted nothing in writing, but said, 'We are in favor of letting the present status as it exists between the two organizations, remain in force without any interference from either side.' This would in nowise settle the controversy, and was entirely foreign to the resolution, and was not accepted by the Sheet Metal Workers. After having spent the major portion of the day in a fruitless discussion and endeavor to reach even a basis of agreement, the conference adjourned without having accomplished anything of a tangible nature."

The matter is now before this convention.

MACHINISTS—CARPENTERS

A dispute arose between the machinists and carpenters in Chicago. At our request the representatives of the two organizations met in that city. The machinists contended that the Philadelphia decision of the American Federation of Labor was still in effect. The representatives of the carpenters maintained that this entire subject was later considered by the San Francisco and Baltimore Conventions and at the latter convention an agreement was entered into between the two international unions. The carpenters' representatives thereupon offered as a solution that the matter be left to the choice of the employer as to whom he should employ to do the work in dispute—that is, whether machinists or millwrights, members of the Brotherhood.

Later, the disputed point of jurisdiction arose in an acute form between the employes (members of both organizations) of a concern under government contract. President Gompers succeeded in getting a number of the officers of both organizations together in conference when it was agreed, and the company involved so notified, that owing to the need of the country at this crucial time the matter of employing men to install machinery be left entirely in the hands of this company without objection from either organization, provided such employes are members of either the machinists or the carpenters' organization. At a

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later date the two organizations met in conference for the purpose of endeavoring to work out a similar plan to apply to all cases of dispute between these two organizations involving the installing of machinery. The conference lasted two days, but no satisfactory understanding was reached. The subject is still under negotiation between the two organizations.

BOILERMAKERS—CHICAGO BUILDING TRADES

The Baltimore Convention by Resolution No. 102, directed certain procedure to be followed in the case between the Boilermakers and the Building Trades Council of Chicago. We are pleased to report that the trouble has been adjusted by the boilermakers returning to membership in the national organization of that trade.

CARRIAGE AND WAGON WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL UNION—CHANGE OF TITLE

The action of the Baltimore Convention in regard to the change of title was communicated to the officers of that organization. In reply they stated that they had no power or authority to change the title of their organization without the consent of the membership and that therefore the matter would be submitted to a referendum vote. The referendum vote was overwhelmingly in favor of retaining the words "Automobile Workers" in their official title, only six voting against the proposition. The officers of the Carriage and Wagon Workers stated:

> "The consensus of opinion in our organization is that to drop the 'Automobile Workers' from our title would tend to disrupt our organization, for the majority of our members are automobile workers and they feel that the title of Carriage and Wagon Workers would eliminate us entirely from the automobile field.
>
> "The vote was not in any sense an expression of defiance to the action of the American Federation of Labor in Baltimore, but rather an expresssion of the inability of our membership to comply without wrecking the organization.
>
> "Our whole trouble originated in jurisdictional controversies and we can not see where the change of title would eliminate the jurisdictional trouble.
>
> "We are more than willing to cooperate with the A. F. of L. and while we have no desire to criticise the action of the Baltimore Convention, we feel that their action would have been different if every delegate had had an accurate understanding of our situation."

In view of this entire situation we deem it our duty to present the case to this convention to give such advice and to take such action as the merits of the case require.

BOILERMAKERS—MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

The last convention approved the change of title from "Western Federation of Miners" to "International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers." That organization agreed that it neither claimed nor desired nor had any purpose to change or extend its jurisdiction under its new title. Shortly thereafter however a conflicting claim of jurisdiction arose between the Miners and the Boilermakers as was dealt with in Resolution 55 of the Baltimore Convention. A conference was thereafter held between representatives of the two international unions, but no agreement was reached. We directed President Gompers to continue efforts to adjust the controversy. Further conferences were held, much correspondence ensued. The Boilermakers expressed themselves as willing to enter into a working agreement with the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and to cooperate with them to the fullest extent in securing more favorable conditions and wages, but that they would not surrender to any organization jurisdiction over boilermakers' helpers and apprentices. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers claimed that it was well understood and agreed by all other international unions when the charter was issued that they were to have jurisdiction over all men employed as mine, mill and smelter workers.

Efforts have been made and are being made to bring about an adjustment of the matters in dispute.

MACHINISTS—BOILERMAKERS

The Boilermakers made complaint to our last convention against infringement of jurisdiction on the part of the Machinists. Conferences have been held and progress made toward amicable understanding and adjustment.

BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYES—INTERNATIONAL UNION OF

The Baltimore Convention referred to us a resolution which was an appeal for the organization of an international union of Building Service Employes. In our report to that convention under the heading of this same subject we stated the reasons why in our best judgment it would be unwise at this time to attempt the organization of such an international union. That section of our report will be found upon page 143 of the printed proceedings. Circumstances and conditions have not materially changed since that report was prepared. In the best interests of these workers and of the labor movement, we can not recommend that an international union of building employes be now attempted.

AMALGAMATED LACE OPERATIVES' APPLICATION FOR EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION

The chartered Society of Amalgamated Lace Operatives of North America made application for extension of jurisdiction over lace curtain, plain net, mechlin machine operatives and all auxiliary help pertaining thereto; all slip winders, strippers, brass bobbin winders, threaders, spoolers, menders, operators, cutters, folders, finishers and draftsmen. Their application was not granted.

TO AMALGAMATE TEXTILE WORKERS

A conference was held at which were represented the Amalgamated Lace Operatives, the International Cotton Mule Spinners and the United Textile Workers, presided over by Vice-President Duncan. It was the feeling on the part of all participants in the conference that sooner or later the amalgamation of all the textile organizations into one union would be effected, and in line with the well-established policy and practice of the American Federation of Labor. With that object in view, the local union of Wool Pullers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. with headquarters in Philadelphia, was turned over to the United Textile Workers, and when the convention of the International Mule Spinners was held in Boston, September 13-15, a representative of the A. F. of L. attended that convention for the purpose of urging upon the officers and delegates the advisability of the mule spinners amalgamating with the textile workers. However, the convention decided against amalgamation.

It is to the best interests of the workers in the textile industry to have all the organizations therein under one general head. We therefore strongly urge that the best efforts of our entire movement be put forth to bring about, not only the more thorough organization of all textile workers but also the amalgamation of all textile workers' organizations under the charter of the United Textile Workers of America.

LEATHER WORKERS' AMALGAMATION

Complying with the directions of the Baltimore Convention a conference was held between the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, the Travelers' Goods and Novelty Workers' International Union, Tannery Workers' local union, No. 14,609, and two representatives of the American Federation of Labor.

The conference was in session three days at Indianapolis, Ind. The following agreement was reached:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., *April 18, 1917.*

First.—That a merger of the organizations represented be effected for the purpose of forming a new organization under the name and title of "United Leather Workers' International Union."

The aforesaid organization shall consist of local branches composed exclusively of the wage-earners engaged in the harness and saddlery industry, the travelers' goods and leather novelty industry, the tannery industry, and such other leather industries as jurisdiction over the workers has not been awarded by the A. F. of L.

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to existing national or international unions, or joint local branches may be formed, composed of all classes of workers above referred to. All local branches affiliated to same acknowledge the jurisdiction of the parent body and agree to obey its laws, its adopted customs, and rulings rendered by regularly constituted authorities.

Second.—It was further unanimously agreed by the conference that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested to grant a charter to the said organization, and that all local unions of leather workers affiliated to the A. F. of L., under whatever title they may be known, be turned over to the United Leather Workers' International Union. It is further requested that the President of the A. F. of L. issue said charter upon application from the duly accredited officers after the terms and conditions of merger have been ratified and adopted by a joint convention.

It is the unanimous opinion of the conferees that after careful consideration the purposes as herein set forth, that the granting of this charter will bring about a more thorough organization of the different branches in the leather working industry, which would tend to establish higher living standards for the workers under the jurisdiction as herein contemplated, and we therefore earnestly hope that the application will be favorably acted upon.

Fraternally submitted,

MURT MALONE.
EDW. E. SHELLING.
J. T. LUCKOCK.
W. E. BRYAN.
JOHN PFEIFFER.
JOHN DORAN.
THOMAS MCFADDEN.
FRANK DUFFY.
HUGH FRAYNE.

Vice-President Frank Duffy and Organizer Hugh Frayne, the two representatives of the Federation, attended the joint convention at St. Louis and gave further valuable assistance. Application for charter was thereafter made and on July 24, 1917, the charter was issued to the United Leather Workers' International Union.

CHANGE OF TITLE—MARBLE WORKERS

We approved the application of the International Association of Marble Workers for change of title to "National Association of Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers." This change in title was also approved by the Baltimore Convention of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor.

POST OFFICE CLERKS' AMALGAMATION

The National Federation of Post Office Clerks and the Brotherhood of Railway Posta Clerks requested permission to surrender their charters and in their stead that one charter be issued governing both organizations under the title of National Federation of Post Office Clerks. Consent was given, the organizations became amalgamated, and the new charter was issued with the understanding that the jurisdiction of the amalgamated organization should be the same as that of the two organizations which it superseded.

MARINE ENGINEERS—CHARTER APPLICATION

The National Marine Engineers made application for charter of affiliation to the American Federation of Labor. We recommended that a conference should be held between the representatives of the marine engineers and the several organizations at interest during this convention, and we may be in a position later to make further report thereon.

LABOR DAY

The celebration of Labor Day, 1917, reflected the critical emergency in which our Republic found itself. Observance of Labor Day is established as a national custom and the day, as usual, was set aside for the workers. Plans for the celebration of the day everywhere were more quiet and more serious. In many localities parades and the more pretentious ceremonies were dispensed with in order that the money ordinarily expended for this purpose might be used to subscribe to war bonds or to meet other war needs. The day served to bring home to the workers and to the nation the part which workers must play in defense of the country and in winning the war. It served as an opportunity for rededication to the service of Labor and to the service of humanity.

It is of fundamental importance to the American labor movement that the first Monday of every September dedicated to Labor should be maintained in all its integrity of purpose as one of the great national holidays commemorating a great cause. We urge local organizations of Labor throughout the whole country that nothing be permitted to interfere with this custom or to detract the influence of the organized labor movement.

ORGANIZERS

There are 1,945 organizers of the American Federation of Labor who are responsible for maintaining and furthering the general interests of Labor throughout America. Upon the persistent effective work of these faithful workers depends in a degree not always appreciated, the success of the cause of organized labor. Much of this work is done in time that is free from the day's toil and without compensation except the gratification of serving a great cause. The monthly reports of organizers published in the *American Federationist* have been of increasing interest and importance, indicating the scope and the constructive character of their work.

We wish to express our deep appreciation of the service and the devotion of these organizers.

LABOR PRESS AND A. F. OF L. PUBLICATIONS

At no time in the history of the American labor movement has the labor press been rendering more effective or indispensable service than during the present critical period of the Republic. With correct understanding of the issues involved, the labor papers have given loyal support to the government in defense of democracy, and they have maintained this attitude without surrendering the right to maintain and defend the essential principles of human freedom.

The labor papers form a chain of live agencies by which the problems, the activities and the ideals of the workers of one locality are communicated to fellow-workers everywhere and the ties of brotherhood and cooperation strengthened. Local labor papers have been effectively united into a system for labor publicity through the press service which the American Federation of Labor has furnished in its official publications—the *American Federationist* and *Weekly News Letter*. These two publications supplement each other in furnishing aid to labor papers; the *American Federationist* through editorials and articles interprets Labor's relations to vital problems and important movements and speaks for Labor; the *Weekly News Letter* furnishes to the labor press a resume of happenings of general interest to the movement of this and other countries. The *American Federationist* presents to the workers the best considered judgments of representatives of the organized labor movement, to assist them in working out their own problems.

The labor press and the official publications should receive the loyal support, financial as well as moral, of all members and friends of the organized labor movement. The abnormal conditions of war times, the high cost of paper and increased postal rates, have made the duties of labor editors and publishers increasingly perplexing and have made proper support even more than ordinarily imperative.

In issuing the official publications every effort has been made to avert excessive costs without diminishing value, for it is appreciated they are not published for profit, but to enable the voice of Labor to reach the widest circle of readers—governmental officials, business men, economists, publicists, in addition to the rank and file of the workers everywhere.

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YEAR BOOK

Resolution No. 62 directed the Executive Council to have prepared a Year Book which should contain a record of all matters affecting the trade union movement which have occurred during the preceding twelve months, and that the necessary steps be taken to secure the annual publication of such a volume in the future.

Much thought has been given this subject and valuable material has been collected. The establishment of the custom of publishing a Year Book is an exceedingly important undertaking and will be of inestimable value to those who are desirous of securing data and authentic information relative to the organized labor movement. In considering the scope and character of the Year Book, it is the opinion of the E. C. that the first volume should contain historical incidents and convention actions that would give to the members of our movement and others interested in our work a comprehensive understanding of the fundamental principles which underlie our efforts, as well as furnishing data that would be exceedingly interesting and valuable.

In the preliminary work already done, it has developed that in order to collect accurate data and arrange it in an interesting and attractive form, more time will be required than indicated by the resolution authorizing the publication of the Year Book. While it is possible to carry out the instructions of the convention this year and publish a Year Book, yet it is believed that the convention should extend the time for one year in order that this publication may be made more valuable to the literature of the organized labor movement.

The difficulties confronting the issuance of the first Year Book must of necessity be greater than those which would follow subsequent annual editions.

The history of the American Federation of Labor is replete with the magnificent efforts of the union men and union women of our country, and the compiling of this history in a brief and concise form and publishing in one volume, together with the recording of the more important current events of the year, will constitute the first volume of the Year Book as a text book which will afford an opportunity for members of our unions and others to inform themselves of the multifarious efforts made and achievements secured by the unions of labor. It will likewise serve as a compendium for the promotion of a better understanding of the fundamental principles upon which rests our success of the past and, if adhered to, guarantee the safety of our movement for the future.

It is hereby suggested that because of the reasons assigned, the E. C. be authorized to continue the work of gathering material, and that the first Year Book be published during the coming year.

VICE-PRESIDENT D. A. HAYES' DEMISE

Vice-President Hayes' health had been failing for a number of years. That the last call suddenly came to him on January 2, 1917, was no great surprise to those of his friends who were cognizant of his true condition. In the death of Dennis A. Hayes the labor movement lost one of its most loyal and faithful advocates, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor a member whose ability, earnestness and devotion to duty will be difficult to excel, the glass bottle blowers an able defender and fearless fighter for their rights and interests, and every man or woman of Labor a friend whose qualities of heart and mind endeared him to all. This convention and succeeding conventions will miss him and his work.

W. D. Mahon Selected Eighth Vice-President

The constitution of the A. F. of L. provides for the filling of vacancies caused by the death or resignation of a member of the E. C. In conformity therewith we selected W. D. Mahon, President of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, Eighth Vice-President of the A. F. of L.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON COOPERATION

As directed by the previous convention, a special committee of five was appointed. We anticipate making a supplementary report upon this subject later during the session of this convention. At this time we desire to point out that the best interests of the masses

of our people would be served if there were a larger degree of cooperative buying in the smaller localities and the selling at cost plus handling, storing and administration. In these times of abnormally high prices it would be a great help to bring producer and consumer into closer communication and thus eliminate the unwarranted profits of manipulators and middle men.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON EIGHT HOURS

Our last convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a committee to which should be referred the several resolutions bearing upon the subject of the eight-hour day, this committee to confer with the representatives of the organized employes of the transportation companies and to make report to the Executive Council. Due to many reasons, among them being that the Supreme Court of the United States had under consideration the case contesting the constitutionality of the Adamson law creating a basic eight-hour day for workingmen engaged on the railroads, the then pending movement of the Brotherhoods to strike for a basic eight-hour day, the legislation pending in Congress upon eight hours, the entrance of our country into the war, it was not possible to secure the active men in the labor movement to give time to the consideration of the subject, and hence the appointment of the committee was necessarily delayed. We anticipate making the conclusions of this committee as a supplementary report to the proceedings of this convention.

There has been great progress in the extension of the basic principle of the eight-hour day, which will be more fully dealt with in another section of this report.

CHANGE OF DATE—A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

The Constitution, Section 1, Article III, provides that the annual meetings of the American Federation of Labor shall convene on the second Monday in November in the city which may have been selected by the preceding convention.

Of recent years there has been much complaint regarding the inconvenience of the second Monday in November as the convention date. The officers and members of the organizations composing the A. F. of L. are patriotic, loyal citizens; they desire to meet fully their obligations and to avail themselves of all the privileges of their citizenship including the privilege of casting their votes for the candidates for presidential election as well as the candidates for all other positions under the government which are filled by the vote of the electors. Then, again, it frequently occurs that at this season of the year the weather is exceedingly inclement, greatly detracting from the work and the comfort of those who are required in many instances to travel long distances to reach the convention city and who have to devote two weeks to absorbing, exhausting work.

Having all these matters in mind and after consulting with the officers of the various departments of the A. F. of L. who are in accord with our position in this matter, we recommend to this convention that the constitution be so amended as to provide for the annual conventions of the A. F. of L. to be held the second Monday in June of each year.

AMENDMENT TO CONSTITUTION

Article XV, Section 7, of the constitution provides that the Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately after the A. F. of L. convention, in the same city where the Federation convention is held, except, it is provided that the metal trades, mining trades and railway departments may hold their conventions at other dates and places because of transportation and expenditure. It has developed that the interests of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. can be better served if the convention of that department be held prior to and in the same city with the convention of the A. F. of L. We therefore recommend that Section 7 of Article XV of the constitution of the A. F. of L. be so amended as to provide for the holding of the Building Trades Department convention as indicated.

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FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE

January 27, 1917, marked President Gompers' fiftieth year of service in the labor movement, fifty years of married life and his sixty-seventh birthday. His friends in and out of the labor movement responded in numbers to the suggestion of the Baltimore Convention to make January 27, 1917, an epoch in his life. There were gathered in New York City on that date 1,100 of his friends and fellow workers at the banquet which was given in his honor. Numbers of letters, telegrams, cablegrams, were received from friends and well-wishers in every walk in life, including the President and Vice-President of the United States and members of the Cabinet who were unable to be present.

So that there may be a complete record, the committee had all of these, with the transcript of the addresses delivered handsomely bound and presented to President Gompers. Any of the delegates who may desire to see how efficiently and artistically the committee carried out the instructions of the Baltimore Convention will be afforded the opportunity of looking over this volume.

RECONSTRUCTION PROPOSALS

This nation is at war. War needs of the nation are paramount. Its material resources and man power are being mobilized on a stupendous scale for service to the Republic. Individual interests must give way to the common need. Industrial establishments and transportation agencies are in the process of reorganization for service, not for private profit but for a common cause. Any enterprise which fails to contribute or maintain the national life or give impetus to the momentum of this great machine is either slowing down or being abandoned. The public mind, commerce and industry, are crowded out of their normal avenues and transformed to fit the new order.

The railroads, markets, food supplies, financial resources, the necessaries of civil and military life have been put under national administrative control and coordinated for world-wide cooperation. A new conception of human relationships and community of interest in the nation's wealth is being born in this world cataclysm. Much that has been evolved because of dire necessity conforms to higher ideals and purposes than that which it replaced.

Mobilization of men for the battlefields and the mobilization of men and women to do their part in the great industrial scheme of preparing and maintaining the nation's fighting machine is completely transforming the arts of peace into those of war.

In the basic industries, the necessity for greatly increased production is concentrating vast bodies of men and women to work in the expanding industrial plants engaged in war production. Every energy of government is being employed in not only adjusting and correlating all elements which contribute to the production of necessary material to be employed in the prosecution of its purposes, but all elements of society are perforce compelled to accommodate themselves to conditions unfamiliar to the majority of citizens of our country.

War is a tragedy, even though the object sought by this means is meritorious. It means the loss of lives of untold thousands of our people; it turbulently disarranges home life and activities.

When the war closes there will confront our government and our people problems, the magnitude of which can not as yet be even approximated, but they will be coextensive with the magnitude of preparation, prosecution, and maintenance of the country on a war footing.

The American Federation of Labor, to which has been entrusted by common consent the welfare of the men and women of labor of our country, deems it a duty at this time to present some comprehensive and constructive suggestions in order that we may lead in solving the problems which will develop when peace shall have been declared and demobilization of the armies and the reconstruction of industry begin in order to meet the demands of peace.

No question ever presented to the American labor movement imposed upon it such great responsibilities or assumed such tremendous proportion. By the light which has been given us in the past we have achieved success, and by that same token we meet this problem, immense though it is, with a feeling of assurance that our efforts will be rewarded by still greater success than that achieved in the past.

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The already changed relationship between workers and employers, as well as between the toilers and our government, even though we have just entered the conflict, betokens still further changes when this war shall have been concluded. The people of this nation welded together by the sacrifices of war, will emerge from it purged of many of its weaknesses and with a new concept of human rights and aspirations.

Our organized labor movement, with its constructive program can, if given the hearty support of all men and women of labor, make its influence the most potent factor in the coming reconstruction.

The broad road of opportunity lies open before us, and, if we continue in the employment of the proven justified policies of our movement, the entire body of the workers will travel that road which leads to a field of still greater opportunities.

The problems of this hour require our earnest consideration and attention, but the problems which will soon confront us in providing against a veritable cataclysm which will, unless wisely averted, occur in the transition from a war to a peace footing; it will require our every energy and ability if we hope to render the service to society which we desire, and permanently to advance and secure for the men and women of labor greater opportunities for a higher and a better life.

In considering the problems of the future it is of material assistance to consider proposals that have been made in Great Britain. These plans forcefully demonstrate the effect war conditions and problems have had upon the minds of those who have been in the war practically from the beginning. Almost by tacit agreement they have based proposals for the future along much broader lines than existed in pre-war times. Their thinking has been unhampered by institutions and principles existing before the war and shows the flexibility and freedom that are the inevitable result of experience in meeting exigencies and problems in totally new conditions.

The gigantic scale upon which the war is organized and the stupendous issues and problems of war have instituted a corresponding increased depth and grasp in the thoughts of those directing affairs.

The underlying principle upon which all the war organization has been based is service to the whole nation. This broader ideal can not be easily cast aside in the reconstruction period and will consciously or unconsciously permeate plans for every relation of life. Fraternity and mutual cooperation growing out of the world struggle for democracy in which the thoughts of men are concentrated upon the effort to destroy political dynasties and to establish government for the people and by the people are inevitably carried over into all relations of life.

Corresponding to these political changes there has been a parallel development making for democracy in economic relations. There has been a recognition of the principle that those associated in the work of production ought to have a voice in management of those things concerning their interests and welfare. There has been recognition for the thought that industrial disfranchisement is as unjust as political disfranchisement. In both Great Britain and in the United States the war for world democracy has resulted in more complete recognition of the rights of men and women and the paramount importance of human welfare.

Some time ago the government of Great Britain was disturbed by evidences of industrial unrest, and appointed a commission known as the Whitley Commission to inquire into causes and to make a report with recommendations. The commission consisted of statesmen, economists, labor representatives, and technicians. The final report which they made is concerned with problems of establishing permanently improved relations between employed and employers. In the report the committee say that it is vital that the cooperation of all classes established during the war should continue after the war, especially that cooperation concerned in relations between employers and employed. They recommend to this end the establishment for each industry of an organization, representative of employers and workers to have as its object the regular consideration of matters affecting the progress and the well-being of the trade from the point of view of those engaged in it, so far as that is consistent with the general interest of the community.

With a view to providing means for carrying out the policy outlined above, they recommend that the government should propose without delay to the various associations of employers and employed the formation of Joint Standing Industrial Councils in the several industries, where they do not already exist, composed of representatives of employers and

employed, regard being given to the various sections of the industry and the various classes of labor engaged.

The committee suggested the methods for the appointment of a chairman or chairmen of the General Industrial Council in each trade.

(1) A chairman for each side of the council.
(2) A chairman and vice-chairman selected from the members of the council (one from each side of the council).
(3) A chairman chosen by the council from independent persons outside the industry; or
(4) A chairman nominated by such person or authority as the council may determine or, failing agreement, by the government.

The following proposals are to be considered by the National Industrial Councils:

(a) That district councils, representative of the trade unions and of the employers' association in the industry, should be created, or developed out of the existing machinery for negotiation in the various trades.
(b) That works committees, representative of the management and of the workers employed, should be instituted in particular works to act in close cooperation with the district and national machinery.

The principle upon which the committee proposes to secure cooperation is by granting to workpeople a greater share in consideration of matters affecting their industry. The functions which are suggested for National Councils are enumerated as follows:

(1) The better utilization of the practical knowledge and experience of the workpeople.
(2) Means for securing to the workpeople a greater share in and responsibility for the determination and observance of the conditions under which their work is carried on.
(3) The settlement of the general principles governing the conditions of employment, including the methods of fixing, paying, and readjusting wages, having regard to the need for securing to the workpeople a share in the increased prosperity of the industry.
(4) The establishment of regular methods of negotiation for issues arising between employers and workpeople, with a view both to the prevention of differences and to their better adjustment when they appear.
(5) Means of ensuring to the workpeople the greatest possible security of earnings and employment, without undue restriction upon change of occupation or employer.
(6) Methods of fixing and adjusting earnings, piecework prices, etc., and of dealing with the many difficulties which arise with regard to the method and amount of payment apart from the fixing of general standard rates, which are already covered by paragraph (3).
(7) Technical education and training.
(8) Industrial research and the full utilization of its results.
(9) The provision of facilities for the full consideration and utilization of inventions and improvement designed by workpeople, and for the adequate safeguarding of the rights of the designers of such improvements.
(10) Improvements of processes, machinery and organization and appropriate questions relating to management and the examination of industrial experiments, with special reference to cooperation in carrying new ideas into effect and full consideration of the workpeople's point of view in relation to them.
(11) Proposed legislation affecting the industry.

The report closes with the following paragraphs:

It may be desirable to state here our considered opinion that an essential condition of securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers

and employed is that there should be adequate organization on the part of both employers and workpeople. The proposals outlined for joint cooperation throughout the several industries depend for their ultimate success upon there being such organization on both sides; and such organization is necessary also to provide means whereby the arrangements and agreements made for the industry may be effectively carried out.

We have thought it well to refrain from making suggestions or offering opinions with regard to such matters as profit-sharing, co-partnership, or particular systems of wages, etc. It would be impracticable for us to make any useful general recommendations on such matters, having regard to the varying conditions in different trades. We are convinced, moreover, that a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed must be founded upon something other than a cash basis. What is wanted is that the workpeople should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about and adjustment of those parts of industry by which they are most affected.

The schemes recommended in this report are intended not merely for the treatment of industrial problems when they have become acute, but also, and more especially, to prevent their becoming acute. We believe that regular meetings to discuss industrial questions, apart from and prior to any differences with regard to them that may have begun to cause friction, will materially reduce the number of occasions on which, in the view of either employers or employed, it is necessary to contemplate recourse to a stoppage of work.

Of so great importance did the British labor movement consider this report of the Whitley Commission that they set aside one day of the Trade Union Congress to consider the report. After thorough discussion the Congress referred the matter to the Parliamentary Committee with authority to call a special meeting of the British Trade Union Congress, if they deemed that course advantageous.

Since the Whitley Commission, another proposal has been made which bears the signatures of more than forty well-known business men and university professors and of a still larger number of officers of trade associations. Those who outlined the scheme state that it is put forward as the practical outcome of all the authoritative suggestions that have been made during the last three years, for the reconstruction period of industries and the development of trade and commerce. The following account was printed in the London *Times* of October 10, 1917:

Concerning the need of industrial reconstruction the signatories say that to meet the urgent needs of the times it will be necessary to increase considerably our efforts to develop our industries on the following lines.

(1) The mobilization of each industry for common action.

(2) A greater degree of cooperation between manufacturer

(3) Cooperation between labor and capital and the avoidance of industrial strife.

(4) A more complete association between scientific institutions and traders.

(5) Education better adapted to our commercial needs.

(6) Each industry to be studied as a whole and freed from unnecessary internal competition.

(7) Every trade to present a united front to foreign competition.

(8) Output regarded as a duty by both capital and labor.

(9) Encouragement by the Government of the activities of traders, with a minimum of interference.

It is contended that the matter can not be left to chance, and that some national scheme is necessary which shall ensure the securing of these objects. It is therefore suggested:

(a) That a national organization, on lines such as those suggested by the Whitley report, should be established, which will retain all the sterling qualities of our present individualistic system and add to them the necessary ordered force to ensure greater activity.

(b) That such an organization will need to provide for the representation of all classes of persons engaged in a given industry.

(c) That industry should, therefore, be enfranchised, and every man and woman, employer and employed, given a vocational or trade vote by means of which the representation would be effectively realized.

(d) That every citizen should have the right to register with some approved trade association or trade union, and thus an industrial or vocational register properly classified would be produced.

(e) That trade councils should be elected in each industry from the trade associations and the trade unions. Such councils, elected upon a truly representative basis, would be able to speak in the names of the whole of their respective industries.

(f) That all questions as between the Government and a given trade should be delegated to the council of that trade who would have powers to deal with them.

(g) That questions of output, education, trade schools, scientific research, export, wages, profits, markets, tariffs, etc., should be settled in each trade by the council of that trade, and national funds spent upon these matters dispensed through the trade councils.

Finally, the manifesto puts forward under six headings a scheme for industrial reconstruction. It is suggested that the basis of the scheme should be a vocational franchise, which would make possible the organization of each trade separately under a trade council composed of capital and labor, and the decentralization of a large proportion of national work now attempted by Government departments. The Government, it is proposed, should establish a department to promote or encourage trade, and the first function of this department should be to create representative trade councils in every trade. It should be assisted by an advisory council, consisting of the chairmen of all the trade councils, and should comprise special departments for export and tariffs, industrial and scientific research, commercial education, statistics and finance, welfare, and exhibitions and advertising.

Generally, the scheme involves the establishment of a complete new system of trade government comparable to our existing system of local government, with a ministry at the head with powers similar to those of the Local Government Board, controlling numerous trade councils, with powers comparable to those of existing county councils. It recognizes the essential principles that industrial interests should be grouped by trades and not by localities.

In our own country, as well as in Great Britain, employment problems, which are a vital part of production in war supplies, have been acute and difficult. At the beginning of the war Great Britain had what is known as Labor Exchanges. These, although inadequate, helped in the work of re-distribution of workers so as to provide the necessary number of workers when and where they were needed. In October, 1916, the name of these Labor Exchanges was changed to Employment Agencies in recognition of the changed scope of their work. Recently other changes have been made by the Ministry of Labor. The changes were described in a memorandum issued by that department. The memorandum states that under conditions of modern industry an efficient system of employment exchanges are an essential part of state machinery not only for dealing with ordinary problems of employment in times of peace but even more for organizing the man power of the nation during war. The ministry has introduced into the official machinery of the exchanges a form of local organization. Local advisory committees have been organized composed of equal numbers of representatives of employers and workpeople respectively nominated as

a rule by associations in the various localities. There are in addition a small number of members nominated by the minister, these not to exceed a third of the total membership. There will be at least one woman member on each committee.

The committees, in addition to taking care of the regular demands for workers in industry, will take care of all soldiers and sailors discharged from the army and navy. The regular functions of the employment exchanges will be supplemented to provide for the problems of demobilization. In addition to discharged sailors and soldiers, they plan to take care of the transition period of industry when munition workers must find new employment. A woman sub-committee will deal with special problems arising out of employment of women and will have prepared lists of suitable lodgings for women workers. The committees will make provision for the transportation of workers from one place to another.

The local advisory commissions provided in this reform are in response to recognition of the fundamental necessity of securing close cooperation of both employers and employes These local committees will become a permanent part of the machinery of the employment exchanges.

In our own country there is evident in every kind of war work the necessity for some national agencies for better adjusting the supply of workers. We are entering a period where there must be greater economy in the use of the man power of our country. We can not evade the task of intelligent planning for the proper adjustment of workers to opportunities for re-employment. This maladjustment has resulted in a frequently repeated complaint of scarcity of workers. This claim has been reiterated so frequently that it has been commonly accepted as a fact even though those in closest touch with the situation declare that no such scarcity exists. In some places there is an apparent scarcity due to maladjustment and to the fact that with other opportunities for employment workers refuse to accept low wages and poor conditions of work. A central, efficient employment agency with its branches are plainly necessary in performing the gigantic task that is now before the Emergency Fleet Corporation and in the necessary work of production of war supplies.

With the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of men for military purposes there is necessity for readjustment in the industrial field. Effective employment agencies, under the control of the Department of Labor, cooperating with local agencies and associations, would be an invaluable adjunct to our war machinery. Such agencies will also be keenly needed in the transition period that will follow the declaration of peace and the work of demobilization.

We urge the immediate necessity of providing for some adequate form of employment agencies in this country, under federal control, and co-ordinating all local efforts along this line.

We further recommend that some action be taken by this convention insisting that our government make such plans for demobilization that men will remain in the employ of the government until they can be provided with remunerative employment through government employment agencies, unless they have employment opportunities already open to them.

CONCLUSION

Our report for the year 1917 shows that the American labor movement is stronger than at any previous time in its history and that it is in a position to utilize unusual opportunities now afforded for constructive, alert agencies of democracy. It is fitting that a word of warning accompany this recognition of opportunity—success will depend upon wisdom in decision and upon maintaining our united strength. Present conditions of welfare and protection came because the working people united for mutual interests and rejected all plans and methods that would have resulted in disrupting union of action and organization. The workers must reject separatists' movements and be on guard against influences that would interfere with the solidarity of our movement.

The time of opportunity is also the time of danger—wage-earners see that benefits they secure from emergency opportunities are benefits based upon principles of human welfare and not the result of taking advantage of the nation's necessity. Let your purposes and

your methods in all things accord with ideals of true patriotism. America's workers have already given a good account of their patriotic loyalty to principles of democracy and freedom. Let us strive to make the coming year the most glorious one in the history of Labor and of world freedom.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS
President

JAMES DUNCAN
First Vice-President

JAMES O'CONNELL
Second Vice-President

JOSEPH F. VALENTINE
Third Vice-President

JOHN R. ALPINE
Fourth Vice-President

H. B. PERHAM
Fifth Vice-President

FRANK DUFFY
Sixth Vice-President

WILLIAM GREEN
Seventh Vice-President

W. D. MAHON
Eighth Vice-President

JOHN B. LENNON
Treasurer

FRANK MORRISON
Secretary

Executive Council
American Federation of Labor

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APPENDIX

BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

Mr. Wm. J. Spencer, Secretary-Treasurer of the Building Trades Department, submitted the following annual report:

In our last report we drew attention to the unfair conditions obtaining in the building operations on the Panama Canal. The subject was later covered by a special report of one of the regular committees at the convention of the Department. In line with the recommendation of the committee, which was concurred in, an effort was made to interest the Secretary of War, but unfortunately the great European conflict into which we have as a nation since been drawn, completely overshadowed in importance every other consideration so that we must of necessity allow the offending conditions existing at Panama to temporarily continue, but not, however, without our emphatic protest, which we here again record.

The Department at its last convention went on record as favoring a change of date for our annual meetings and authorized the officers to confer with the officials of the American Federation of Labor and interested Departments in the hope that a mutually agreeable change might be decided upon for the conventions of the Federation and the several subordinate Departments. These instructions have been carried out, but while we have been unable to come to an agreeable understanding as to which month of the year is most acceptable to all the affiliated internationals, still it is universally agreed that the conventions should be held earlier in the year than the customary November meetings.

The month of June seems to be the more preferable, but in any event it is to be hoped that definite action will be taken at the Buffalo Convention in line with the constantly growing sentiment for a change. The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. did, however, in accordance with the expressed wish of our last convention, authorize the Building Trades Department to hold its convention prior to that of the Federation, instead of observing the custom of the past which provided for our holding the meeting of the Department following the convention of the A. F. of L. In consonance with the action taken as herewith referred to, the Buffalo Convention has been called to meet in advance of the annual meeting of the A. F. of L.

Pursuant to the instructions of the parent body, the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association was suspended from the Building Trades Department, and all local chartered councils were notified of the action taken and requested to concur by unseating local unions of the affected international.

It is a matter of no little gratification to be able to report that while we have been confronted with some trade disagreements among our affiliated internationals, of a greater or lesser degree, we have met with no little encouragement in working out an adjustment of at least a local or temporary character and thereby afforded some relief to interested parties.

That we may continue to bridge over our troubles of trade differences as they arise from time to time, there is no doubt, but by far the more practical and economic policy would be to dispose of them either by agreement between trades that are by the character of the work involved likely to be drawn in contest, or if that be found impossible of achievement, then by a clear-cut decision on the part of the Department in convention.

That trade differences will arise in the building industry is inevitable. The elimination of skill on the one hand, and the continuous introduction of special features of construction on the other make a surety of disputes, but we ought to rise equal to the occasion and find a ready and definite means by which controversial questions may be disposed of so as to avoid injury to others as well as to guarantee the integrity of the building industry to the investor, the contractor and the home builder.

In conclusion it is a pleasure to state that from the standpoint of local organization the Department has enjoyed one of the most successful years since its inception, as will be observed from the fact that in the twelve months ending August 31, 1917, fifty-six councils

one being a state organization, were chartered. In addition to this nine councils were reorganized, making a total of sixty-five organizations.

The charter of the Binghamton, New York, council was revoked for refusal of the organization in question to conform to the instructions of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. and the Building Trades Department. It is also necessary to report nineteen lapsed councils during the year. When subtracting these from the sixty-five councils chartered, we still have a gain of forty-five organizations, which is indeed most encouraging, as it now permits of the following favorable summary:

International unions affiliated with Department	18
Local councils affiliated with Department	268
State councils affiliated with Department	7
Total number of organizations in good standing with Department, August 31, 1917	293

It is very gratifying to be able to report that our affiliated international unions now cover a total of approximately 567,508 members in spite of the fact that the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has been suspended from the Department.

The financial standing of the Department will be found in the following recapitulation which speaks for itself:

Balance on hand September 1, 1916		$6,807.75
Receipts, International Unions	$22,242.02	
Receipts, Local Councils	4,702.83	
Receipts, Miscellaneous	204.17	
		27,149.02
Total		$33,956.77
Total Disbursements		21,165.91
Balance on hand September 1, 1917		$12,790.86

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

James O'Connell, President of the Metal Trades Department, submitted the following report:

The Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor during the year, because of the war situation which caused an extraordinary demand for metal trades workmen, has been an exceptionally busy Department. In the building of ships and manufacturing of war munitions the metal trades workmen are especially necessary to the successful conduct of the war and the carrying into effect the program of preparedness and efficiency on the part of the government.

Our Department has taken an active part in all gatherings of labor men during the year and all conferences held with government officials and private representatives of the government. No particular act or work of the Department during the year stands out more important than the other, except probably our insistence that a basic standard working day should not consist of more than eight hours and that at least time and a half should be paid for all work over eight hours per day.

We have been in close touch with the new naval program and were an active participant in bringing about an arrangement with the Emergency Fleet Corporation whereby a plan was inaugurated to handle all disputes arising in shipbuilding plants.

The Labor Adjustment Board created by the Emergency Fleet Corporation has for its labor representative Mr. Albert J. Berres, the Secretary-Treasurer of our Department, who is devoting his every spare moment in looking after the interests of all workmen engaged in the shipbuilding industry, and with his usual activity in these matters Labor's interests are being well taken care of.

The Navy Department has had for practically all time a system by which wage boards of the various navy yards meet for the purpose of the adjustment of wages and conditions

of employment, and this system has proven to be inadequate to cope with the present war situation. We succeeded in having the Navy, War, and Labor Departments appoint a representative each for the purpose of going over all data presented by the various navy yard officials and by the workmen with the hope that this method might be a vast improvement over the old one.

This special board after several weeks of investigation and consultation made its report to the various Departments, which report was extremely unsatisfactory to the workmen, resulting in strikes occurring at some of the Navy yards, thus making it clear that we had not yet hit upon the right plan to handle the situation successfully.

I suggested to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, in order that we might have peace, continuous employment and some permanency in work, that in my opinion there was but one thing to do, viz., to bring the executive officers of all the metal trades organizations to Washington, to sit down with them and work out a proper wage rate that would have the endorsement and support of the officers of our international organizations.

This plan was agreed to by the Navy Department. I called the Presidents of all our affiliated organizations to Washington, and after a three days conference with the Assistant Secretary of the Navy an adjustment of the wages was reached by which all the basic trades were brought up to one standard.

This increase amounted to a minimum of forty cents per day and in many cases the maximum increase reached $1.50 per day—the average increase amounting to about 16 per cent.

In addition a number of trades in the various yards had several classes and several rates of pay. These classes were all reduced so that in no trade are there more than three classes of the same trade. All workmen who were employed in classes lower than the third were advanced to the higher classes.

A board was created which will take up during the year all legitimate grievances and adjust the same; it will handle all wage disputes and has been empowered, if there is an extraordinary increase in the cost of living, to open up the wage question at any time during the year.

The Navy Department selected as its representative on this board Mr. Ralph T. Bartlett, and the metal trades organizations selected James O'Connell. The third man has not yet been selected and will not be unless it is found that the two already selected can not agree upon matters that may be submitted to them.

During the year the Department organized Local Metal Trades Councils in the following cities:

Charleston, S. C.	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Duluth, Minn.	Tacoma, Wash.
Newport, R. I.	Tampa, Fla.
New Brighton, Pa.	Vancouver, B. C., Canada
Port Arthur, Texas.	Victoria, B. C., Canada
Racine, Wis.	Watertown, Mass.

State Councils were also organized in Ohio and Montana, and the A. F. of L., has arranged for representation for the large number of its federal unions affiliated to our various Metal Trades Councils and their interests therefore being taken care of by our Department.

All of our affiliated organizations have made remarkable progress during the year, both in increased membership and in building up their financial resources.

The Metal Trades Department is successfully conducting a campaign that is bringing our metal trades organizations to a better understanding of the service they can be to each other and our organizations are rapidly learning the benefits of cooperation and of jointly moving together. We feel that our Department has rendered a splendid service during the year to our affiliated organizations and the labor movement generally.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Mr. J. W. Hays, President of the Union Label Trades Department, submitted the following report for that Department during the past year:

While the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has during the past year been conducted without a Secretary-Treasurer directly in charge of

the Department, this officer being the directing officer of the Department by provisions of its laws, it has nevertheless made considerable gains in union label work and union label propaganda.

In practically all of the organizations connected with the Department that have made reports upon the number of union labels, shop cards and buttons, issued during the past year, it is shown that considerable gains have been made over the numbers issued in previous years.

The question of union label publicity has been given considerable attention during the past year, and it is believed that the foundation work has been laid for good results along these lines. The question of the distribution of union label products to the retailer has also had some thought. Unfortunately for the organizations having union labels, shop cards and buttons, the manufacturers of these goods do not push them to the extent that non-label bearing goods are pushed. It seems to be the idea of employers of union labor exclusively that the fact that they employ union labor should be sufficient advertisement to insure the disposition of all the goods which they can or do manufacture. This idea, of course, makes it impossible to secure the distribution of union label products, except to the members of labor organizations and in many cases such members are very lax in making demand for the union label and refusing to accept goods not bearing the label when the label products can not be easily obtained.

It is hoped that the Department will be able to bring about some arrangements whereby union label goods will be placed upon the market more generally than they have been in the past and more generally pushed by the retailer. It is found that in practically all instances the retailer who handles union label goods at all, handles them merely as a side issue, and does not undertake to exhibit them to the public; and never shows them to customers, except when they are demanded; other goods are placed upon the counters, in show cases and in show windows, to attract the attention of customers, and there is no reason why union label goods should not be similarly treated, and it is hoped that the Department will be able to bring about conditions where union label products will have at least an equal advantage with the products of non-union manufactured goods.

In the interest of the Union Label Trades Department, the agitation of the purchase of union label goods is always of advantage. It is the wish of the officers of the Department that the representatives of the A. F. of L., and the representatives of all international unions, whether affiliated with the Department or not, make mention of the Union Label Trades Department, and that the advantage of the purchase at all times of union label goods, the patronizing of shops holding the union store card, and the giving of assistance to manufacturers who employ labor working under the emblem of the union button, be expounded to the fullest extent possible. This will not only be of assistance to the Union Label Trades Department, but it will be of assistance to all of the organizations having union labels, shop cards or buttons, and to a great extent an assistance to organized labor generally.

It is believed that the next year will show marked advancements made by the Union Label Trades Department, and to this end, of course, the assistance of all organized labor is requested.

RAILWAY EMPLOYES DEPARTMENT

Mr. John Scott, Secretary-Treasurer of the Railway Employes Department, made the following report on the activities of the Department during the past year:

It is very gratifying to report that the past year has been the most prosperous in the history of the Department, both in regard to increase in membership of affiliated organizations, and the measure of benefits secured for the men in the railroad shops in shorter workday and increase in wages. The achievements have been all the more successful inasmuch as they have been secured without resorting to strikes and free from the hardships incidental thereto.

At the time of our report to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention, the General Chairmen on twenty organized roads in Division No. 1 were engaged in negotiations for increase in wages of five (5) cents per hour for all men represented. After extended negotiations in which we were unsuccessful in securing a joint conference with the managers, each road negotiated separately and was successful in reaching an amicable settlement in each case

on the basis of two and one-half (2½) cents per hour increase for all men represented together with a number of adjustments in low rates and some amendments to the rules.

With the beginning of the year 1917, a joint conference was sought with the General Managers of fourteen railroads in the southeast, known as Division No. 3. The joint sessions were opened in Washington, D. C., on February 26. Mr. John R. Gould, Superintendent, Motive Power C. & O. system, acting as chairman of the General Managers Committee, and President A. O. Wharton, of the Railway Employes Department, representing the federated trades with a membership of approximately 35,000.

A standard federated agreement was presented calling for many reforms in working rules, levelling up of low rates in various classifications of work, ten (10) cents per hour flat increase for all men represented and the eight-hour day.

In line with custom of former years and to safeguard the interests of the members against unnecessary delay in reaching a satisfactory settlement, our people demanded that any increases in rates granted should be retroactive from March 1, this was agreed to by the General Managers. The negotiations were extended over a period of six months, terminating on August 24, when a final settlement was reached on a basis of 8½ cents per hour increase for all mechanics, 6½ cents per hour increase for helpers and others and 2½ cents for apprentices. The eight-hour basic day was established on all lines to govern the shops and roundhouses, and a reduction of two hours in the basic day for car inspectors, air brake men, and oilers, etc., employed in the train yard service, but in no case shall the basic day be less than eight hours, nor more than ten hours, they to receive time and half for all overtime worked as per the overtime rules.

While the committees were unable at this time to secure all of the adjustments asked, they were successful in a large measure in eliminating many of the low rates and standardizing the rules and conditions of employment in keeping with up-to-date requirements.

A minimum rate of 50½ cents per hour was established on the twelve roads represented for the machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths and sheet metal workers, with maximum rates ranging from 53½ cents to 56½ cents. Helpers' minimum rate 25½ cents ranging for advanced helpers to 45½ cents per hour. Apprentices starting rate 14½ cents per hour to 18½ cents per hour. The electrical workers were represented for the first time owing to the fact that they have but recently been organized, the committees were successful in bringing up their rates from a minimum of 22½ cents to 44½ cents per hour the maximum rate being 52½ cents. Carmen, inexperienced men, secured a minimum starting rate of 25½ cents per hour with an advance to 32½ cents per hour after three months service. For mechanics in the car department the rates range from 32½ cents to 54½ cents per hour, the high rate applying to patternmakers only.

At the close of the negotiations the managers agreed that the back pay on the basis of increase per hour from March 1, would be paid to the men during the month of August. Some delays were occasioned by reason of the volume of work, but we are pleased to state that these allowances and adjustments have practically all been settled and the system federations participating are more strongly united than ever before, realizing more fully the value of concerted action.

The back pay distributed to the members represented well over $3,000,000; this will give some idea of the annual increase in operating expense to which must be taken in account the reduction of hours of service, necessitating in many cases the three eight-hour shifts. The management of the Southern Railway have since entered into an agreement with the Carmen's organization on that system to work the car inspectors and other train yard men on eight-hour shifts, and we are sincerely hopeful that with suitable rate allowance this rule can be applied to all systems.

The standardization of rules, rates and working conditions for the shop employes on twelve roads at one time, rate of increase per hour secured, together with the adoption of the eight-hour day, may well be classed as the grandest achievement in the history of the federated movement, and establishes a precedent that but a few years ago was considered both impossible and impracticable.

As we note the growth of the federated movement in the past few years extending rapidly since the great strike on the Harriman and Illinois Central lines, September 30, 1911, to June 28, 1915, and the favorable attitude shown by the railroad managers to this form of organization, how absurd and unwarranted appear the claims advanced by General Manager Kruttschnitt and others who are directly responsible for these disastrous strikes

in contending that to recognize an organization of this character would mean to surrender the absolute control of the railroads to the employes.

While the foregoing report has to deal with the concerted action of lines in Division No. 3, the other system federations in other parts of the country have by no means been idle, and many splendid gains have been made. Negotiations for a flat increase of 10 cents per hour and the eight-hour day for the members of all trades on twenty-one railroad systems within the boundary of Division No. 1 were conducted as separate system federations. This plan of procedure was decided by the representatives believing that a joint meeting with the managers could not be obtained at this time. These negotiations were instituted during the early part of April by the lines in the northwest, other roads following in turn as arrangements for conferences were perfected, and we are pleased to announce at this writing that settlements have been reached in all cases, with increases ranging from 6 to 8½ cents for all mechanics and helpers and 2½ cents for apprentices. Fourteen of these roads have conceded the eight-hour day, while in other instances the hours for car department employes have been reduced from ten to nine and overtime allowance for Sundays and holidays to inspectors and others in the car department formerly denied this because their duties required them to work every day in the month. Approximately 30,000 men were represented on the lines in Division No. 1 and in addition to the flat rate of increase secured, many splendid gains were made in eliminating low classifications of rates and bringing them up to a standard. These betterments also represent an outlay of many millions annually to the railroads, all of which we can safely attribute to unity of action. That we have succeeded in wringing such concessions from the railroad companies is good evidence of the growing strength of the federated movement and the effective campaign that has been waged for the universal eight-hour day, and we feel assured that with our present rate of progress, the time is close at hand when all roads will be forced to concede the justice of our demands and establish a rate of remuneration accordingly.

Owing to the number of unorganized roads within the boundary of Division No. 2, we have not yet advanced sufficiently to formulate the division although making rapid headway in that direction and hope to see this accomplished before the close of the present year. The grand lodge officers comprising the organizing staff under the direction of the Department have concentrated their efforts in this territory during the past year and have accomplished splendid results, establishing system federations and negotiating federated agreements with substantial betterments. On some of these roads organization was practically unknown until a few months ago, with shop employes working under the most unsatisfactory conditions, and the splendid progress that has been made bespeaks much for the energetic efforts and efficiency of the officers in the field.

While substantial gains have been secured for the members on practically all of the organized roads throughout the states, our members on the Canadian Lines have been equally active and persistent in their efforts to keep pace with the times, and generally speaking have been very successful, securing in most instances an increase per hour of 6 cents for all men represented, also reducing the hours of service from ten to nine and securing many other concessions in overtime allowance, etc., that compare favorably with the best.

During the fiscal year we have issued seventeen system federation charters, making a total of sixty-three now in affiliation with this Department. Many of these represent two or more railroads controlled and operated by the same management.

In concluding this report which all too briefly mentions some of the splendid achievements in advancing the interests of our affiliated organizations, we can not speak too strongly in terms of praise and deep gratitude for the valuable services rendered by the United States Department of Labor Board of Mediation and Conciliation, and for the prompt attention our many appeals have received by the Honorable Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson.

To the Department of Labor and its efficient staff of conciliators we give the credit in a large measure for our success, and recognize the great benefits derived by the wage-earner through this avenue to justice.

MINING DEPARTMENT

James Lord, President of the Mining Department, made the following report for the past year:

The year that has elapsed since the adjournment of the Baltimore Convention has been the most critical period in the history of the American labor movement, and it speaks well for the structure and policy of the American Federation of Labor and the affiliated national and interational unions that the rights, interests and conditions of the workers have been so well conserved, and at the same time our movement been in the position of rendering such splendid service in the great struggle for the maintenance of such democracy as has been established on earth against the greatest machinery of autocracy and militarism the world has ever seen.

Owing to the fact that the A. F. of L. and its representative spokesmen of all affiliated unions took the highly intelligent position they did when it was realized that we must inevitably be drawn into this holocaust, and the fact that I was honored by being appointed on the Executive Committee of the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, and also that I accepted membership on the National Coal Committee, I have not been able to go out into the mining regions as much as I would have liked to have done, but, whether in the field or in Washington, I have labored to the best of my ability and opportunity that the rights of Labor be conserved, its standards be maintained, and the maximum of service rendered to our great country.

The affiliated unions of the Mining Department have made splendid progress during this most critical time, and their official representatives have been taxed to the limit of their physical and mental powers in meeting the ever-changing conditions, one abnormal situation after another, and have reason to congratulate themselves by the splendid results of their labors.

The International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers has, largely because of its importance in connection with the production of copper, been continually meeting one crisis after another, and has, while fighting with all its might to see that democracy should not be lost for the humblest citizen of our Republic in this world fight for the maintenance and further opportunities for democracy, exhibited a broad and highly patriotic vision of the problems by which it has been confronted, and has bent every energy to the end that the production of copper and other metals should be kept at the maximum. They have a splendid and highly intelligent membership, who see their economic salvation measured by their spreading the gospel of democratic unionism and establishing intelligent joint relations throughout the hard rock mining fields of North America. They also are cursed in many districts by more than their share of freaks, fanatics and disruptionists, who seem to think that their mission in life is to prevent the growth or progress of unionism. These misguided men are greater enemies to progress than even the union hating employer, and are often the vehicle by which he can over-ride unionism. The officials of the I. U. of M. M. and S. W. have worked untiringly in the face of these obstacles and have been successful in negotiating joint agreements in the union fields and being a steadying influence in the non-union fields. Metalliferous districts are becoming as truly competitive as are coal districts, and there is a growing tendency on the part of mining and smelting concerns to establish equitable joint relations, who never gave union recognition a serious thought heretofore. Solidarity on the part of the workers will open the door to district joint agreements where they have never existed. We can not too strongly condemn acts of violence, deportations and forcible suppression of the workers in exercising or demanding their constitutional rights, such as have been practiced by certain employers, but repeat that many of these unlawful occurrences would never happen if the workers would put an end to their own differences not involving fundamental principles and unite on the economic field in the bona fide labor movement.

The United Mine Workers have also had to bring all their energy and power to bear on the unusual situation created by our entrance into the arena of war, and with splendid results. They have organized more than five hundred local unions during the past year. On April 16, 1917, they secured a general advance in wages amounting to 25 per cent, and on October 6, 1917, they secured another wage advance amounting to $1.40 per day for day men, 10 per cent a ton for miners, and 15 per cent on yardage and dead work. They also secured a contract during October of this year for eighteen thousand newly organized

Mine Workers in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee. They have exerted every influence to keep the production of coal to the maximum and have given their time and efforts freely to the government in the crisis we are passing through.

Lack of time and opportunity will not permit me to render a comprehensive report regarding the activities and achievements of the other international unions affiliated with the Department at this time on account of my recent return from attending the Trade Union Congress and Inter-Allied Conference in Britain, which activities will be embodied in my annual report to the Buffalo Convention of the Mining Department.

With the limited time at my command during the past year I have assisted in negotiating a joint agreement between the Iron Miners and Operators in New Jersey, visited some of the larger camps of Arizona, attended the Maryland and District of Columbia Federation of Labor Convention in Cumberland, Md., during the month of April, at which convention the Mine Workers of Maryland were fully represented for the first time in their history, and toured the gold and silver camps at Ontario where a critical situation existed during last June. I have worked with the committee on Labor and the Coal Committee up to my departure to Great Britain, and was helpful on several occasions in bringing about settlements or avoiding industrial disturbances by getting in touch with the representatives of the Council of National Defense and the mining concerns affected.

It is my sincere belief that by the intelligent and cooperative position taken by organized labor in connection with our governmental and international crisis, the bars of prejudice have been broken down regarding organized labor and adequate joint relations between employers and employes in a larger proportion than has ever been recorded, and a new conception of industrial justice manifested in places where it had heretofore been unknown and Labor's declaration in Peace or in War, of March 12th, marks an epoch in the march of the workers towards democracy, and will in the days to come be regarded as one of the greatest and most significant of our historic declarations.

PORTO RICO

Santiago Iglesias, President of the Federacion Libre de los Trabajadores del Puerto Rico, made this annual report:

Since the last convention held at Baltimore, Md., many events of great importance have come up for the benefit of the mass of workers and the progress of the island in general and especially among the organized workingmen.

The recommendations made at that convention all of which were most important were complied with within the time it was possible to take by the undersigned representative and by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The workingmen of the island have given considerable attention to economic and social questions affecting the producers of wealth and this fact in itself shows is gradually introducing ideals of justice and equity among the whole people. I have the firm conviction that should the active and generous campaign of emancipation continue for the workers as initiated by our labor institutions during the last years we shall eventually establish progressive forms in all phases of our civil and private life enabling us to do something more for the redemption of those who suffer in the country districts, factories and work shops.

Petition to President Wilson

During our stay in Wasington, June 4th, we prepared a complete report and petition regarding the situation and conditions of this island in general, especially so of the laboring men. We next came before President Wilson at the White House accompanied by President Gompers and Secretary Morrison and filed our protest in a most vehement manner against the tyrannical acts brought to bear in the Island of Porto Rico against the workers who had declared themselves on strike.

The petition and the protest were all published in the American papers and the A. F. of L. caused the same to be considered by the President in many ways favorable for the workers of this island. This action brought some changes that were brought about by the authorities of Porto Rico.

Civil Government for Porto Rico

Pursuant to the resolutions of the Eighth Labor Convention and seeing that the representatives of the political parties and government had appeared before the committees of the Senate and House of Representatives to suggest changes of a reactionary character in the new organic act of Porto Rico on behalf of the privileged and capitalistic classes and *against* the workingmen, it was found necessary to hasten the appearance of anothe labor commission to Washington and take part also in the convention of the A. F. of L held in the city of Baltimore, to obtain the approval of resolutions favorable to the measures that had been adopted in our convention and then, with the approval and endorsement of the A. F. of L. appear before the committees of the Senate and House of Representatives and petition those bodies to preserve inviolate in the new organic act the civil and political rights of the working people.

The convention of the A. F. of L. approved our aspirations and endorsed them with all the enthusiasm it could command as well as all the labor organizations of the United States all of which upheld the labor representative of Porto Rico without any reserve of any kind before the committees of the United States Congress and in the chambers.

Due to the efforts of the representatives of labor which were approved by President Gompers and the A. F. of L., 175,000 voters among the workingmen were able to retain the right of suffrage; the property qualifications in order to be eligible to the Senate or House of Porto Rico Legislature were entirely eliminated and the question of land were maintained in the bill though not decided upon; a Department of Labor and Agriculture was created, but that is not now in the hands of Labor, yet it might be turned over to them eventually.

The eight-hour workday was made constitutional, child labor protection and the legislative right of promoting the welfare of the working masses through appropriate legislation and other measures of a general character and of great importance, as for instance collective citizenship and the obtaining of other inherent rights for the welfare of the people, were embodied in the new constitution.

The Pan-American Federation of Workingmen

During our stay at Washington the first meeting of the Conference Committee of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was held and I was invited by President Gompers to become one of the members of this committee on behalf of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico.

The documents relative to this important matter were, in due time, handed to the proper committee of the Labor Convention of Porto Rico with the recommendation to the convention that our island should be duly represented in any international movement among the representatives of the labor federations of the Northern, Central and Southern Republics as well as any other European nation. The convention approved the recommendation and ordered the President of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico to be represented at the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

The Strikes

After the memorable strikes of the agricultural workers in 1915, others also of considerable importance broke out in 1916 and 1917 respectively. These not only included the agricultural laborers of the whole island but they included the industrial fields in the cities and towns: The cigarmakers, bakers, masons, painters, machinists, blacksmiths, carpenters, tobacco strippers, coffee pickers, tobacco leaf selectors, draymen, longshore workers, carmen, sailors and ferry boats' men and workers of other trades as well. All of these workers, 40,000 in total, kept up successive serious strikes in their trades and the outcome proved favorable for the advancement of conditions in a general and economic sense; moreover the organization of the trade unions was strengthened all over the island.

Workers' Political Campaign

All the struggles of an economical and social character which have been waged by the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico, the action of your E. C. pursuant to the decisions of the Convention and owing to the oppressive attitude perpetuated so

many years by the capitalistic corporations culminated in an unforeseen result at the last election in Porto Rico.

The workers effectively standing by their labor representatives, were able to elect two representatives to the House and a member of the Senate of Porto Rico.

Never in the social and political history of Porto Rico was there presented a more worthy spectacle for the working men which cast a total number of 25,000 independent votes, which may be interpreted as a protest against the exploitation and the industrial oppression of the working people.

The Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico has always maintained complete independence of voting and will do so in the future, and absolute freedom of religion, the abolition of national and race prejudices, and all these feelings have been considered as absolutely independent from our organization. The only organized body having to do with these questions is the Labor Convention held every two years, and in their decisions they have never deviated once from the path that leads to methods involving American trade unionism.

The First Failure of the New Organic Act

For the last sixteen years the labor organizations have made great sacrifice both individually and collectively in order to appear before the United States Congress so as to help shape the new legislation, the organic act which the first magistrate of the great American Republic, President Wilson, has just signed and which conforms to the aspirations and ideals of the wealth producers of this island.

No social, economical or political unit has exercised so much influence as the Free Federation of the Workingmen of Porto Rico on behalf of the establishment and development of American institutions in Porto Rico.

Quite frequently upon coming before the Legislature of Porto Rico in order to seek redress of grievances against the worst social and economic evils which the workers are struggling against, the argument was to the effect that the Foraker Act did not offer ample margin to meet these issues and solve them satisfactorily. The Jones Law which is just now taking effect in Porto Rico contains the following declaration in the Bill of Rights: **"Nothing contained in this act shall be construed to limit the power of the legislature to enact laws for the protection of the lives, health, or safety of employes."**

And so we have experienced much difficulty each time we have had to come before the people in general to set forth our principles and aspirations, or to criticise the acts of the government. The new organic act establishes that **"no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for redress of grievances."**

The laboring masses have been left in the lurch and they count for nothing in the representation. Section 18, expresses the following:

> *"That the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor shall have general charge of such bureaus and branches of government as have been or shall be legally constituted for the study, advancement, and benefit of agricultural and other industries, the chief purpose of this department being to foster, promote, and develop the agricultural interests and the welfare of the wage earners of Porto Rico, to improve their working conditions, and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment, and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by law."*

The intention of this section is to grant equal representation to Labor with other classes in the government.

If we place at the head of this department, even temporarily, a man imbued with ideas contrary to the fundamental principles of the new act, his labor will be negative and opposed to what was really expected by the great mass of Porto Rican producers of wealth. The organization and development of the new act must come about under the direction of men who are in perfect accord with the ideas contained therein.

In spite of all these provisions of the Jones Law the organized labor of Porto Rico has not a single capable man at the head of such a department. On the contrary we denounce the fact that instead of maintaining a precise definition and sincere course on the characteristics of such a department for the protection and the dignification of labor, it

now appears that there is the intention of converting this Department into a machine exclusively and solely for the protection of the interests of the Sugar planters and huge corporations.

We deem it advisable to appear before Congress in order to ensure a better interpretation and representation of Labor in the Department referred to herewith.

War and Military Service

On April 6, 1917, and just a few days before the United States Congress declared war, on the recommendation of President Wilson, against the German Government the E. C. of the Free Federation of Workingmen published a manifesto defining its position as to this war.

We maintained in this manifesto the following among other things:

> "In war as in peace the government should recognize the organized labor movement by means of which the cooperation of the producers must make itself felt with the same rights and the same enthusiasm as any other class.
>
> "With this concept of industrial justice in mind which ought to be the right living in essentials which concern our island; with these principles to which our obligations are associated and which popular sentiment must consider the most intelligent as well as the most sincere form of defenses against the enemies of the Republic.
>
> "We hold that if the workers are to be stimulated in times of national peril in order to offer their service, this obligation of guaranty must be simultaneously accompanied with the necessary representation and authority to guard against such as would dare take advantage of this crisis to make large pecuniary profits for themselves perhaps acquired only at the cost of the peoples' blood.
>
> "Warfare must not serve as an argument to increase inhuman exploitation and to give to the commercial classes opportunity to get rich at the expense of the poor and the difficulties which war is bound to bring about. The workers have already suffered considerable injustice in this country even in times of peace, and it goes without saying that they know their sufferings will be much greater under war conditions if the privileges are to continue with exclusive power."

Pursuant to the Compulsory Military Service law every male citizen between the ages of 21 and 31 years is liable to military service, excluding, of course, those who for proper reasons were exempted from military service. Porto Rico, despite the fact that it is neither an organized territory nor a state of the American Union has contributed more than 12,000 men with which to carry on this war.

The people of this island can not refuse or disclaim any responsibility or show cause why this law imposing military service on every citizen of the nation should not be carried out. The fundamental purpose of this law is to establish the inviolate rights of human kind.

The A. F. of L. in Porto Rico pursuant to the recent Military Compulsory Service has adopted measures tending to cause the authorities to include some of the workers on all military exemption boards in order that the rich and influential citizens may contribute their just share of the responsibilities of the hour, and to see that the laws are strictly complied with by the rich and poor alike.

Yet Porto Rico can and must claim of the United States Congress due participation in the benefits of the fruits produced by the working classes, and prevent the shareholders and capitalists combined and absent from getting a "rake off" from the war, and in this way making the situation too desperate for the producers of the country's wealth. It will be necessary to protect the mothers and families which must of necessity be unprotected in each and every case in which a beloved son or brother must take up the arms when called upon to do so in defense of his country.

The national labor petition is as following:

Compulsory and personal military service of the rich and the poor in the same armies, but at the same time the forceful service of accumulated wealth and gains extracted from labor for the immediate, complete and permanent protection of all the families and all the men affected by this compulsory service and who are also a component part of the armies of the nation.

Standing of our Cigarmakers' Organization, Membership and Financial Standing of the Unions

I present herewith an exposition of how all our tobacco organizations stand since the Cigarmakers in Porto Rico became organized. This includes 31 Cigarmakers Unions that have organized in Porto Rico since month of September 1906 until December, 1916. Among them are 17 Cigarmakers, 2 Wrappers Selector and 1 Cigar Packers' Unions.

Eleven of them were discontinued because it was impossible for them to prosper in certain localities where they were established, and many others met at the same fate. Then again other unions were initiated; there are twenty such unions which appears as existing in the statistics. Our former report mentioned 1,318 members. The present statistics up to December, 1916, reports a total membership of 2,024 which means an increase of 706 men. At present the membership exceeds the figure of 2,500.

The statistics presented herewith is complete and from it one may see the economic process and financial standing of our unions. These statistics are sufficiently eloquent to convince the most obstinate that of which our organized movement is capable.

The Unions that were organized after our third regular assembly were that at Aguas Buenas (No. 446), in 1914; that at Cabo Rojo (No. 386); (440) Comerio and (485) San Juan which were founded in 1915 and (453) San Juan which came into existence in the year 1916.

The following list will serve to show the number of local and central bodies that have become affiliated to the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico:

Number of Affiliated Organizations

Cigarmakers' Unions	15
Female Cigarmakers' Union	1
Carpenters' Unions	20
Typographical Union	1
Painters	1
Womens' Protective Unions	3
Barbers' Unions	4
Tobacco Strippers' Unions	7
Wrapper Selectors' Unions	2
Tobacco Leaf Selectors' Unions	2
Federated Unions	8
Store Clerks' Unions	1
Longshore Workers' Unions	7
Bakers' Unions	7
Agricultural Workers' Unions	31
Shoemakers' Unions	4
Hod Carriers' Unions	4
Cigar Packers' Unions	1
Masons' Unions	2
Pastrymen and Confectionery Unions	1
Tailors' Unions	1
Hat Weavers' Unions	1
Cigarmakers' Helpers Unions	1
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Unions	1
Meat Cutters and Butchers' Unions	3
Tobacco Boxes Decorators' Unions	2
Box Makers' Unions	1
Mechanics Unions	3
Laborers' Protective Unions	1
Tobacco Workers	1
Total Local Unions	136
Central Labor Unions	5
Joint Advisory Board of the Cigarmakers' Unions of Porto Rico	1
Local Trades Council	5

Cooperative Institutions:	
Free Federation Press	1
Barber Shop of the Free Federation	1
General Total	149

Since the creation of the Free Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico and its affiliation to the American Federation of Labor there have been established a total of 343 organizations.

The complicated administration, the precision required in filling out weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual reports, the routine of dues and assessments the members are required to pay and the proportional distribution pertaining to each body, as well as the ignorance of the laws regulating all of them and the benefits granted to the affiliated members by the national and international bodies have given rise to the discontinuance of a large number of organizations. However, time has remedied these errors, and it may be safely asserted that the Porto Rico labor movement would be an honor to any international with its officials, were they to be placed at the head of administrative affairs and exercise their duties in any phase of office work.

General Expenses and Financial Benefits Paid Out by the Unions of Porto Rico

Money Received:	
Loans Collected	$10,508.03
Assistance from International Unions of America	191,552.95
Initiation, fees and from other sources	235,416.25
Total	$437,477.23
Expenses:	
Loans granted	$17,924.25
Sick Benefits	107,097.38
Strike Benefits	106,708.83
Benefits to the Unemployed	31,171.26
Death Benefits	27,622.20
House Rent	22,652.30
Salary of Officials	23,957.81
Officials and Postage Expenses	8,622.82
Label Propaganda	4,869.20
Fees to the International Unions and American Federation of Labor	11,400.00
Sundry Expenses	35,594.72
Returned to the Int. Offices	496.44
Assistance to other Unions	28,088.55
Total	$423,775.86
Recapitulation:	
Total Money Received	$437,477.23
Total Expenses	423,775.86
Funds on hand in the different Unions Jan. 1, 1917	$13,701.37

Total pay membership, 12,024.

The political campaign of the year 1917 was the hottest that the proletarians of Porto Rico ever experienced. The collection was made under the charge of Santiago Iglesias and the results are known to the whole labor movement.

The moneys received amounted to $335.55 and the expenses attained the sum of $490.44, which leaves a deficit of $154.89.

Funds Collected and Paid Out by the Executive Council of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico During the Year 1906-17

	Received	*Paid Out*
1906	$196.18	$196.18
1907	312.24	312.24
1908	742.62	716.00
1910	8,035.64	7,444.27
1913	8,962.92	9,221.03
1915	2,374.37	2,697.10
1917	9,931.45	9,855.34

New Unions Organized Since Sept. 1916 to Sept. 1917

Agricultural Union No. 15148, Arecibo, P. R.
Agricultural Union No. 15183, Vega Alta, P. R.
Agricultural Union No. 14816, Humacao, P. R.
Agricultural Union No. 12006, Vieques, P. R.
Agricultural Union No. 15563, Guayama, P. R.
Cigarmakers' Helpers Union No. 15206, Puerta de Tierra, San Juan, P. R.
Longshore Workers' Union No. 940, San Juan, P. R.
Longshore Workers' Union No. 952, Punta de Santiago, P. R.
Longshore Workers' Union no 566, Mayaguez, P. R.
Meat Cutter and Butchers' Union No. 595, San Juan, P. R.
Meat Cutter and Butchers' Union No. 605, Bayamon, P. R.
Meat Cutter and Butchers' Union No. 623, Rio Piedras, P. R.
Hod Carriers' Union No. 334, Rio Piedras, P. R.
Tobacco Boxes Decorators No. 15367, Puerta de Tierra, San Juan, P. R.
Tobacco Boxes Decorators No. 15360, Bayamon, P. R.
Tobacco Strippers Union No. 15360, Caguas.
Women Cigarmakers' Union No 453, Puerta de Tierra, San Juan, P. R.
Shoemakers' Union No. 427, Cabo Rojo, P. R.
Shoemakers' Union No. 511, Ponce, P. R.
Shoemakers' Union No. 503, Humacao, P. R.
Machinists' Union No. 778, Santurce, San Juan, P. R.
Machinists' Union No. 16, Ponce, P. R.
Machinists' Union No. 613, Mayaguez, P. R.
Machinists' Union No. 313, San Juan, P. R.
Barbers' Union No. 745, Cayey, P. R.
Bakers' Union No. 149, Fajardo, P. R.
Bakers' Union No. 135, Mayaguez, P. R.
Federal Labor Union No. 14595, Vieques, P. R.
Tobacco Workers' Union No. 139, San Juan, P. R.
Laborers' Protective Union No. 15580, Punta de Santiago, P. R.
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union No. 374, San Juan, P. R.
Box Makers' Union No. 982, Santurce, San Juan, P. R.

CANADA

Mr. P. M. Draper, Secretary-Treasurer of the British Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, submitted this report on labor conditions in Canada:

Having regard for the war conditions in Canada and the heavy enlistments for military service from the ranks of organized labor, the Canadian labor movement can justly feel proud of the record of the past year. Returns received by the Federal Department of Labor show that organized labor had, at the end of 1916, recovered most of the loss in membership reported for the two preceding years, and while the statistics for 1917 have not been compiled, the officials of international unions can testify to the steady increase in membership in their respective organizations. Exception may have to be made with reference to the building trades where the membership has been maintained at very little above that of 1916. During 1914 and 1915 the membership decline was 32,456 and 134 local branches had

disappeared; a membership of 175,799 at the close of 1913 fell to 143,343 at the end of 1915. For the year 1916, notwithstanding the loss of 41 local branches, the membership increased by 17,064, making a total of 160,407. The year saw much activity among the officials of labor organizations in an effort to arrest the decline in trade union membership, and progress in the better organized districts was recorded by the metal, clothing, and railroad trades. The building trades, which in 1914 had 18.9 of the total trade union membership, had been, in 1916, reduced to 9.4, while the railroad employes, with 24.9 in 1914, had increased to 30.5 in 1916. While there has been a gain in trade union membership in the Dominion, recruiting from the ranks of organized labor has continued, and the total since the outbreak of the war has reached figures representing an army of no small dimensions. One thousand two hundred and eighty-four local unions reported 21,599 enlistments since the declaration of the war; also 593 British Reservists rejoined their regiments.

During the year 1917 there has been general demands for increases in wages and through the power of the organized workmen substantial increases have been granted. One remarkable instance of the benefit of organization has been shown by the Brotherhood of Commercial Telegraphers. Until the year 1917 the Great Northwestern Telegraph Company has successfully resisted the attempts of this organization to organize their employes and very little progress had been made in the effort to increase the wages of the operators and other employes of the company. In the month of August, however, a Board of Investigation and Conciliation was appointed, under the provisions of the Industrial Disputes and Investigation Act, for the purpose of investigating the demands made by the employes for higher wages, shorter hours, and improved working conditions. The chairman of the board, with the representatives of the employes, brought down an award favorable to the employes, the representative of the company dissenting. The company refused to accept the award and the employes decided to strike to enforce the majority report of the investigators and conciliators. The employes were only out a day when the Minister of Labor began to use government pressure upon the company to accept the award. The company resisted this pressure, for a few days, but inside of a week yielded to the government's mandate that the award must be accepted and the employes were advised to return to work. This advice was not given, however, until President Konencamp, and the members of the Strike Committee associated with him in directing the fight, were satisfied that every striker would be reinstated in his or her former position. This victory for the Commercial Telegraphers was a distinct triumph for organized labor and the year's gain for the members of the Canadian organizations of commercial telegraph operators was more than $215,000.

Another evidence of the benefits accruing to the workers through organization was the victory of the members of the Toronto Union of Street and Electrical Railway Employes. Despite the voluntary increase of 2½ cents an hour given by the company to assist them in getting men to operate their cars the union demanded another increase of 10 cents an hour at the expiration of their agreement in June, 1917. Efforts were made by the committee of the union to reach a settlement of the demands made upon the company with the president and management of the corporation. After weeks of negotiation a satisfactory settlement had not been reached, and although the efforts of the chief magistrate of the city were directed to avert a strike, about 2,000 men went out on strike and completely tied up the street car service for two days and a half. At the end of the two days the cabinet ministers of the Ontario provincial government had brought pressure to bear upon the company and were the means of having an offer of 6 cents an hour submitted to the men for acceptance, the understanding being that this advance would be subject to the decisions of a Board of Investigation and Conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, which would go thoroughly into the demands of the men. These demands not only included an increase in wages of 10 cents an hour, but other demands for overtime rates and shorter working hours. The men accepted the 6 cents an hour tentatively and returned to work. A Board of Investigation and Conciliation was appointed and in a majority report awarded the men another cent an hour increase, making the award 7 cents instead of 6 cents an hour. This increase added to the 2½ cents voluntarily given by the company, made the total increase in one year 9½ cents an hour. This is one of the largest, if not the largest increase, given any body of street carmen on the North American continent, in any one year. In addition to the increase in wages the men were given recognition as an organized body of workmen and were conceded the right to meet the management of the company through their appointed grievance committee.

Another substantial gain made by organized labor was in the case of the machinists in Guelph, Ontario, where an increase of 15 cents an hour was granted. Increases of 10 cents an hour were general and as the cost of living had soared exceedingly high the members of labor organizations realized the benefits of organization. In the city of Toronto it is estimated that organized labor has been responsible for increases in wages aggregating $3,000,000 during 1917.

It has been very gratifying to officials of organized labor to observe the success of the United Textile Workers of America in their efforts to organize the textile workers of Ontario. The first substantial gain was made in the city of Toronto when the organizer of that international union organized the employes in one of the large departments of the Simpson Knitting Mills. The company did not look with favor upon the new organization at first and endeavored to dissuade the employes from continuing their membership. A strike ensued, but the company soon agreed to a settlement and posted notices in the mill that it was their desire that all their employes should become members of the union. The outcome of the organizing of this mill was the placing of the union label on the mill's product and the organization of the employes in all departments. Following the organization of this mill another manufacturer of sweaters and other knitted goods expressed a willingness to have his employes organized and the union label recognized. Local unions were organized in five other towns of the Province of Ontario, and prospects looked very bright for organizations in about fifteen other towns and cities throughout the province where many textile workers are employed.

It is also worthy of note that although the miners of Nova Scotia have hitherto been sympathetic to a purely provincial type of labor organization there is a strong movement on foot to break away from provincialism and develop a sturdy internationalism. For some years the Provincial Workmen's Organization and the United Mine Workers of America have been fighting for supremacy, with disastrous effect upon the work of thorough organization. Recently a Board of Investigation and Conciliation recommended that the two organizations come together under the name of the United Mine Workers of Nova Scotia, and while such an organization is of a provincial character, it is the beginning of a movement that will eventually deliver the miners of eastern Canada into the International Trade Union Movement. The labor officials in Canada are watching this development and are carefully directing the movement into right channels so that in a short time there will not be a vestige of provincialism left in Nova Scotia.

Throughout western Canada, as well as the east and center of the Dominion, there have been substantial gains in membership and many wage increases. In District 18 of the United Mine Workers of America a serious strike broke out and for several weeks the miners refused the offers made by the operators for a settlement. At one time the coal situation looked very serious, as a result of the strike, and government pressure was brought to bear upon the operators to accept the demands of the men. After considerable negotiating the strike was settled and the men returned to work. In this strike the men did not receive the full endorsement of the international officers and the fight was conducted without regard to the orders of the officials of the international organization.

The national trades union movement in Canada, which for a time threatened to give the officials of international unions considerable trouble, has not made much headway during the past four years. With the outbreak of the war and the constantly increasing price of necessities of life, the need of a more virile type of labor organization than a purely national union was recognized and among the workmen who recognized the necessity of organizing along international lines were the bookbinders of Toronto, who had broken away from the international union several years ago, and weakened the spirit of internationalism among the men and women of that craft. Their return to the international fold this year was gratifying to the international trades unionists of that city. Even in the Province of Quebec, where the national unionists were given considerable encouragement, there have been no gains recorded for unions of that type.

It is also gratifying to know that at the recent annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada the Secretary-Treasurer reported that the Congress had the largest affiliated membership since its inception, and that the increase for the year 1917 was over 15,000. The total membership was a little in excess of 81,000 as compared with about 66,000 at the end of 1916. This increase was owing to the affiliation of the Maintenance of Way Employes and the increased Canadian membership of international organizations

which pay the per capita tax into the Congress direct from headquarters. The reports presented to the convention of the Congress showed that while war conditions had necessitated important adjustments in industry the organized labor movement had not sacrificed any of those principles for which years of effort and sacrifice had been the price paid.

Efforts were made by the Imperial Munitions Board to disregard Labor's claim for fair treatment and at times it was feared that the officials of several important unions would have to force serious strikes upon the board to bring them to a realization of their responsibility. But at a conference of representatives of international unions held in Ottawa the early part of June the government was called upon to demand the resignation of the chairman of the board. A statement was printed by this conference which laid specific charges against the Imperial Munitions Board and demanded that the government take steps to adjust conditions to the satisfaction of the trades union officials. A few days after the issuing of this statement there was a noticeable change in the attitude of the chairman of the board towards organized labor and orders were issued to the superintendents of work on the various construction work carried on by the board that union conditions must be granted. From that time until the present the board has been disposed to recognize that the organized workers have some rights and the friction between the board and union officials has been reduced to the minimum.

The Trades and Labor Congress, in conjunction with officers of international unions have taken a keen interest in the fight of the railway brotherhoods for the semi-monthly pay-day on all railroads, instead of the monthly pay-day. Strong representations were made to both the Railway Committees of the House of Commons and Senate and legislation was enacted that will bring the semi-monthly payday into effect on January 1, 1918. The Congress, through its Executive Council also took the initial steps to get the government to take definite action to cure the food profiteers. They suggested that the government should assume the direct responsibility for the investigation into the cause of increasing food prices and should take such action that would prevent the storing of food for the purpose of increasing the price to the consumer. It was pointed out that it would be as easy for the government to take charge of this work as it was for the Finance Minister to compel the large industrial, commercial, and financial corporations to furnish him with a statement of their investments and net profits so that he could tax all profits over 7 and 10 per cent, in different corporations. The demand of the Congress lead to the appointment of a committee, composed of three cabinet ministers, whose duty it was to develop a scheme whereby the whole question of food supplies and prices could be investigated and action taken against those found guilty of charging excessive prices for food. The committee developed a plan whereby municipalities would conduct the investigations and prosecute offenders through the Attorneys-General of the provinces. The investigations of a government investigator showed that the packing companies were making excessive margins in the sale of eggs and bacon and that the cold storage plants were accommodating large stores of food which should have been placed on the market to reduce prices. The revelations made by the government investigator compelled the government to appoint a commission to make further investigations with a view of ascertaining the profits obtained by the packing companies in the sale of bacon and eggs. This commission was at work when this report was prepared. The Executive Council of the Congress also asked for the appointment of a Food Controller and a Fuel Controller and the government eventually appointed both controllers. These controllers are now at work, and are assuring the people that something practical will be done to control food and fuel supplies and determine prices.

The government also appointed a grain commission which traveled through Canada, taking evidence of the price of grain. At the conclusion of its work the commission fixed the price of wheat at $2.21 a bushel. It is expected that the fixing of this price will result in a reduction in the price of bread.

In prosecuting the war the government of Canada, unlike the governments of other belligerent countries, has not invited the cooperation of organized labor and the result has been considerable friction between the government and organized labor.

With reference to the decision of the National Service Commission to take a registration of all those who would be willing to work at such occupations as the commission desires, the Congress took the position that the organized workers should sign the cards. As the principle behind this move was along the lines of voluntary service and in no way connected with the conscription of man power for military service, the executive felt quite justified in urging

trades unionists to sign the cards as their own conscience dictated. Later when the Prime Minister announced that he intended to introduce a Compulsory Military Service Act, the Executive Council of the Congress took a strong stand against the principle of conscription, and was supported in this position by the great majority of the trades unionists of the Dominion.

The delegates at the recent convention of the Congress also endorsed the action of the Executive Council and reaffirmed their opposition to conscription, as expressed at the Vancouver Convention in 1915, and the Toronto Convention in 1916. The convention, however, decided that as the government had passed a Compulsory Military Service Act, it would be unwise to oppose its enforcement. It was held that, under a representative form of government, the organized workers should obey the law, even though it had been passed in face of their opposition.

The Congress reaffirmed its previous decision in favor of a conference of the labor representatives of the belligerent countries to discuss the war situation and formulate a program of terms upon which peace should be declared, and elected three delegates to attend such a conference, when called by the British Trades Union Congress.

SECOND DAY---Tuesday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 13, 1917.

The convention was called to order Tuesday, November 13th, at 9:30 a. m., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Kline, McKillop, Tobin (John F.), Price, Boyer, Logan, McNulty, Brennan, Bechtold, Rickert, Daley, Rosenberg, Gainor, Duffy (Chas. D.), Swartz, Mugavin, O'Connell, Van Lear, Taylor, Strain, Lane, Moriarty, Moyer, Davidson, Rankin, White, Hayes (Frank J.), Mitchell, Green (Wm.), Moore, Lewis, Valentine, Frey, Curran, Carey, Schneider, Wilson (Jas.), McGivern, Hede, Kearney, Anderson, Britton, Leary, Daviny, Orr, Mahon, Furuseth, Flynn, Conway, Freel, Tobin (Daniel J.), Ross, Konenkamp, Williams (Thos. J.), Agethen, Scott, Hays (J. W.), Hatch, O'Neal, Villeneuve, Conley, McHenry, Burgess, Jarrett, Kennedy, Ogletree, Spencer, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Coughlin, Harlin, Malley, Bryan (Frank F.), Williams (Harold), McDonald, Foster, Sellins, Brindell, McAndrew, Draper, Burch, Young, Bennett, Bower, Wilkinson, Traglio, McDonald, Murphy, Warren, Hannum, Casey, Iglesias, Depp, Svenson, Allwine, Mezzacapo, Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Wilkie, Green (Walter), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Eson, Miller (Fred M.), Juhl, Hollis, Lebowitz.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication and telegram:

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

Dear Sir:

We wish to have you thank the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention for the resolution on the death of our father, and also for their financial aid which has been a great source of comfort to us.

Words fail to express our gratitude to you and we beg you to thank our benefactors attending the convention.

Gratefully yours,
FRANCES TRACY.

November 5, 1917.

New York, Nov. 12, 1917.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Hotel Statler, Buffalo N. Y.:

I extend fraternal greetings and good wishes to all in attendance at this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. I congratulate your officials on their achievements during the past year, and in their support of the United States government in the present crisis. May labor's united efforts and co-operation with their government continue during this period of war.

H. WAXMAN,
General Treasurer United Garment Workers of America.

The Secretary read invitations from Peter G. Gerry, United States Senator; George F. O'Shaughnessy, M. C., and La-Baron B. Colt, U. S. Senator, asking the convention to meet in Providence in 1918. A similar invitation on behalf of Ft. Worth, Texas, was received from U. S. Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texarkana, and one on behalf of San Francisco from Mayor James Rolph, Jr., of San Francisco.

The following telegram from the wife of President Wilson was read and made a part of the minutes:

P. R. R. Depot, Williamsport, Penn.
Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.:

May I not beg that you will express to the convention my very warm appreciation of the graceful courtesy paid me in the presentation of the beautiful flowers which I received today. I enjoyed the flowers, not only for their beauty, but also for the friendly feeling which they so appropriately expressed.

EDITH BOLLING WILSON.

Announcement was made that the automobile ride arranged for this afternoon had been deferred until Friday afternoon at 2 o'clock. President Gompers stated that the ride on Friday afternoon would be subject to the wishes of the convention.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Secretary Clarke for the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following supplemental report:

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report that we have received the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America—Jos. C. Skemp.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—J. L. Anderson, 1 vote.

Charleston, W. Va., Central Labor Union—Charles Crickmore, 1 vote.

Cloth Examiners and Spongers' Union No. 11680—Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 3 votes.

XUM

Trenton, N. J., Central Labor Union—Warren A. Hannum, 1 vote.

Syracuse, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Thomas M. Gafney, 1 vote.

We have received a credential from Louis Beuloin as delegate from the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America and desire to substitute it for that of J. A. Bodine, who is unable to be present.

Respectfully submitted,
E. L. EDGERTON, Chairman;
T. P. HYLAND,
WM. P. CLARKE, Secretary.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

President Gompers: The Chair will ask the members of the Executive Council who are in the hall at the present time to come to the platform to give attention to a matter which should be handled promptly.

Organizer Hugh J. Frayne in the chair.

Delegate Joseph D. Cannon, for the Committee on Rules, submitted the following:

Report of Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

We, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business, beg leave to submit the following report:

We recommend the adoption of the following rules for the government of the convention:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9.30 a. m. and remain in session until 12.30. Convene at 2 p. m. and remain in session until 5.30 p. m., except Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9.30 a. m. to 12.30.

Rule 2. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except it be to call to a point of order.

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Roberts' Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least thirty members to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak, if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll-call has been taken, and all delegates or delegations present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll-call ballot has been ordered no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Roberts' Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 21. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

Order of Business.

1. Reading minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of Officers.
4. Report of Regular Committees.
5. Report of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN SULLIVAN,
Chairman.
J. F. McGRATH,
THEODORE THOMPSON,
FRANK FISHER,
EDWARD MENGE,
WALTER N. REDDICK,
R. C. SCHNEIDER,
ABRAHAM ROSENBERG,
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,
JAMES H. HATCH,
J. T. CAREY,
JOS. V. MORESCHI,
GEO. H. WREN,
E. W. A. O'DELL,
JOSEPH D. CANNON,
Secretary.

The secretary of the committee explained that Rule 18 as incorporated in the report of the committee at the last convention had been omitted from the present report for the reason that the proviso governing the introduction of resolutions is now contained in the Constitution and By-laws.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Secretary Cannon submitted the following as a supplementary report for the Committee on Rules and Order of Business:

Supplementary Report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Your Committee on Rules and Order of Business recommends that the proceedings of the convention be published verbatim. Respectfully submitted,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Chairman;
J. F. McGRATH,
THEODORE THOMPSON,
FRANK FISHER,
EDWARD MENGE,
WALTER N. REDDICK,
R. C. SCHNEIDER,
ABRAHAM ROSENBERG,
FRANK BUTTERWORTH,
JAMES H. HATCH,
J. T. CAREY,
JOS. V. MORESCHI,
GEO. H. WREN,
E. W. A. O'DELL,
JOSEPH D. CANNON, Secretary.

It was moved and seconded that the supplementary report of the committee be concurred in.

Vice-President Duncan expressed the belief that if the substance of the discussions appeared in the minutes it would not be necessary nor would it be practicable to publish every statement verbatim. He reminded the delegates that if the supplementary report should be adopted the official proceedings would be twice the present size.

President Gompers, discussing the question, said in part:

I have no recollection of at any time, when a motion has been made by any delegate to publish the report of a subject either in part or in full but that the convention agreed with that proposal. The conventions of the American Federation of Labor are held open and we have not had an executive session in nearly twenty years, and the one session held was regarded with regret after the close of the executive session by reason of the fact that it gave an opportunity to draw a wrong inference if anyone so desired as to what transpired in executive sessions. There is but one restraint in the discussions of the American Federation of Labor conventions, and that is the consciousness of responsibility to the other delegates.

He concluded his statement with a warning against the adoption of a rule that would leave the Secretary without the slightest discretionary power in the matter of correcting something that might be positively injurious to the movement.

Delegate John Sullivan, a member of the committee, stated that a delegate had appeared before the committee and said that he was brought before his organization after the last convention and called to account for certain statements accredited to him in the official proceedings, which statements he claimed were not published in full. Delegate Sullivan said it was this incident which prompted the committee to bring in the supplementary report.

Treasurer Lennon, in opposing the report, said that if the proposed rule was adopted it would act as a restraint upon the freedom of the delegates to say what they might feel inclined to say in many instances.

Secretary Morrison: As a delegate representing a printing trade it would be natural that I would favor the adoption of a motion that would give additional work to the members of the printing crafts, but if the proceedings of the Federation conventions are to be printed verbatim, then it should take effect at the next convention, when arrangements could be made to select a city that had a printing plant capable of printing the daily proceedings and delivering them to the delegates each morning. The printing plant in this city is not equipped to print a verbatim report of the daily proceedings and deliver them the following morning, and in addition our stenographer informs me that it would require three stenographers to take the verbatim proceedings.

Delegate Cannon, in explanation of the committee's recommendation, said that many delegates believed that secret service men and others were following the convention with ulterior motives in mind, and that on account of the importance of the convention the committee felt that the proceedings should be published verbatim.

Delegate John F. Tobin, Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, moved to amend the committee's report as follows: That all special subjects shall be printed verbatim upon motion from the floor. (Seconded.)

Delegate Johnson: By motion from the floor do I understand that to mean that it is simply a motion from the floor or a majority vote of the convention?

Chairman Frayne: It would require a motion at a special time and require a majority vote to carry such motion in order to have the verbatim record recorded.

President Gompers, in discussing the matter further, said it had always been the policy of the official stenographer to retain the shorthand notes indefinitely, and that the notes of the conventions as far back as 1904 were available at this time. Continuing he said: "I will ask the official stenographer if he is keeping a complete verbatim record of the proceedings of this convention?"

The Stenographer: Yes, sir.

President Gompers: Will your shorthand notes be available at any time?

The Stenographer: They will be kept for permanent record as long as you may need them.

Delegate Greenstein spoke in favor of the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Walker (J. H.): I would like to ask a question of information. In the event that a statement made by a delegate to this convention was misrepresented to his own membership and he was placed in a false light, would he be able to get the statement from the record as he actually made it so that he might protect himself in a case of that kind?

Secretary Morrison: Any delegate who wants a verbatim report of his speech can secure it by writing to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, who will secure it from the official stenographer. The stenographer's notes have been retained.

The previous question was called for, supported by the necessary number of delegates.

The amendment offered by Delegate Tobin was carried.

The supplementary report of the committee, as amended, was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

The report of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers: The Executive Council desires to submit a report at this time upon a subject which will give you a great deal of pleasure. I refer to the fact that at last the question in controversy between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, so far as the decision of the Baltimore convention is concerned and likewise the decision of the Executive Council, has been adjusted. The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers have yielded and obeyed that decision and the supplementary report of the Executive Council on the subject will be read to you now in order that the delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' organization may have the opportunity of participating in this convention and being reinstated at the earliest possible moment.

Secretary Morrison read the following report on behalf of the Executive Council and the declaration of the Iron Workers:

Statler Hotel, Buffalo, N. Y.,
November 13, 1917.

Re: Carpenters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention:

We beg leave to submit a supplementary report upon the above subject. In the last days of the Building Trades Department convention, Vice-President Duncan at the Department convention aided materially in the initial steps of an effort to adjust the controversy between the Carpenters and the Iron Workers.

We were then led to believe that the matter had been adjusted at our meeting of the Executive Council in Buffalo on Saturday evening, but this opinion proved erroneous.

We then directed President Gompers to take up the matter further with the representatives of the two organizations. President Donlin of the Building Trades Department assisted. We take pleasure in reporting that the effort has been successful.

We submit herewith copy of the declaration made by the officers of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, with the indorsement and approval of Brothers Gompers and Donlin.

The declaration complies with the decision of the Baltimore Convention and of the Executive Council, and we take pleasure in announcing that the charter of the International Association is now automatically restored to it.

Fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President;

JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice-President;
JAMES O'CONNELL,
Second Vice-President;
JOS. F. VALENTINE,
Third Vice-President;
JOHN R. ALPINE,
Fourth Vice-President;
H. B. PERHAM,
Fifth Vice-President;
FRANK DUFFY,
Sixth Vice-President;
WILLIAM GREEN,
Seventh Vice-President;
W. D. MAHON,
Eighth Vice-President;
JOHN B. LENNON,
Treasurer;
FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary;
Executive Council, American Federation of Labor.

DECLARATION OF BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS.

Buffalo, N. Y., November 13, 1917.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.
Dear Sirs and Brothers:

We, the undersigned officers of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, being fully empowered to deal with the situation in which our Association finds itself in regard to the decision rendered by the Baltimore convention of the American Federation of Labor, and with the decision of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the subject of the Local Unions in New York City and vicinity whose memberships have performed the work in controversy with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, hereby declare:

First: We have revoked the charter of Local Union 177 of New York City.

Second: We have revoked the charter of Sub-Local Union 189a of New York City.

Third: We have revoked the charter of Local Union 189 of Jersey City.

Fourth: We pledge our International Association that either the former members (or the present members at the time of the revocation of these charters) shall not be organized into a local union of our International Association in New York and vicinity, and we will not accept these men in any Local of our International Association.

Fifth: That the International Association relinquishes the claim for any of its members in New York and vicinity to the character of work involved in this dispute.

Sixth: The agreement existing between Local Union 189 of Jersey City and the Dock Builders' Association of New York is hereby cancelled and due notice of which will be given this day to said Association.

Seventh: We, the International Association, make the above declarations for the purpose of co-operating to the fullest with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and to other organizations of workers affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, that the best interests of the men and the organizations of the trades shall be furthered and protected, and we count upon the co-operation of the organizations in return for this pledge.

Eighth: We ask that upon the payment of our per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor and to the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor that the charter of the International Association, now suspended, be restored to it, and that the International Association be entitled to immediate representation in the convention and in the department.

We make this declaration in good faith and without any mental reservation whatever and ask that it be accepted in the same spirit. Fraternally yours,

J. E. McCLORY,
W. J. McCAIN.
DAN J. O'SHEA,
P. J. MORRIN,
SAMUEL P. TOBIN,
THEO. M. BRANDLE.

The undersigned having been deputed to endeavor to bring about an adjustment of the controversy between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, hereby approve and endorse the above and pledge ourselves to use every influence within our power to see that it is faithfully executed.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor;
JOHN H. DONLIN,
President Building Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

On motion of Delegate Koveleski the report of the Executive Council was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Koveleski made an announcement in behalf of the Waitresses' Union of Buffalo and requested the delegates to be careful to patronize only such restaurants and cafes as employ union waiters.

Delegate Johnston (Machinists): I rise to ask a question of personal privilege. My attention has been directed to a misstatement published in several newspapers in which they link the name of the Machinists together with the name of the United Mine Workers as having come to the convention for the purpose of making an attack on the administration of the Federation on the question of its war policies. I want to say emphatically that as far as the International Association of Machinists is concerned we have no controversy with President Gompers or the Executive Council on their war policies. We are behind the President of the United States and there is no organization in America any more loyal to the country

and to the things that the President of the United States stands for than the International Association of Machinists. I don't want the delegates to this convention to go away with any wrong impression as to our standing. We haven't any axe to grind or quarrel to pick. We are here to do that which is best for the advancement of the labor movement and the human family in general.

Report of Auditing Committee.

Delegate William P. Clarke, Secretary of the Auditing Committee, submitted the following report:

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 13, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

Having performed the work assigned to us as Auditors, we herewith present our findings as follows:

RECEIPTS:

Cash balance on hand Sept. 30, 1916	$ 89,360.48
Per capita tax	251,758.90
Supplies	16,134.95
Interest	2,010.40
American Federationist	66,383.20
One cent assessment to organize women workers	2,772.42
For defense fund for local trade and federal unions	37,549.70
From disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued	1,586.26
Reinstatement and initiation fees	27,945.32
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	5,906.61
Total	$501,408.24

EXPENSES:

General	$261,430.02
For defense of local trade and federal labor unions	15,507.14
Refunding overpayment of per capita tax	58.94
American Federationist	81,800.83
Premium on bonds of officers of affiliated unions	4,970.68
For organizing the women workers	11,828.16
Reinstatement and initiation fees	96.12
Refunded	8.51
Paid to Trustees A. F. of L. Office Building	26,740.00
Total	$402,440.40
Total receipts	$501,408.24
Total expenses	402,440.40
Leaving cash balance Sept. 30, 1917	$ 98,967.84

RECAPITULATION.

In general fund	$ 7,833.20
In defense fund	91,134.64
Balance of loan to Trustees A. F. of L. Office Building	42,500.00
Total balance Sept. 30, 1917	$141,467.84

WHERE FUNDS ARE:

McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., certificates of deposit bearing 3½ per cent. interest	$75,000.00
McLean County Bank, Bloomington, Ill., checking account	11,967.84
Riggs National Bank, District of Columbia, Washington, D. C.	2,000.00
Invested in Liberty Bonds	10,000.00
Balance of loan to Trustees of A. F. of L. Office Building	42,500.00
Total	$141,467.84

Hatters' Appeals.

One year ago your Auditing Committee reported receipts from Dec. 18, 1915, to Sept. 30, 1916, amounting to	$158,730.10
This Committee finds that from Oct. 1, 1916, to Aug. 22, 1917, the additional receipts were	57,294.44
Total receipts	$216,024.54

EXPENSES:

Riggs National Bank to make up for repudiated checks	$ 93.21	
Printing and distributing 8,000 copies of itemized statement of this account	1,040.13	
Paid to Martin Lawlor, Sec.-Treasurer United Hatters of North America	214,891.20	
Total		$216,024.54

For detailed information we direct your attention to the itemized statement of receipts and expenditures issued by Secretary Morrison which covers seventy-six pages, including the reproduction of a letter he received from Secretary Lawlor relating how the money was disposed of. This account was closed Aug. 28, 1917.

A. F. of L. Office Building.

RECEIPTS:

Balance on hand Sept. 30, 1916	$ 1,636.95
Received during the year	82,617.32
Total receipts	$ 84,254.27
Total expenses during the year	83,006.39
Balance on hand Sept. 30, 1917	$ 1,247.88

RECAPITULATION.

Total amount borrowed	$189,240.00
Total amount paid on loans	34,240.00
Balance owed	$155,000.00

To whom owed:

A. F. of L. Defense Fund	$42,500.00
American Security & Trust Co.	82,500.00
Riggs National Bank	30,000.00
Total	$155,000.00

Your committee checked the accounts as thoroughly as time would permit, and now venture to suggest that we believe it good policy for those having financial transactions with the General Office to verify their accounts with the financial statement of receipts and expenses appearing in each issue of the American Federationist, which we found to be complete, convenient and accurate, with the possible exception of a few typographical errors that were easily discernible.

We found all bank disbursements to be supported by properly signed and endorsed checks, while checks outstanding were satisfactorily accounted for by a demonstration that the cash required to liquidate such checks was on deposit in the bank in addition to the regular balance.

Every consideration was accorded this committee to make a thorough examination of all records and documents desired, so that we might satisfy ourselves of the accuracy of the financial accounts of the Federation, and we have no hesitancy in saying that we believe them to be correct.

We acknowledge all courtesies extended by Secretary Morrison and his corps of assistants, and cheerfully present this report to you as the results of our audit.

Respectfully submitted,

E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman.

T. P. HYLAND,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

Delegate William P. Clarke, secretary of the Committee on Credentials, presented the following supplementary report:

We have examined the credentials of J. E. McClory, P. J. Morrin and Samuel Tobin, selected to represent the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and recommend that they be seated with 100 votes, in harmony with the action of the convention.

E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman.

T. P. HYLAND,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted and the delegates seated.

President Gompers announced that resolutions might be presented until 12 o'clock midnight on Tuesday.

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate John B. Lennon:

RESOLVED, Amend Section 1 of Article III to read:

Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m. on the second Monday in June, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Shubert Sebree, of the Indiana State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That the following shall be ineligible as delegates to the Central Labor Unions and State Federations: All persons holding political office; all employers; all persons practicing law as an attorney; all persons not working at their trade. The latter sentence shall not be so construed as applying to members officially employed by their respective organizations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all delegates shall use union labeled products whenever the same can be purchased.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 3—By Draftsmen's Union No. 15327, Portsmouth, Va.:

WHEREAS, Draftsmen's Union No. 15327 of Portsmouth, Va., was by charter dated October 29, 1916, constituted the first Draftsmen's Union affiliated with the A. F. of L., since which time, notwithstanding strenuous opposition, there has been organized seven other Draftsmen's Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In our application for the aforesaid charter we expressly set forth the following claims: "Designing, computing, delineating, drawing and constructing by means of plans, specifications or patterns the main features, details and calculations of machinery, ships, buildings, structures, bridges, roads, topographical plans, aeroplanes, air ships, engines, submarines, automobiles, and in general any and all drawings, calculations, designs and constructions of any and all character." And following out this plan we have now amongst our various Draftsmen's Unions the following: architectural, structural, ship, electrical, boiler, engine, ordnance and topographical draftsmen; and

WHEREAS, We recognize that the great success of the labor movement as attained by the A. F. of L. has been by co-operation of its various units whilst granting the fullest freedom and autonomy amongst the various crafts; and

WHEREAS, We feel that as especially skilled artisans it is essentially necessary that we be granted and maintain a strict drafting identity in order to not only form a stronger organization, but be enabled to render better service in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, There are at present organized a sufficient number of Draftsmen's Unions to form an international, and we believe the time propitious to put into execution such a movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby approves the formation of a Draftsmen's International, and instructs its

President and Executive Council to take the necessary steps to constitute said Draftsmen's International, clearly defining its scope and jurisdiction.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 4—By Delegate J. M. Conley of the Iowa State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The National Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor was organized for the purpose of settling jurisdictional claims and for the purpose of enforcing the same; and

WHEREAS, Said National Building Trades Department never enforced their laws only on the small crafts, thereby favoring large per capita tax organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Department has failed to accomplish the purpose that it was organized for; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That unless the said National Building Trades Department enforces its laws on all crafts alike, that the same be abolished.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 5—By Patrick E. Lyons of the National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers:

WHEREAS, The National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States are striving to improve the conditions in the wall paper industry and build up their organization; and

WHEREAS, Through a general strike of the wall paper trades in 1912, caused by a refusal of the wall paper manufacturers to grant a reduction in the hours of labor, the following firms, the Vornhold Wall Paper Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; the Wallace Wall Paper Co. of Cortland, N. Y.; the Premier Wall Paper Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; the Star Peerless Wall Paper Co. of Joliet, Ill.; the Joliet Wall Paper Co. of Joliet, Ill.; the Prager Co. of Brooklyn, controlling owners of the Jacob Thomas Co. of Newark, Del., and the E. C. Baeck Corporation of Brooklyn, N. Y., who were and are foremost in antagonizing our efforts and who persistently refuse to employ union labor, have been declared as unfair to organized labor by the Machine Printers and Color Mixers' Association in convention assembled, and are at present operating under conditions which are a decided menace to the welfare of our association; and

WHEREAS, Every opportunity offered to those firms to sign our agreements has been refused absolutely by them; and

WHEREAS, The members of all organized bodies are interested directly or indirectly in the use of wall paper in the decoration of their homes, whether as owner or tenant; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the action taken and pledges its moral support to the National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States in its efforts to organize these mills.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 6—By Central Labor Council, Anaconda, Mont.:

WHEREAS, There has been much dissatisfaction and misunderstanding in the jurisdictional rights granted the different Internationals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by the American Federation of Labor, thereby causing much trouble in this particular locality; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention be requested to define and enforce the jurisdiction granted to the different Internationals through their charter rights. At present, in this locality, the Pipe Fitters, Sheet Metal Workers and Engineers are organized under their respective Internationals, are affiliated with the local and State Metal Trades Councils and are included in the agreement entered into on July 30, 1917, which agreement dates from July 1, 1917. These men, and all journeymen helpers, are members of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen as well, as are also the Cranemen, and are the men affected by this overlapping jurisdiction. Should this overlapping charter jurisdiction be corrected and enforced, much better results and greater satisfaction would be obtained.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 7—By Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Union No. 13227, New Athens, Illinois:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall permit bag companies to print the Union Label on the bags and barrel labels of such flour mills that employ union labor exclusively.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, Patrick Sheehan and Michael Cahill of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, by instructions of their convention:

WHEREAS, The conditions of the working men and women of New Orleans and other parts of the South is in bad condition, because of the lack of proper organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby instruct the Executive Council to make a special effort to thoroughly organize New Orleans and other parts of the South, by placing in the city of New Orleans a regularly paid organizer to look after and direct the work, and that this organizer be given the assistance of the other organizers of the American Federation of Labor, and when the proper plans of organization are outlined, that the Federation call upon the various national and international unions to send special organizers to assist in the work of properly organizing their respective trades.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 9—By the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots:

WHEREAS, We, the members of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, desire to bring to your attention at this time a condition that confronts us in the cities of Seattle, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., which condition retards our progress and cripples our standing in the above mentioned cities because of the different independent organizations, as they term themselves to be, which exist therein. The members of these organizations were at one time members of this association in good and regular standing, but being misled by those who have an established control over those members while working as officers of the local or subordinate associations, is the reason why they are now in bad standing; and

WHEREAS, We have done everything possible to induce these associations to pay up their indebtedness and become reinstated and placed in good and regular standing, and we have gone to the extent of guaranteeing them a reduction to a very small sum of the entire indebtedness, but each time these offers have been refused; and

WHEREAS, We respectfully ask that the American Federation of Labor help, aid and assist us in every way possible to cause these different independent local associations (which they claim to be) to reinstate themselves in the National Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, the only association that can properly represent the licensed deck officers of the merchant marine; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor refuse to give help, aid or assistance to William A. Westcott, President of California Harbor of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific; also Patrick Mullen, Secretary of Puget Sound Harbor, Masters, Mates and Pilots of Seattle, Wash., as said associations or harbors and their influences are disrupting and weakening to the subordinate harbors of this association which are located in the above named places, viz: San Francisco, Cal., and Seattle, Wash.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the different locals of the American Federation of Labor located in Seattle, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., be also notified not to give any help, aid or assistance to the above mentioned harbors until such time as they have placed themselves in good and regular standing in the National Harbor to which they belong; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assist in every way possible to bring about the reconciliation necessary to establish each of said harbors in good and regular standing so that the National Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots may receive the success and prosperity that the labor movement in these two cities deserves.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 10—By the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots:

WHEREAS, Certain steamship companies have instituted the "welfare plan" among the officers employed on their vessels by forming an organization known as the "American Steamship Licensed Officers' Association, Inc.," located in New York City; and

WHEREAS, Said organization is maintained principally by and for the employers, as is evidenced by the preamble of its constitution, which reads: "Realizing, also, that there are an increasing number of employers who are disposed to co-operate with their employes in furthering these objects, we propose to deal directly with our employers." And as further evidenced by the last paragraph of the second section of its "Certificate of Incorporation," which reads: "The corporation shall have no affiliation with any labor or trade union, but shall be maintained as an entirely independent organization"; and

WHEREAS, Said organization was instituted with the purpose of disrupting or weakening the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor regards the "American Steamship Licensed Officers' Association, Inc.," as an organization inimical to the best interests of labor, and urges all true friends of organized labor to refrain from identifying themselves with said association in any way; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Neptune Association of Masters and Mates of New York City, which is an affiliated body with California Harbor of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific of San Francisco, Cal., and Puget Sound Harbor No. 16 of Seattle, Wash., be considered as being detrimental to organized labor, as the objects of this association will show, copy of which reads as follows, and which is found on the front page of the Constitution and By-laws of the Neptune Association of New York City: "The object and purpose of this association is to unite into one great body the licensed masters and mates of ocean and coastwise steam vessels, and thus enable them to demand and obtain a voice in the making of the laws and regulations under which they are governed; to improve the conditions and status of the profession generally; to furnish assistance in professional matters, and at the same time to promote cordial relations with employers. Furthermore, that this association be maintained as an entirely independent organization, and to have no agreements or affiliations with any labor or trade union." The following is found in the back of the Constitution and By-laws of the Neptune Association. While it only refers to one year, yet it is thoroughly understood that the agreement still holds good and is in force: "Articles of Agreement between Neptune Association and California Harbor No. 15 of California Harbor of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific. 1. It is hereby agreed by California Harbor of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific of San Francisco, Cal., party of the first part, and Neptune Association of Masters and Mates of ocean and coastwise steam vessels of New York, party of the second part: That on and after April 1, 1913, and for a period of one (1) year thereafter, that

the party of the first part will recognize the members of the party of the second part as brothers; and the party of the second part will recognize the members of the party of the first part as brothers. 2. It is further agreed: That the party of the first part shall have jurisdiction over all ocean and coastwise deck officers on the Pacific, and that the party of the second part shall have jurisdiction over all ocean and coastwise deck officers of the Atlantic. 3. It is further agreed: That the party of the first part and the party of the second part shall not solicit membership from each other while their members are sailing between Atlantic and Pacific Coast ports, or vice versa. Provided: That if any member of either party elects to sail on the coast for a period exceeding three months, then such shall be required to become a member of the association having jurisdiction thereof and any such member shall not be required to pay any sum in excess of one dollar ($1.00) as an entrance fee. 4. It is further agreed: That the members of the party of the first part will not sign on any vessel bound for the Atlantic Coast for less than the established scale of wages on the Atlantic Coast; and, the members of the party of the second part will not sign on any vessel bound for the Pacific Coast for less than the established scale of wages on the Pacific Coast. 5. It is further agreed: That all legislative action for the benefit of the ocean and coastwise licensed deck officers must be voted on by both associations, and if the majority of votes cast by the members of both associations is in favor of such legislation, then each association shall pay a per capita tax pro rata according to their membership to defray their expense of such legislation. And no legislative action shall be taken without the sanction of the other, unless such legislative action shall affect their own particular coast, then the expense incurred shall be borne by the association taking such action. 6. It is further agreed: That all members in good standing in either of the associations shall be entitled to all privileges, such as the use of association rooms, legal advice, etc. Provided: That if any monetary assistance is rendered, the member's association shall refund to the assisting association any such money so expended; provided, that in case of the death of any member of either association the funeral expenses shall be refunded to the association burying such member. 7. It is further agreed: That the party of the first part will not recognize any other association of licensed ocean or coastwise deck officers on the Atlantic Coast other than Neptune Association during the existence of this agreement, and the party of the second part will not recognize any other association of licensed ocean or coastwise deck officers on the Pacific other than California Harbor during the existence of this agreement. *Note:* Since the date of this agreement Puget Sound Harbor No. 16 of Seattle, Wash., has become affiliated with the Neptune Association of New York, and California, Harbor No. 15, Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific of San Francisco, Cal.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Henry Raines of Federal Watchmen's Union No. 14964:

WHEREAS, The Federal Watchmen's Union by referendum vote of its membership on October 5, 1917, adopted a resolution of the following tenor: That this union avail themselves of the moral influence and assistance of the A. F. of L., shall seek the enactment of the bill before the 65th Congress known as H. R. 4429, increasing the salary of penitentiary guards and watchmen in the government service; and

WHEREAS, In seeking the enactment of said bill the high cost of necessities of life, and the fact that the present salary was set by Congress over 60 years ago, and is totally inadequate to meet the present cost of living, should be given full consideration; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Convention of the A. F. of L. endorses the referendum of the Federal Guard and Watchmen's Union as outlined in this resolution, and that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to assist in seeking the passage of the bill known as H. R. 4429, introduced in the Sixty-fifth Congress by Congressman Van Dyke, to raise the salaries of penitentiary guards and watchmen in the United States Government service, more in conformity with the present high cost of living.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate J. L. Johnson of the Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Eight-hour Law, commonly known as the Adamson Bill, have been construed to include only those railroad employes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Switchmen's Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, Such construction is absolutely opposed to the first principles of justice and is a virtual discrimination against all other crafts in the railroad service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exert every effort to have legislation enacted that will bring all railroad employes under the provisions of this or a similar law.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate B. E. Moore of the Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, A controversy has existed between the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company and the Egg Inspectors' Union of Chicago for some time because of the insistence of this company in employing unorganized help in their egg department in the City of Chicago, employing mostly girls at a standard of wages far below

the union scale and decent living conditions, and inasmuch as the United States Government through the National Council of Defense has declared that no discrimination in wages shall be between women and men employed in the same industries; and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been made by committees composed of officials of the Egg Inspectors' and the Chicago Federation of Labor to bring about an amicable adjustment of the existing difficulties; and

WHEREAS, Chicago officials of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company assumed a very hostile attitude towards our committees and declared themselves indifferent towards any actions taken by organized labor, inasmuch as they were satisfied that union men and their wives would continue to purchase their goods on account of so-called attractive prices in preference to others, thereby intimating that most union men were traitors to the cause; and

WHEREAS, This great corporation operates in a great many cities in the United States and a large percentage of their trade is derived from working people throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, This company was placed on the unfair list by the Chicago Federation of Labor at their meeting held on August 5, 1917, also by the Illinois State Federation of Labor on Oct. 18, 1917, on account of the attitude of the officials of this company; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the Executive Council or proper officials to make another effort to reach an agreement with the directors of this company at their headquarters in Newark, N. J., and if a settlement cannot be effected within sixty days, the Executive Council be authorized to advertise this company's attitude to all affiliated unions and other workers throughout the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate B. E. Moore of Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The Egg Inspectors' Union of Chicago has been striving for a number of years to organize egg inspectors throughout the United States and Canada in order to perfect a national or an international organization for the betterment and uplifting of all engaged in the craft; and

WHEREAS, This local has been unable to overcome the difficulties of bringing about the desired results principally on account of lack of sufficient funds to finance this enterprise; and

WHEREAS, We think it would be a comparatively easy matter for the regular organizers of the American Federation of Labor to organize a few more locals in the larger cities, only a few being required, as there are some five or six locals in existence at the present time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its organizers throughout the United States and Canada to make a special effort to organize this craft in their respective locality and co-operate with the officers of the various locals already in the field. The officers of the Egg Inspectors' Union of Chicago are in a position to furnish them with valuable information gleaned through their own efforts along these lines.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 15—By Marine Draftsmen's Union No. 15388, Philadelphia, Pa.:

WHEREAS, Draftsmen are a craft or trade separate and distinct from other trades as molders, carpenters, plumbers, etc., and have just as much right to an international union as any of them; and

WHEREAS, The Marine Draftsmen's Union of Philadelphia and vicinity No. 15388, A. F. of L., was formed for the purpose of organizing and admitting to its membership all the draftsmen employed in shipyards along the Delaware River in the vicinity of Philadelphia, consisting of those not employed by the government as well as the government draftsmen, and now has on its roll of membership draftsmen who are not government employes; and

WHEREAS, It was the intention in forming this Draftsmen's Union No. 15388 to join with the other Draftsmen's Unions already organized in New York and Norfolk to encourage the organization of still other Draftsmen's Unions throughout this country with the ultimate object of forming an International Union of Draftsmen under the American Federation of Labor, to include all draftsmen of the United States and of Canada; and

WHEREAS, There are now organized Draftsmen's Unions at Portsmouth, N. H.; Newport, R. I.; New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, S. C., and Chicago, Ill., with still others organizing, which will have members who are not government employes; and

WHEREAS, Draftsmen from Portsmouth, N. H.; Boston, Newport, R. I.; New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk and Charleston, S. C., met in New York on September 23, 1917, and formed a preliminary international union, with duly elected officers consisting of president and secretary-treasurer for the purpose of completing the organization of an International Union of Draftsmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Marine Draftsmen's Union of Philadelphia and vicinity No. 15388, A. F. of L., that the American Federation of Labor be and it is hereby requested to take the necessary steps to form an international union of all draftsmen in the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Raymond E. Oden and Wm. A. Smith of City Firemen's Union No. 15665:

WHEREAS, The twenty-four-hour sys-

tem for city firemen in this shorter-hour age is indefensible from a social, physical or financial standpoint; and

WHEREAS, City Firemen's Union No. 15665 of Washington, D. C., is now engaged in an effort to abolish this ancient system and establish the humane two-platoon system, which is being so successfully enforced in many larger municipalities of our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirms its endorsement of the two-platoon system, and instructs its officials to assist City Firemen's Union No. 15665 in its efforts to establish the two-platoon system in the nation's capital; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Vice-President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the chairman of the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Thomas G. Spellacy, City Firemen No. 15473:

WHEREAS, The brothers of the various City Firemen's Unions throughout the United States, believing that they are in a position of autonomy; and

WHEREAS, They believe that they can make greater progress if given a charter for an International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a charter be granted to the City Firemen for an International Union.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate J. J. Ellicott of Office Employes' Association No. 12755, Chicago:

WHEREAS, A vigorous campaign is now being waged in Chicago to organize all the workers in the stock yards, including the office workers, and this campaign offers an unusual opportunity to make a beginning in the direction of organization while these workers are in a receptive mood; and

WHEREAS, Success in organizing the office workers in the stock yards would have the effect of attracting the attention of all office workers throughout the city, to the number of about fifty thousand, to the idea of organization, and would undoubtedly result in bringing this large group into the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Because of insufficient funds the Office Employes' Association finds it impossible to reach their fellow workers to interest them in their organization or to carry on an effective campaign while they are in a receptive mood; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That an amount not to exceed the sum of one thousand dollars ($1,000.00) be and hereby is appropriated from the funds of the American Federation of Labor to defray the expenses of an organizer to be chosen by the Office Employes' Association No. 12755, at a salary not to exceed one hundred dollars ($100) a month.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During the visit of the Hon. William Holman, Premier of New South Wales, Australia, in our country, the Chicago Federation of Labor, at the suggestion of President Samuel Gompers, arranged a meeting in Chicago which Premier Holman addressed; and

WHEREAS, Such address was replete with information regarding such important matters as the experience of the labor movement of that country during the course of the war, court procedure during strikes, compulsory arbitration, government ownership of railways, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Premier Holman, himself a trade unionist, as head of the government of New South Wales, suggested "that organized labor of the United States select a committee of their members to visit Australia, and particularly New South Wales, to secure first hand knowledge of conditions and procedure affecting labor's interests there;" and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor having heard Premier Holman, and being favorably impressed with the fact that undoubtedly much information valuable to the American Federation of Labor could be gathered by a visit of the committee, or at least a representative of the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the request of Premier Holman be and hereby is referred to the Executive Council of this body for such action as it deems advisable and expedient.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living and the resultant necessity for an increased wage is a fact beyond the possibility of dispute; and

WHEREAS, Practically all of the International organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. have recognized that fact by granting an increase in compensation and hotel expenses paid to the organizers employed by them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and it is hereby instructed by this convention of the American Federation of Labor to increase the compensation paid to organizers employed by the A. F. of L. $1.00 per day and increase the allowance for hotel expenses 50 cents per day.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Morris Kaufman and Philip Silberstein of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The workers on the fur used for the making of men's hats work in fac-

tories over which the International Fur Workers' Union has jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Several locals of these workers have already been organized by the International Fur Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, At the time the Constitution of the International Fur Workers' Union was drafted, no specific mention was made of hatters' fur workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction over these workers be extended to the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Morris Kaufman and Philip Silberstein of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The workers on sheepskins are mostly unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Sheepskins are also used extensively in the fur industry; and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada does not include workers who work exclusively on sheepskins in the manufacturing, tanning and dyeing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That jurisdiction over these workers be extended to the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Charles B. Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, It is now recognized that enlightened public policy demands pension provision for public employes; and

WHEREAS, Our national capital must now be classed among the backward cities in that regard; and

WHEREAS, A carefully prepared bill for the retirement on pension of public school teachers in the District of Columbia, known as Senate Bill 640 of the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, has been favorably reported, unanimously, by the Senate Committee in charge of the bill; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorses the pension bill for public school teachers in the District of Columbia known as Senate Bill 640, and that the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby are instructed to use every available means to secure its enactment at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Charles B. Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers desires to record before this convention its appreciation of the support received from the labor movement throughout the country, from President Gompers, Central Bodies, organizers, the rank and file. Since Illinois has been our special battleground during the past year, we desire to acknowledge particularly our obligation to the labor men of Chicago and Illinois and specifically to the President and Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. If it had not been for the efforts of John Walker and Victor Olander, the teachers of Chicago would not now be protected by the tenure provisions of the Otis-Mueller Bill, guaranteeing them warning and a trial before dismissal; and

WHEREAS, The co-operation of organized labor did not result in the immediate formation of a large number of local unions of teachers, owing to the world of prejudice to overcome on the part of both teachers and public, but the campaign of education is now bearing fruit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the policy adopted at the Baltimore convention, that it "continues to use its best efforts in the work of organizing the teachers."

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Charles B. Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The successful operation of all activities of the government, federal, state and local, requires competent and efficient civil service employes. Except isolated cases, and then inadequately, the wages of the civil service employes have remained stationary, while rent and living and taxes have been rising steadily, almost phenomenally. In contrast to this official neglect of the welfare of these public servants, an overwhelming majority of large employers have granted wage increases of from twenty to one hundred per cent, either voluntarily or through the pressure of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Among these public employes teachers have felt this pressure severely. They are expected by the public to maintain certain standards of living and yet are denied by that same public, through its official agents, a remuneration sufficient to maintain that standard. When they have asked for even a small increase, the teachers throughout the country are met by the assertion that there are no funds. The teachers are required under penalty of law to produce more money for taxes and living expenses. Surely a great nation should not ask its servants to meet a condition which the nation, itself, evades; and

WHEREAS, The work of the teachers, now notoriously ill paid, determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial remuneration more nearly commensurate with its service to the community; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to aid the American Federation of Teachers in securing from the authorities in control of teachers' salary schedules immediate action, lest actual want and discouragement deprive our public service of well trained and faithful workers.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Joseph J. Ellicott of the Office Employes' Association No. 12755, of Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, Our country is now engaged in a great struggle for world democracy and the young men of the nation have been called from their daily tasks to fight for their country; and

WHEREAS, Many young men from the ranks of organized labor have been called upon to give up for the time their activities in the army of industrial democracy to engage in the battle for democracy on a world scale; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has voiced its belief in the justice of our country's cause and its determination to assist the government in every way possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in order to enable the unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, whose members have already been or may be called upon to give their services to their country, to carry these members in good standing on their books during the period of the war, the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby is, authorized to accept a per capita tax of five (5) cents per member per month on all such members of directly affiliated unions, and that the names of these brothers be carried on an honor roll in the headquarters of the Federation.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate D. W. Holt of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America:

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the eight (8) hour working day; and

WHEREAS, The Signalmen of the United States and Canada are required to work from nine and one-half (9½) to fourteen (14) hours, and are subject to call at all times day or night, and on the greater number of railroads they do not receive compensation for work required of them after their regular daily hours; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the actions of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America in their efforts to secure a universal eight-hour working day on all railroads; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledge its moral support to the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America in their efforts to secure the eight-hour day.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate D. W. Holt of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America is a young and growing organization, operating in a field in which there are something over 75,000 wage-earners in the United States and Canada who are eligible to membership; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America are not financially able at this time to place any additional organizers in the field to organize our craft; and

WHEREAS, The numbers of our craft have been greatly reduced through the call to the colors, causing those remaining additional responsibility through the lengthening of sections to maintain and repair; and

WHEREAS, The railroads through their General Managers' Associations are encouraging the formation of independent local associations, to the detriment of the principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The call has come from the men of our craft in the United States and Canada for assistance in their organization through which a living wage and the eight (8) hour day can be established in our craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, instruct its Executive Council to appoint one or more special organizers, as the funds of the organization will permit, to assist the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America to organize the men of our craft; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the various district organizers and the volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the Executive Council to give their special attention to the organization of the railroad signalmen in their respective districts and localities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America, will cooperate with the American Federation of Labor in their work of organization to the full extent of our ability.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Michael F. Kenny of the Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Local No. 14960, Jersey City, N. J.:

RESOLVED, That A. F. of L. organizers will endeavor to organize the following warehouses: Buffalo, N. Y., soon to open; Pittsburg, Pa., 32-34 Terminal Bldg.; Boston, Mass., Inman, D and Fargo streets; Philadelphia, Pa.; Chicago, Ill., Chicago Junction, R. R. Bldg.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A resolution introduced by Metal Polishers' Local No. 111 at the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held at Quincy, October 16-20, 1916, provided for the adjustment of differences of the metal polishers and stove mounters of Quincy, and the Excelsior Stove and Range Company, also of Quincy, makers of the National stoves and ranges, which was referred to a sub-committee of the Committee on Organization; and

WHEREAS, After repeated attempts to secure a conference with J. J. Fisher, the president of the above named firm, had failed, and after a promise of Mr. Ohnemus, the manager of the firm, on the last day of the convention that he would arrange a conference as soon as Mr. Fisher returned, no definite action was taken by the convention, and further attempts, after adjournment of the convention, resulted in failure to secure a conference of any kind, with the result that this firm still continues to discriminate against union polishers and mounters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Excelsior Stove and Range Company of Quincy, Ill., makers of the National stoves and ranges, be placed on the unfair list of this Federation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention brings to the attention of that body the unfair attitude of the Excelsior Stove and Range Company.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States of America was adopted as a compromise between the two factions or schools of thought, one believing in a monarchial form of government and the other believing in a pure democracy; and

WHEREAS, The idea of having two houses of Congress; and

WHEREAS, This country has, long since, outgrown the necessity, or even the advisability, of retaining anything suggestive of or savoring of monarchies or aristocracies; and

WHEREAS, The only purposes served by having two instead of one house in the various congressional and legislative bodies are to block, delay or kill progressive legislation (especially that favorable to the working class), by having first one house and then the other vote against, or "pigeon-hole" any measure of this kind; and the purpose of giving unsuccessful lawyers soft jobs; and

WHEREAS, The Senate of the United States is not so apportioned as to be truly representative of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we place ourselves on record as favoring and urging the immediate submission of the necessary amendments causing the abolition of one of the two houses of Congress; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from this body to the American Federation of Labor Convention be hereby instructed to bring this matter to the attention of that convention by means of a suitable, favorable resolution.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Daniel D. Sullivan of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, An ever-increasing number of defenseless individuals and groups of workers are being subjected to ruthless persecution under guise of law; and

WHEREAS, Vast sums of money are raised by organizations of employers for the execution of such unjust purposes as the disruption of organizations of labor, and to ruin the reputations of individuals devoted to the cause of labor; and

WHEREAS, Organizations of labor are forever contributing large sums of money to a more or less disorganized and inefficient defense of the victims of such persecutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we favor an increase in the per capita tax paid by affiliated National and International Unions to provide for a permanent department of legal aid, statistics and publicity to take care of the problems herein mentioned.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate J. F. Blakely of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.:

WHEREAS, No people can long remain a free people when denied the freedom of the press, free speech or peaceful assemblage, the underlying principles of economic freedom; and

WHEREAS, This doctrine is plainly set forth in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, i. e.,

Article 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances; and

WHEREAS, A number of papers have been either suppressed or have had their mailing privileges withdrawn by the Postmaster General's Department, among them some of the staunchest supporters of organized labor, and if such suppression is allowed to continue without protest from the labor movement, the entire labor press of the country is exposed to the possible whim or fancy of the Postmaster General's Department; and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement has always stood for the principles as set forth in the Constitution of the United States, and can only exist and progress while such rights are retained by the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., protest against this arbitrary ruling of the Postmaster General's Department, because it places the entire press and consequently, labor, in jeopardy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are instructed to put forth all their efforts to have the administrative officials of the government at Washington modify their position, and refrain from stopping the publication of newspapers and other publications on technical grounds, and in

defiance of the Constitution of the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are a great number of steam boilers which are operated in connection with the various coal mines in the State of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The repairs on these boilers are now largely being done by the engineers, firemen, blacksmiths and others employed in and about the coal mines, all of whom have no right, under the rules of the A. F. of L., to do any work whatsoever which rightly belongs to journeymen boiler makers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in their thirty-fifth annual convention assembled, that they go on record opposing the practice of others than journeymen boiler makers, who carry a paid-up membership card in the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, doing any work on, or making any repairs whatsoever to steam boilers used in connection with coal mines or in any other industry in the State of Illinois; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with the State officials of the U. M. W. of A., advising them of the passage and intent of this resolution, soliciting the aid of the U. M. W. of A. in putting into effect the intent thereof.

Secretary Kasten: Inasmuch as the Illinois State Federation of Labor cannot settle jurisdiction disputes between International unions, we, your committee, recommend that the Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to forward this resolution (No. 10) to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for adjustment at the next convention of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Edward F. McGrady:

WHEREAS, James J. Storrow, a banker of Boston, Mass., has been appointed by Mr. Garfield as his representative in the conservation of coal for the New England district; and

WHEREAS, The said James J. Storrow has seen fit to solicit from the Edison Electric Illuminating Corporation of Boston, Mass., a list of isolated power and lighting plants for the purpose of presentation to his committees in order that they might be in a position to assist the above named corporation in the securing of business; and

WHEREAS, We believe that these actions on the part of Mr. Storrow are being used as a cloak to cover up an ulterior motive, rather than as a legitimate and earnest desire to further the efforts and assist the government in its desire to save coal; and

WHEREAS, The absorbing of these isolated plants by the Edison Corporation will not prevent the use of coal in these plants because of the fact that heat must be maintained in all the buildings where these plants are located; and

WHEREAS, It has been proven in innumerable cases that there is no saving of coal when it becomes necessary to heat a building by live steam; and

WHEREAS, The continuation of the plant means that heat will be procured through the exhaust or waste steam coming from the machine that furnishes both power and light; and

WHEREAS, The benefit derived from this by-product used in the building, more than offsets any claim made by Mr. Storrow of savings that can be made; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the acts of Mr. Storrow so far as they relate to the using of his high office as the selling agency for the Edison Illuminating Corporation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon Mr. Garfield to immediately instruct Mr. Storrow to cease his activities along these lines; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask Mr. Garfield to establish reasonable methods that must be carried out by his assistant; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if Mr. Garfield refuses to do this, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stands instructed to place this entire matter before the President of the United States for his consideration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, Cal.:

WHEREAS, Representatives of the International Negro League have presented to the San Francisco Labor Council for its endorsement, and for endorsement by the American Federation of Labor, certain resolutions, hereinafter fully set forth, dealing with the racial problem occasioned by the presence of thirteen million negroes in the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is the intent and purpose of the sponsors of said resolutions to secure the co-operation of the American people and the national government in an endeavor to have the nations participating in the coming world's peace conference agree upon a plan to turn over the African continent or parts thereof to the African race and those descendants of said race who live in America and desire to return to Africa, and thus enable the black race to work out its own destiny on an equality with other peoples of the earth; and

WHEREAS, This proposal seems to be one of great importance and worthy of consideration, though one not to be adopted and encouraged or carried into execution except after fullest investigation as to its practicability and desirability as a means to solve the negro problem of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby recommends and di-

rects the Executive Council to promptly and diligently investigate and take such steps as may seem advisable and proper to influence the President and Congress to carry into effect, should they so decide, the intents and purposes of the following resolutions submitted for the consideration of organized labor by the International Negro League, to-wit:

"WHEREAS, President Woodrow Wilson, in his historic war speech, has declared that 'the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts: for democracy; for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government; for the rights and liberties of small nations; for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free; and

"WHEREAS, There are upward of 12,000,000 American citizens of negro blood who are compelled to submit to taxation without their having a representative or a voice in the law-making bodies of the nation, millions of whom, in the Southern States, are openly disfranchised and have no voice in their state or local affairs, and are deprived of their civil and property rights by humiliating and jim-crow and segregation laws; and

"WHEREAS, Men, women and children are put to death, oftimes by torture and fire, for slight offenses and for no offense at all, while white men can openly commit crimes against colored women with impunity, which if committed by colored men against white women would mean death by torture. Various other grievances too numerous to mention here could be recorded; and

"WHEREAS, This nation is now at war and as a result great and unusal powers have been given the President which, if he will, can be exercised to abolish many of the wrongs to which American negroes are subjected; and

"WHEREAS, The nation has entered the war for the purpose of protecting the rights of small peoples; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That we American citizens and others respectfully appeal to President Woodrow Wilson to use, now and immediately and to their fullest extent, all the power and influence at his command, to the end that all the political, civil and economic disabilities, so offensive and destructive to the rights of negroes as human beings and American citizens, be removed; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, That we call upon the members of the United States Congress and all executive and judicial officers of the land to use their power and influence to the same end."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The various trades in the needle industry of this country are substantially identical in their important productive features; and

WHEREAS, All these trades are subject to seasonal periods of work and idleness which frequently force the workers of one trade to look for occupation, during the idle seasons, in the shops of other needle trades; and

WHEREAS, These temporary influxes are and have been a source of dissatisfaction and irritation to the workers in these trades, in the absence of any reciprocal understanding and regulations between the various national and local labor organizations in the needle industries; and

WHEREAS, The general interests of the hundreds of thousands of needle workers in the country would be better protected and their organizations strengthened and enlarged if there were an organized and defined system of mutual help and co-operation among them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take steps to organize and establish a Needle Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor along the lines and principles of the other trade departments at present in existence and operation in the Federation.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate J. G. Brown of the International Shingle Weavers:

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the State of Washington has rendered a decision which amounts to a direction to all lower courts to enjoin all strikers who engage in picketing, peaceful or otherwise, singly or in groups, which subjects all union members to liability for damages to the full extent of their individual or collective financial responsibility, and establishing at the same time the almost unheard-of principle that legal service on the officers of an organization constitutes service on all the members thereof, also reaffirming the obsolete doctrine that there exists a property right in both labor power and business; and

WHEREAS, The voters of the State of Washington repudiated by a large majority at the last general election an anti-picketing bill which had passed the previous session of the Legislature, but held inoperative by the referendum vote; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. condemns the reactionary attitude of the Washington State Supreme Court and directs the Executive Council to investigate this decision and give its best counsel and advice to the affected workers who are oppressed by this judge-made law.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate J. G. Brown of the International Shingle Weavers:

WHEREAS, The International Shingle Weavers' Union of America and the International Union of Timber Workers have been striving, with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, to establish in the lumber industry on the Pacific Coast States the eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS, By the establishment of the basic eight-hour day much-needed lumber supplies for the government could be made ever available and industrial discord eliminated in this industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the efforts of the above-named organization be commended and endorsed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. pledge its fullest possible support to the continued efforts to the end that the long hours of labor may be reduced to a normal and humane basis.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Philip Bock and William Benson of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, A protest and appeal has been filed with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor against the unfair and unjust report and recommendations of the Investigating Committee appointed as provided by action of the San Francisco convention, to make a thorough investigation as to the claims of both parties to the jurisdictional controversy; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor did not consider the protest and appeal, but referred the entire subject to this convention for such action as it may direct; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this convention to consider the appeal and protest of the Lithographers against the unfair and unjust recommendations of the Investigating Committee; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to arrange for a conference of the representatives from the organizations at interest at their earliest convenience to again review the case.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Gertrude M. McNally of Federal Labor Union No. 12776:

WHEREAS, The wages paid to women employes of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing are not sufficient to meet the increased cost of living, nor commensurate with the work performed; and

WHEREAS, Many women employes are leaving the Bureau to accept higher paid positions, and the low rate of pay makes the position unattractive to possible applicants, which condition has hampered the work of the Bureau; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exert every effort in their power to secure such appropriation from the incoming Congress as will be sufficient to increase the yearly pay of the women employes of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing the sum of $200.00.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is assumed, and the assumption confirmed by statistical calculation, that the purchasing power of the organized workers of this country is of tremendous proportions, reaching into billions of dollars in the course of a calendar year; and

WHEREAS, The practical application of our purchasing powers as trade unionists has been sadly neglected through the indifference of the members of organized labor. Information gathered from dealers is to the effect that too few union men insistently demand products bearing the union label, except it be when such articles have some coupon scheme attached to them; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union is one of the organizations that is suffering from this condition of indifference and neglect, with the result that members of our union have been walking the streets, while those employed in the Trust and non-union factories are working overtime; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as the Tobacco Workers' Blue Label has for many years been extensively advertised among all the unions now in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor it is therefore entitled to a fuller co-operation from our fellow trade unionists in the demand for union labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November 12, 1917, declare that we will use every effort through our International Unions to co-operate and assist the Tobacco Workers' International Union in creating a greater demand for union label tobaccos, snuff and cigarettes.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Patrick E. Lyons of the National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States;

WHEREAS, The National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States are striving to improve the conditions in the wall paper industry and build up their organization; and

WHEREAS, Through a general strike of the wall paper trades in 1912, caused by a refusal of the wall paper manufacturers to grant a reduction in the hours of labor, the following firms, the Vornhold Wall Paper Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; the Wallace Wall Paper Co. of Cortland, N. Y.; the Premier Wall Paper Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; the Star Peerless Wall Paper Co. of Joliet, Ill.; the Joliet Wall Paper Co. of Joliet, Ill.; the Prager Co. of Brooklyn, controlling owners of the Jacob Thomas Co. of Newark, Del., and the E. C. Baeck Corporation of Brooklyn, N. Y., who were and are foremost in antagonizing our efforts and who persistently refuse to employ union labor, have been declared as unfair to organized labor by the Machine Printers and Color Mixers' Association in convention assembled, and are at present operating under conditions which are a decided menace to the welfare of our association; and

WHEREAS, Every opportunity offered to those firms to sign our agreements has been refused absolutely by them; and

WHEREAS, The members of all organized bodies are interested directly or indirectly in the use of wall paper in the decoration of their homes whether as owner or tenant; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the action taken and pledges its moral support to the National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States in its efforts to organize these mills.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The United States is at war in the defense of democratic institutions, and is mobilizing its land and naval forces in training camps in this country and abroad; and

WHEREAS, Every American is pledged to do his bit in helping to bring about the quickest, successful result; and

WHEREAS, Included in these mobilized forces are thousands of members of organized labor, who will be compelled to forego the pleasure of smoking and chewing their favorite brands of tobacco and cigarettes, unless they are supplied from private sources; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Trust has put on a great newspaper campaign, appealing to the patriotic feelings of the soldiers' relatives and friends to send them a kit containing an assortment of tobacco and cigarettes, not through any patriotic desires, but for the purpose of increased revenue for this powerful corporation, one of the most antagonistic monopolies by which organized labor is opposed; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union desiring to furnish trade unionists, who are now serving their country in the army and navy and in cantonment camps, with tobacco and cigarettes bearing the Union Label, have established a fund for that purpose, inviting the trade unionists, who desire, to contribure tc this Patriotic Union Label Tobacco Fund: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Buffalo, November 12th, 1917, endorse the patriotic movement established by the Tobacco Workers' International Union, and that the International Unions, Central Bodies, Building Trades, State Federations and Federal Unions, will co-operate, through voluntary subscription, to this fund and prove to the American people the loyalty of organized labor for their fellow members, who are now at the front in defense of their country, and the fundamental principles for which they are organized.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, During the past fifteen years the Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company and the Burley Society Tobacco Company (successors to the Strater Brothers Tobacco Company) have been employing union men and women, and their products bearing the union label, have through concerted action, on August 28th, 1917, declared for a non-union shop, with the understanding that a 40 per cent. reduction in wages would take effect immediately, notwithstanding the high cost of living; and

WHEREAS, After repeated conferences with committees of the local union, these firms issued the ultimatum that the reduction would take place August 28th, 1917, and their severance with the Tobacco Workers' International Union, thereby locking out all their employes and members of the Tobacco Workers' International Union and supplanting them with cheap labor from Nashville, Tenn.; and

WHEREAS, The twist tobacco on which they demanded a reduction of 40 per cent., formerly sold for five cents, has now been increased to ten cents to the consumer, showing conclusively that the consuming public will have to pay more profits by the reduction of wages. In conference, they refused even arbitration, declaring for the non-union shop; and

WHEREAS, The Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company's principal brands of twist are: Allen County, Shepherd, Safety First and Railroad; and

WHEREAS, The Burley Society plug brands are: Kismet, Index, On the Square and Day's Work, Twist, Natural Leaf. The principal brand of smoking, put up in cans, is known as "City Club;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November 12th, 1917, declare the products of the Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company and the Burley Tobacco Company, of Louisville, Ky., are non-union, and that we will use our best effort with our International Unions, State Federations of Labor and Central Bodies, to discourage the sale and consumption of the products of these aforesaid firms, proving that organized labor is unitedly opposed to wage reductions or the imposition of non-union conditions, more especially at this time when the spirit of co-operation and patriotism for the country's good should prevail.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, For a period of many months there has been a controversy before the Central Labor Council of the City of Seattle, Washington, over the seating of Cranemen and Operators' Union No. ——; and

WHEREAS, This controversy is causing dissension among the members of the Labor Council of the City of Seattle and if allowed to continue will destroy the harmony and good feeling necessary among members of organized labor in the accomplishment of its aims; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council

of Seattle has submitted to the Metal Trades Section of the A. F. of L. the merits of said controversy for decision, and no decision has been made; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of organized labor demands an immediate settlement of said controversy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. L., in convention now assembled, take up the merits of the controversy existing over the refusal of the Central Labor Council of Seattle to seat Cranemen-Operators' Union No. —— and render a decision settling said controversy.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes, and Edw. J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers:

WHEREAS, The eight-hour law regulating the hours of work for postoffice clerks and city letter carriers provides that only in emergencies shall overtime be imposed, and for such overtime the regular rate of pay shall be paid; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of any penalty for work in excess of eight hours, the practice has developed in the postal service of imposing excessively long hours of work daily upon the experienced men instead of keeping the working force recruited to a proper standard; and

WHEREAS, This excessive overtime is breaking down the health and morale of the men in the service, it is the direct cause of the resignation of thousands of employes, and is impairing the efficiency of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges its support to the affiliated postal employes in their efforts to insure a more strict observation of the letter and spirit of the postal eight-hour law by securing legislation establishing a rate of double time for all work in excess of eight hours.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postal employes throughout the postal service are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The affiliated postal employes are endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the service by securing a reduction in the daily working schedules of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 3 p. m. and prior to 6 a. m.—a legislative reform beneficial to the men and the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention heartily endorses the efforts of the affiliated postal workers to minimize night work in the service and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in securing from the Sixty-fifth Congress the needed legislation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, Railway postal clerks employed in terminal railway postoffices are one of the few groups of government employes that do not receive compensatory time for holiday service or the protection of an eight-hour day law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its Executive Council to co-operate with representatives of the affiliated railway mail clerks in their efforts to secure remedial legislation placing these terminal clerks on a parity with other postal employes with respect to an eight-hour day and holiday compensatory time.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates C. A. Vargas, James Lord, J. Walker, Chas. H. Moyer, Central Labor Council, Clifton, Ariz.:

WHEREAS, The Mexican miners in the Clifton-Morenci-Metcalf district, numbering over five thousand men, who have just been granted charters as locals numbers 86, 80 and 84 by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, desire to do everything in their power not only to organize the entire fourteen thousand Mexican miners in the State of Arizona but, in addition, to assist in the organizing of the thousands of Mexican miners throughout the states of New Mexico, Colorado, California, Nevada, Utah and Oklahoma; and

WHEREAS, There are in the United States today between one and two million Mexicans, the large majority of whom are wage workers not yet organized in their respective trades; and

WHEREAS, During the period of the war and the period of reconstruction which must follow it is especially necessary to maintain practical fraternal relations with the organized labor movement of Mexico so that wage workers crossing the border from either side shall immediately become members of the organized labor movement of the country in which they work, thereby protecting and uplifting the standards of living necessary to the welfare of both the United States of America and the United States of Mexico; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that for the period of the war full powers be given the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, of which Samuel Gompers is chairman and John Murray secretary, to co-operate with the internationals affiliated with the A. F. of L. for the purpose of organizing the Mexican workers in the United States in such a manner as will amply protect the organized labor movement of both countries.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes, Florence Etheridge of the National Federation of Federal Employes, and Edward J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employes upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in one of two conditions; men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service, or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of government employes is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; and

WHEREAS, All political parties in their platform have pledged their support for the enactment of retirement legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as favoring an equitable retirement law for superannuated government employes, and that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to use every means at their command to secure the enactment of such legislation by the Sixty-fifth Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, Systems of educating the young for specific trades in partial replacement of the general scheme of education known as "cultural," are being widely recommended, a Federal Bureau for vocational education has been established in the city of Washington, and preliminary surveys of particular localities are being undertaken with a view to putting these systems into operation; and

WHEREAS, Either for good or ill, it is the children of the working people who will be most affected by the establishment of such systems; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that no survey looking to the establishment of any system of vocational education should be undertaken without an adequate representation of members of the American Federation of Labor upon the board or committee charged with making such survey.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, In the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, a percentage increase of 10 per cent. per annum was granted to federal employes receiving less than twelve hundred dollars ($1200) per year, and 5 per cent. to those receiving from twelve hundred dollars ($1200) to eighteen hundred dollars ($1800) inclusive; and

WHEREAS, These increases were granted by means of addition to certain appropriation acts being omitted or largely modified in others; and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has very seriously advanced since these increases were granted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the rates of increase given federal employes should be materially raised in the appropriation acts for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1919; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these increases should be consistent throughout the Government service.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Edward F. McGrady, Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Judge Hayden of the Roxbury District Court, located in Boston, State of Massachusetts, has been unfair in his statement regarding the laboring class; and

WHEREAS, He made the following statement regarding the loyalty of the laborers of this country, to wit:

"That if I had my way, I would suspend every labor law during the war. The only people in this country who are disloyal are the laborers, and if I could, I would have every man who dares to strike put up against the barbed wire front line"; and

WHEREAS, It has been shown that the working men of this country have been loyal to the Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, here assembled in Buffalo, do hereby condemn Judge Hayden of Roxbury Court for these statements; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask Judge Hayden to either prove these statements or retract the charges of disloyalty against these men whom he has defamed.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated bodies.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, Federal employes have by certain departments been denied leave of absence requested for the purpose of engaging in work as officers of labor unions, and under the regulation of the Civil Service Commission leave of absence for over one year automatically prohibits reinstatement of the person taking such leave; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges upon Congress the enactment of a law which shall provide for the retention of Civil Service status by all officers of unions affiliated to the Ameri-

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can Federation of Labor. and their reinstatement in the service in the same position and at the same salary received when they left the Government service.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated bodies.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, Section 6 of the Urgent Deficiency Bill, enacted into law at the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, provides that no employe of any department or establishment shall be transferred from one department to another at an increased rate of compensation, and that no employe of any such department or establishment who has been employed therein within one year of his re-employment by another department or establishment, shall be granted an increase in compensation within the year following such re-employment; and

WHEREAS, The above provision of law is of the same purport as previous Acts of Congress and executive orders limiting the right of the Federal employe to better himself by changing his place of employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that, recognizing the right of any worker to sell his services in the manner most advantageous to him, we deplore any law or order, the effect of which is to prohibit this freedom, and urge upon Congress the speedy repeal of the enactment described above; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Federation of Labor be, and they hereby are, directed to take all possible steps in this behalf.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No 57—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

RESOLVED, That we hereby reaffirm our previous declaration in behalf of Woman Suffrage and the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Walter Green, T. B. Henry, James E. Cousins, John L. Price, William N. Chavis:

WHEREAS, The colored delegates representing the local unions affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor in the State of Virginia, having thoroughly examined the situation of organized labor and the elements that must go into the workings, so as to place its benefits within the reach of all its members without regard to race or color, and feeling that the interest of the cause would be greatly improved if colored organizers were given a place in the workings of the American Federation of Labor, of organizing additional local unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the colored delegates of directly affiliated local unions of the State of Virginia do hereby request this convention to grant and recommend that colored organizers be appointed or elected, according to the convention's rulings, and placed especially in Virginia at the following cities where organization is greatly needed: Roanoke, Richmond, Rocky Mount, Portsmouth, Norfolk and Suffolk, Va.; Raleigh, N. C., and Jacksonville, Fla., or any city where organizers may be needed. These cities named are working at a low rate of wages per diem and need the services and advantages of American Federation of Labor organizers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Florence Etheridge of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, In the present scarcity of labor and the consequent pressure to secure labor there is grave danger that children will be taken from school and put at work at an age when they are both physically and mentally undeveloped, and their whole lives stunted thereby; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to the employment in gainful occupation of children under the age of sixteen years.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Rose A. Yates of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Eight-hour Law, commonly known as the Adamson Bill, have been construed to include only those railroad employes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Switchmen's Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, Such construction is absolutely opposed to the first principles of justice and is a virtual discrimination against all other crafts in the railroad service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exert every effort to have legislation enacted that will bring all railroad employes under the provisions of that or a similar law.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, M. J. Cahill and P. F. Sheehan of A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A., by instructions of their convention:

WHEREAS, A National Labor Defense Council has been organized, with Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City as chief counsel. Associated with him are Amos Pinchot of New York, Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago, Edward P. Costigon of Denver, C. E. S. Wood of Portland, Ore., and Austin Lewis of Oakland, Cal., comprising the legal staff; an editorial staff composed of Freemont Older, Lincoln Steffens, John Reed, George P. West, Basil Manley, Carl Sandburg, Sara Bard Field, Helen Marot, Ida Rauh and Gertrude Barnam. The National Labor

Defense Council aims to establish a National Bureau of Publicity, to investigate with competent men all important strikes and lock-outs, for the purpose of furnishing first-hand information to the Labor Press, and all other periodicals interested in an impartial statement of the facts, hoping thereby to be helpful in crystalizing public opinion sympathetic with the just demands of labor from time to time. The attorneys are prepared to give such legal opinions to our movement as may be desired, in all matters affecting the rights and interests of labor in any legal controversy, without any charge to the organization; and

WHEREAS, This Council has received the endorsement of the State Federations of Labor at their 1917 conventions in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Colorado, Kansas, Arizona, Oklahoma, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois. In addition to this, many of the Central Bodies of the large cities throughout the country have demonstrated a strong desire for a National Defense Council, in order that the rights of labor may be more adequately protected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention at Buffalo, N. Y., endorse the National Labor Defense Council, and urge all its affiliant organizations to voluntarily subscribe an amount equal to five cents per member per year to help finance the same; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be directed to notify all affiliated organizations of this action and furnish them with a copy of this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all funds for the National Labor Defense Council be sent to William P. Harvey, Secretary-Treasurer, 307 Massachusetts Building, Kansas City, Missouri.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Fred W. Voigt, Central Labor Council, Oakland, Cal.:

WHEREAS, It is abundantly evident that the purchasing power of labor has not advanced as fast as the rising cost of living, owing chiefly to labor's lack of adequate organization, which prevents it from marshaling its forces to its greatest advantage at any given time; and

WHEREAS, It has been found that a single union stands little chance in fighting the combined forces of the employers in any given locality, as all trades are closely interlocked; so much so that when one union or a number of unions in any given industry go out on strike the unions remaining at work help to break the strike of their fellow workers; and

WHEREAS, This condition is largely due to the fact that the unions remaining at work can not obtain the consent of their international officers to join their strike, or they gain such consent too late; and

WHEREAS, To win, labor must put up a united front locally, as well as nationally and internationally, even as all employers' associations do; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that in order to secure a more harmonious relation between the words of the preamble of our Constitution and the deeds of our affiliated organizations, the following constitutional amendment be adopted:

To change Section 2 of Article II to read as follows: "The establishment of national and international trade unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, locally as well as nationally or internationally, and the establishment of such autonomy where it does not already exist."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Dennis Lane, John F. Hart and John Kennedy of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Baltimore, Md., one year ago, the Executive Council was requested to render such assistance in organizing the butcher workmen as its finances would permit; and

WHEREAS, In compliance with that request the work has been earnestly carried on since, with the result that our membership has been greatly increased, and at the present time we are meeting with success in organizing the large packing centers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In order that this work be continued to a successful termination that we may make secure our gain, resulting from the assistance already given by the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council be requested to continue its assistance to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen as far as its finances will permit.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Dennis Lane, John F. Hart and John Kennedy of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, As former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS, The Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, with but few exceptions, are working from ten to fourteen hours per day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in their efforts to secure the eight-hour working day in all branches of their trade and in all localities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled, pledge its moral support to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in their efforts to secure an eight-hour work day.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Dennis Lane, John F. Hart and John Kennedy of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, The handling of fish and

sale of same is fast being introduced into meat markets in connection with the handling and sale of meats, and the men who are employed are paid low wages and work long hours, which interfere materially with the wages and hours of the Meat Cutters, and in certain localities where efforts have been made to get the men employed in handling fish organized, the employer has raised the question of our jurisdiction and makes claims that the men do not come under our contracts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, grant jurisdiction to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen over such persons employed in the handling and sale of fish in markets.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, In the spirit of fairness, a strict adherence to the fundamental principles of keeping the mills, mines and factories of our country in the fullest output, and in the language of our beloved President who so forcibly proclaimed in his address to the convention as follows: "To stand together means that nobody must interrupt the progress of our energy;" and

WHEREAS, Thomas A. Edison did on the 21st day of February, 1917, discharge from his plants in Orange, N. J., one hundred and eight union men, members of the Metal Polishers' International Union, for no other reason than the fact that they refused to work on Washington's Birthday; and

WHEREAS, Our International and Local Union has done everything within their power to bring about an honorable adjustment of the differences existing between our organization, the members thereof and the Thomas A. Edison Phonograph Company, even to the extent of soliciting and securing the co-operation of the Department of Labor in a conciliatory spirit, and in compliance with the spirit of the time, to which Mr. Edison, the supposed great American patriot has turned a deaf ear; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declare that the action on the part of the Edison Company is not in keeping with the principles enunciated by the Chief Executive of our great nation, and that this convention in conformity with the recommendations and the advice given us by our President, namely, to "get together" and settle all such troubles, be the desire of this Federation with the Edison Company and the Metal Polishers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure on the part of the Edison Company to comply with the request of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in carrying out the policies of the President of the United States, that we declare the actions of the said Edison Company as being both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor and the spirit of co-operation.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Mary Anderson, National Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and Elizabeth Christman, Delegate National Women's Trade Union League:

WHEREAS, The efforts of individual nations to raise the standard of life for their own workers are perpetually hindered through the international trade competition of countries with lower standards, it has now become necessary to meet this situation through international agreement; and

WHEREAS, During the war the working people have in every nation contributed their all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention, urge that there be included in the treaty of peace to be signed at the conclusion of the war, labor clauses, to take effect within a definite time, prescribing standards covering conditions of work, the hours of work, and the wages paid, so that the workers may be insured such elementary rights as the eight-hour day, one day rest in seven, no child labor, the abolishment of night work for women, a living wage in proportion to the cost of living in each country, and equal pay for equal work; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Government of the United States be requested to adopt for its agents and employes of every grade, men and women, the principles of equal pay for equal work; the higher positions to be filled according to capacity and merit, without distinction of sex; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to make systematic investigation of the state of men's and women's wages in this country, a national bureau of wages be established using as far as possible a machinery already existing appropriate for that purpose; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we endorse the movement for the establishment of an International Bureau of Wages, with a view to centralizing information of every kind concerning wages for federating national bureaus; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be urged to appoint representatives of organized labor to attend any conference that may be held between nations to discuss terms of peace; and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the United States Government and the Secretary of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate John Wilds, International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Bill Posters' Union has jurisdiction over bill posting and sign work, and has successfully organized and promoted the best interests of the men in this occupation in all cities where it is possible to maintain such organizations; and

WHEREAS, In the city of Chicago there is a local union directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor known as the Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union, which union has been transgressing

upon the rights of the International Bill Posters' Union; and

WHEREAS, Several attempts have been made by representatives of the International Bill Posters' Union to reach an understanding with the Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union, whereby the interests of both organizations would be best protected, but without any tangible results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to arrange a conference between these organizations for the purpose of adjusting this difficulty on some satisfactory basis, whereby the best interests of both organizations will be conserved and advanced.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate R. L. Brazzle, Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators No. 14605, Seattle, Wash.:

WHEREAS, The people and Government of the United States are at war with the Imperial German Government; and

WHEREAS, The organized workers of these United States desire to render every possible assistance to our government; and

WHEREAS, The workers must be thoroughly organized to give the most efficient service to our country; and

WHEREAS, Private employment offices and concerns are now directing labor to employment without any consideration for our government's needs; and

WHEREAS, Private employment offices are a great burden on the workers, by their exorbitant and extortionate fees, and by sending many people to distant places where no employment exists, and by many other forms of abuse well known and not necessary to mention herein; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge upon the several states the importance of immediate abolition of all private employment bureaus; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor petition the various state governments to aid and unite with the Federal Government to the end that all labor may be employed through the National Free Employment Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the United States Government to enact such laws which shall carry out the intent and purpose of this resolution.

Referred to Committee on State Organization.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate R. L. Brazzle, Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators No. 14605, Seattle, Wash.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has established a comprehensive labor library in the Federation Building at Washington; and

WHEREAS, The legal bureau of information will be opened at the beginning of the year 1918; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the work of the legal bureau of information shall also include the circulation of the list of all books, documents, papers, etc., of the library at least once a year, and supply affiliated organizations on request informational matter which may be of value in educational activities.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate R. L. Brazzle, Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators No. 14605:

WHEREAS, Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have adopted resolutions urging the collection of such existing works of labor in art, portraying the spirit and struggle of the workers for self betterment; and

WHEREAS, Photo productions of subjects closely related to strikes or other activities of labor can present this historic struggle in the most impressionable manner; and

WHEREAS, The addition of such features will add to the attractiveness of labor publications; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all organizations of labor publishing magazines of approximately the same size of the official organ of the American Federation of Labor (the American Federationist) be requested to co-operate in the gathering and printing of the above mentioned subjects; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the President to appoint a committee to assist in the development of this or additional features of the trade union journals.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates R. W. King of Alabama State Federation of Labor and L. Bowen of Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The Southern States generally and the State of Alabama in particular, have not kept pace with the more progressive states in organization and the enactment of laws beneficial to the workers; and

WHEREAS, There is not, with the exception of a weak child labor law, a single statute on the books of the State for the protection and equal rights of labor. On the other hand, there are many laws in force that practically prohibit labor by repressive measures from bringing about any improvement of conditions, either through organization or legislation, among which are the Alabama anti-boycott law, convict lease system, the fellow servant liability act, and others too numerous to mention. The election laws enacted in the interests and at the behest of powerful corporations hedged the franchise of working class voters with so many technicalities that it is almost impossible, with the resources at our command, to muster sufficient voting strength to remedy these evils; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federa-

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tion of Labor, that the Executive Council be instructed by this convention to place an experienced organizer, preferably one with legislative experience, in the State of Alabama, not later than the opening of the convention of the State Federation of Labor on May 20, 1918, and to remain until the conclusion of the session of the State Legislature following.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary. H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers International Union:

WHEREAS, The France Premier Company of Cleveland, Ohio, manufacturers of the France Premier Vacuum Cleaners, locked out all the Union Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers in their employ because they were members of said Union, and have for several months past waged a fight against the members of said Union, and have persistently refused to meet either local or international representatives of said organization for the purpose of discussing terms of settlement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the actions of the France Premier Company be considered both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Abraham Greenstein, International Jewelry Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union was recognized September, 1916, and duly chartered by the American Federation of Labor and given jurisdiction over all those engaged in the making of jewelry of all descriptions, including badges and emblems; and

WHEREAS, The re-organized International Jewelry Workers' Union has adopted a new label to take the place of the old double acorn, which has not been the label of the Jewelry Workers' Union for several years, since the liquidation of the old International Jewelry Workers' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that no other label on products made by jewelry workers, including badges and emblems, be recognized by the American Federation of Labor, except the present label of the re-organized International Jewelry Workers' Union; be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention declare the double acorn appearing on jewelry of all descriptions, including badges and emblems, a misrepresentation and not recognized by the American Federation of Labor or any branch thereof.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 75—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The question of jurisdiction between the L. T. P. A. and the Steam and Operating Engineers has been in dispute for the past two or three years, and the members of the Tug Firemen and Linemen's Protective Association are thereby losing membership in their association; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render a decision at the earliest possible date as to which organization has jurisdiction over these workers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 76—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to have the compensation law of the State of New York restored to its original form, whereby all men may be protected.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union;

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union has printed in their international Constitution a list of crafts over which they claim jurisdiction, and enumerated among these different crafts were metal polishers, buffers, platers and silverworkers, and has secured or endeavored to secure the membership of several men of these crafts; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction over these crafts has been granted by the American Federation of Labor to the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silverworkers' Union of North America, since the inception of said Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silverworkers' Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, An attempt by the officers of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silverworkers' Union of North America to bring about a conference with the officials of the Jewelry Workers' Union for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of this dispute has failed, through no fault on the part of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silverworkers' Union of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Jewelry Workers' Union be ordered to discontinue to permit men working at those crafts to remain in their organization, and to strike all claim for jurisdiction over the same from the pages of their Constitution.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 78—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Some years ago the government maintained a marine hospital in the city of Pittsburg, Pa., but some few years later this was discontinued; and

WHEREAS, When the marine hospital was done away with it was the understanding that the government would maintain a marine ward in some hospital, which has not been done; and

WHEREAS, The men who are engaged

in marine work, when sick or disabled are now being sent to whatever hospital they are assigned for these sick workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this matter be brought to the attention of the Department of Commerce and an effort made to have the government again establish or reopen a marine hospital in Pittsburg.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 79—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Local 926 of the International Longshoremen's Association is now in controversy with Local 369, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, which is injurious to the membership of both organizations; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of the Teamsters' organization, claiming right to priority, are taking within their organization workers on the lumber wharves of Boston who rightly belong to our organization through jurisdictional right rendered our organization by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This infringement on our jurisdictional rights is only used as a method to compel Local 926 to expel paid-up members who occasionally drive a team or auto truck; and

WHEREAS, It has been acknowledged by representatives of the Teamsters' organization that it has been impossible in the past and will be more so in the future to compel these few men to join any organization other than the I. L. A.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to use their best endeavors to protect the jurisdictional rights of our organization in this controversy.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate James Duncan, President Granite Cutters' International Association of America:

WHEREAS, The protection of our national institutions and the defense of democracy are as essential to real and earnest citizenship as is enjoyment of the social, economic, political and industrial benefits and blessings of our great countries; and

WHEREAS, True democracy requires that all should bear equal responsibilities in the defense of our respective countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November, 1917, recommends to all affiliated organizations, which may not now have the following provision in their Constitutions, that they change their fundamental laws to provide: "That men coming from abroad to the United States and to Canada, or are born here of foreign parents, and before they make application for membership, or are admitted to membership in the respective organizations, they shall either be citizens of the United States, or of Canada, or shall have officially and in accordance with law declared their intentions of becoming citizens."

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 81—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of tons of fish destroyed in the different lakes during the fishing season through the small mesh used in pond nets; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of labor use its best endeavors for the enactment of a law requiring the fish producers of the Great Lakes to use a larger mesh in the pond nets.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate C. E. James of St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly:

WHEREAS, In St. Paul, Minn., and a number of other cities in this country there are organizations of police officers who are organized for the purpose of bettering their economic condition; and

WHEREAS, These organizations are seeking affiliation with the American Federation of Labor through charters as Federal Labor Unions, to the end that they may receive the co-operation of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, It appears that upon making application for such charters they have been informed that such charters cannot be granted under the existing rules of the Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the matter be referred to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that it carefully considers the advisability of taking such steps as would insure the admission of said organizations into affiliation with this Federation.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Committee.

Resolution No. 83—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, In the port of Baltimore, Md., the labor movement is suffering by the action of some of the labor representatives by reason of their grafting, and their positions as representatives of labor are being used by them to their selfish and personal benefits; and

WHEREAS, Members of the International Longshoremen's Association are suffering by reason of said grafting going on; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming President of this Federation demand that an investigation be made of this matter at the earliest possible moment.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates P. H. Jennings of Massachusetts State Branch, George H. Wrenn of Springfield C. L. U., and Edward F. McGrady of Boston C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, President Wilson's proclamation of March 4, 1917, which stated that all supplies for government work should be

performed on a basic eight-hour day, with not less than time and one-half pay for overtime, has been interpreted by certain government officials in such a way that many of the manufacturers supplying the government with supplies are working their employes more than eight hours each day without additional compensation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed, with the Executive Boards of the various State Branches so affected, to call this matter to the attention of the proper government officials with the view of placing all government supply contracts on an eight-hour day basis in compliance with our understanding of the President's proclamation.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773; Harry H. Hollis, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11597, and Joseph J. Ellicott, Office Employes' Association No. 12755:

WHEREAS, There are eighteen locals of office workers in the following cities directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor: Indianapolis, Washington, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, San Francisco, St. Louis, Kansas City, Topeka, Baltimore, Denver, Oakland, Richmond, Omaha, Boston, Birmingham, Los Angeles and Fresno; and

WHEREAS, A large number of these locals, involving 80 per cent. of the membership, are petitioning for the issuance of a charter for a national organization of office workers; and

WHEREAS, Organization work is pending in Seattle, Buffalo and Little Rock; and

WHEREAS, The field of organization in this class of work is as large as that of any organization now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, No material progress can be made in organization without the aid of a national organization, and all organizations must start on a small scale, as is evidenced by the fact that there are now thirty national and international unions with a membership each of less than 1,800; and

WHEREAS, Approximately 75 per cent. of the members of the above locals are not employed in labor union offices and it is totally inconsistent and at variance with trade union principles and policies for the officers of any labor union employing office help to put any obstacle whatever in the way of the advancement of fellow unionists and thus prevent the formation of a national and its subsequent undoubted growth; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Buffalo issue a charter to the local unions mentioned with the jurisdiction now assigned to the several local unions.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 86—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that that part of the navigation laws of the United States Government that gives exclusive right to American built and American owned vessels to engage in American coastwise trade should be repealed, and in explanation of this action on our part we offer the following reasons:

First: The high rates charged for freight carried and the limited service given by the present monopoly restricts the amount of traffic that would naturally follow this route if it were not for the artificial obstructions of the present monopoly to the development of this trade.

Second: The scale of wages paid by these American owned coastwise lines ranges from 5 to 50 per cent. below the scale of wages paid by foreign vessels for longshore work, and other conditions that pertain to this class of work, such as the discharge of employes who attempt to organize the men with a view to improving their conditions. This constitutes a discrimination against American labor and the rights of the American citizens, and should be abated.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 87—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The employers on Puget Sound have flagrantly disregarded the terms upon which our recent strike was concluded on the Pacific coast, this being particularly noticeable in the manner of the hiring of men—the employers having resorted to a card system under which our members are discriminated against and strangers given preference regardless of who they are or where they come from; and

WHEREAS, A larger proportion of the cargo shipped from Puget Sound ports is consigned to the allies of the United States, we believe that the above mentioned system of hiring men is in view of the activities of allen enemies exposing the shipping of not only the United States, but also that of our allies to the gravest possible danger; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to make representation to the National Defense Committee and also to Congress in order that this state of affairs, which is not only detrimental to the interests of our organization but to the best interests of the nation, be stopped. It is obviously desired that too strong a recommendation cannot be made in connection with this matter.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Edward F. McGrady:

WHEREAS, The loss of life and property through fire is reaching an enormous figure, which loss of life and property could easily and wisely be prevented by use of proper precaution and safeguards; and

WHEREAS, Much of the loss of life and property could be avoided through the creation of a national commission on fire prevention, with authority to make frequent inspections and rules, the strengthening of laws already in force and by the passage of such new laws as may be necessary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, endorse fire prevention and the passage of state and national legislation that will relieve the present great loss of life and property caused each year by fire.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate P. Harry Jennings of the Massachusetts State Branch.

WHEREAS, There is organizing work being done under the direction of the A. F. of L. among office workers of New York City at the present time; and

WHEREAS, There is great need and a possibility of an effective organization among the office employes in Boston; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the State Branch of the A. F. of L. in convention assembled request the American Federation of Labor to send to Boston as soon as possible Miss Jane Olcott as an organizer for the office workers of that city.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates P. Harry Jennings, Massachusetts State Branch; Edward F. McGrady, Boston C. L. U.; Geo. H. Wrenn, Springfield C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, It has been proven that a long work day is especially detrimental to the health of women and children operatives and if allowed to continue tends to incapacitate the operatives, and is further detrimental to the health and welfare of the future manhood and womanhood of our great country, the conservation of which is now a most important problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to introduce and support a bill in the next session and subsequent sessions of Congress calling for a 48-hour week for all women and minors who are employed on products which enter into interstate trade.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Charles Baird, Central Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis:

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company are operators of railway sleeping cars which are largely patronized by the representatives of organized labor when they are traveling about the country; and

WHEREAS, The said Pullman Company has let a contract to the Arnold Company, general contractors, for the erection of a plant on Bircher street and the Belt Line Railroad tracks, in the city of St. Louis, Mo., which plant is being erected with non-union labor; and

WHEREAS, Repeated attempts have been made by committees from this Building Trades Council to have the representatives of the Arnold Company meet with them to discuss the possibility of having union men employed in the erection of said plant without avail; and

WHEREAS, Communications sent from this council to the Pullman Company for the purpose of having them direct the general contractors, the Arnold Company, to employ union men to erect the plant, have been unanswered; and

WHEREAS, Communications sent to the Arnold Company at the plant have been answered, and conveyed to this Building Trades Council the advice that the Arnold Company was capable of managing its own affairs in a satisfactory manner; and

WHEREAS, The Arnold Company, general contractors, continue to employ non-union labor on the erection of the plant, notwithstanding the many protests from this council against same; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Arnold Company, general contractors, be placed on the "We Don't Patronize List" of this council, there to remain until such time as they see fit to agree to employ union men, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to complete whatever work they have under contract, or sub-contract, in any part of the United States or Canada; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Pullman Company, operators of railway sleeping cars, be placed on the "We Don't Patronize List" of this council, there to remain until such time as they agree to insert a clause in their contracts of the effect that all work under said contracts must be done by regularly recognized union labor, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and also to direct that the plant at Birchell street and the Belt Line Railroad tracks in the City of St. Louis, Mo., be completed with recognized union labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Building Trades Council respectfully request the Central Trades and Labor Union of the City of St. Louis, Mo., to take similar action at its meeting on Sunday, October 28, 1917; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Building Trades Council respectfully request the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor to take similar action at their conventions to be held in the City of Buffalo, N. Y., in November, 1917, and then and there request all representatives of organized labor to refrain from patronizing the Pullman Company until such time as that company agrees to specify and insist that union labor shall complete whatever building or alteration work that is in operation at the present time, and for which they may contract to have done in the future.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate W. L. Forrest, Madison Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The building of labor temples throughout the American Continent

has proved very unsuccesful for various reasons, but mostly due to the lack of co-operation and the method of raising funds; and

WHEREAS, The constant appeals that have been sent out by the different labor temples committees has not only been a waste of time and energy but a great waste of money for printing, paper, stamps and labor that could or should have been saved to the labor movement if it had been handled through a United Labor Temple Department of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement should profit by its past mistakes in preventing the waste of time, energy and money in the future by adopting some method that will build a home for labor in every town and city on the American Continent and save to the labor movement the homes that have already been built but which are in danger of falling into the hands of the real estate and money sharks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a committee of five (5) be appointed from the body of this convention to gather data with the co-operation of the Secretary of the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That said committee hold at least three (3) meetings before the next regular convention and that they shall receive their regular rate of pay and expenses from the Treasurer of the A. F. of L. upon the bills being O. K.'d by the President; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the committee shall bring to the next convention such recommendations that will have for their purpose the creation of a Labor Temple Department of the A. F. of L. and the raising of funds by per capita tax or otherwise to build a chain of labor temples throughout the American Continent.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate P. Harry Jennings, Massachusetts State Branch A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The people of the United States are now engaged in a deadly struggle with the governing classes of Germany, in which democracy is fighting for its existence against autocracy, and as this same governing class has declared itself not only in favor of military control but also in favor of the plan of the German junkers for a future (industrial and economic) invasion of the United States, which will seriously affect the industrial conditions of the working class of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the national convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to bring this matter to the attention of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention, that proper steps may be taken to protect and to safeguard the conditions of American industrial life, in such manner as the delegates to the national convention may think best.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate E. G. Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Washburn-Crosby, Consolidated and Pillsbury Flour Milling Companies, three of the largest concerns in the milling industry, on Thursday, November 1st, refused the request of the Government of the United States to reinstate members of the Flour and Cereal Mill Workers' Union No. 15469, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who had been discharged by these companies for affiliating with the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the Government of the United States to take over and operate the flour milling industry of the United States at the earliest possible moment in order that the milling autocracy, which for years has exploited both the workers of the city and the country, may be terminated, and the business of manufacturing flour conducted for the benefit of all the people.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate E. G. Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The State Federation of Labor of North Dakota has not been able to finance a campaign of organization in the inland cities and towns of the state; and

WHEREAS, It has been striving not only to maintain, but to establish new unions along its borders; and

WHEREAS, The organized farmers of that state, through their activity and agitation as to the benefits of organization, have provided a fertile field for forming of Trade and Federal Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged as soon as possible to send representatives to the principal cities of the state to organize their craft, and that the American Federation of Labor do likewise at as early a date as possible.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates G. H. White, T. F. McMahon, John Golden and John H. Powers of United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, It is the aim and purpose of the United Textile Workers to organize all textile workers in one united organization, believing their best interests more effectively safeguarded in this manner; and

WHEREAS, There exists at the present time three textile organizations holding charters from the American Federation of Labor, namely: The United Textile Workers of America, the National Cotton Mule Spinners' Union and the Amalgamated Lace Weavers' Association; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America extends its jurisdiction to all textile workers engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, while the other two organizations named cover only those engaged in their own particular craft; and

WHEREAS, The holding of these three

separate charters is proving a menace to the further progress of organizing the textile workers of the country in one united organization where their interests can be best safeguarded, and is encouraging secession among local unions in many parts of the country; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor have for several years used their best efforts to bring about the desired amalgamation, all of which efforts have failed through the refusal of the National Cotton Mule Spinners and the Amalgamated Lace Weavers' Associations to amalgamate under any conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed by this convention to bring about the amalgamation of the three organizations involved, within sixty days from the adjournment of this convention, the terms of amalgamation to be left in the hands of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. Upon the refusal of any one of the three organizations to comply with the terms as specified by the officers of the American Federation of Labor for amalgamation, it shall forfeit its charter to the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate I. Buchbinder of Neckwear Makers' Union No. 11016, New York City:

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States guarantees to the citizens of the United States the right of free speech, free press and free assembly; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department of the United States has curtailed the right of free press to the people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Said curtailments especially applied to the press published on behalf and in the interest of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of said American Federation of Labor, be and they are hereby instructed to call upon the President of the United States, upon the Postmaster General of the United States, and protest in the name of all the members of the American Federation of Labor against the violation of the Constitution by the said Postmaster General of the United States and demand from said Postmaster General of the United States, as well as the President of the United States, that the right to free press in no wise be abridged or interfered with.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate W. T. Wilkie of Federal Labor Union No. 15345, Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of unorganized workers in Nova Scotia willing and anxious to be organized in their respective crafts and callings; and

WHEREAS, There has been organized during the last ten months about two thousand one hundred iron and steel workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to place an organizer in Nova Scotia to organize the unorganized workers, for a period of one year.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.:

RESOLVED, Amend Article XI, Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, by the addition of new Section 11, as follows: "No delegate will be entitled to representation in Central Labor Union or State Federation of Labor unless he be a bona fide member of the union he represents."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773, and Joseph J. Ellicott, Office Employes' Association No. 12755:

WHEREAS, At the present there is an unprecedented demand for clerical workers, which makes all the more necessary that an attempt be made to uphold the standards of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention direct the Executive Council to appoint two organizers, one man and one woman, both of whom shall be office workers and familiar with organizing work, to devote their entire time to organizing office workers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate W. J. Kelly of the Iron City Central Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been forced into a severe contest with the organized bread trust of our country, known as the General Baking Company, with numerous plants in different parts of our country; and

WHEREAS, The above named concern has declared for the open shop, which means closed to trade unionists of our country, especially the members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America vigorously, manfully and in a straightforward American trade-union way stands opposed to the open-shop policy of this gigantic pool system; and

WHEREAS, The situation presents itself, we picture it with serious alarm and apprehension, for we recognize in it an insidious attack upon the principles of organized labor and the placing of our organization at stake; and

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, through its international officers, committees from State and Central Bodies, did try to settle this unpleasant controversy, but were unsuccessful in bringing about a mutual understanding; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, in session at Buffalo, N. Y., of the American

Federation of Labor, instruct its President to arrange for a conference not later than sixty days after the convention between the aforesaid concern, the President of the American Federation of Labor or such representative as he may designate, and the officers of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union; and it is further

RESOLVED, In the event that they are unsuccessful in bringing about a settlement, that then the products of the General Baking Company, known as Butternut, Butter-Krust, Pan-Dandy, Mothers and Bond brands of bread be placed on the unfair list of organized labor through the length and breadth of our country.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate W. M. Pollock of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, No. 11773:

WHEREAS, There has been erected at Washington a magnificent building devoted to the interests of labor, on which building there is yet a considerable indebtedness; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions, national, international, local and federal, be requested to appropriate at the rate of 5 cents per member to liquidate the debt in question.

Referred to Committee on A. F. of L. Building.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates A. Weinstock of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200, Boston, and I. Buchbinder of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 11016, New York City:

WHEREAS, The union label is an important factor in the maintenance of the union shop, good wages and healthful working conditions; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor should devote more time and energy to promote a demand for all union label goods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be requested by the delegates of this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention, to request the Label Trades Department to put sufficient representatives on the road to create a greater demand for union label products.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates A. Weinstock of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200, Boston, and I. Buchbinder of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 11016, New York City:

WHEREAS, There are a number of local unions in this country who are struggling to create a demand for the union label on the articles that they produce; and

WHEREAS, The struggle to get better working conditions through this channel has proven to be a financial burden on these new unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be instructed to furnish union labels free of charge to local organizations who have no international union.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Kennedy of Pennsylvania Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women workers of the country under normal conditions is important; and

WHEREAS, During this abnormal condition in the affairs of the American people, the women are commencing to branch out into industries taking the place of men workers; and

WHEREAS, The protection of your women, as well as the wage standards of the nation, is important; and

WHEREAS, The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor at its recent convention decided that this important question should be referred to the American Federation of Labor Convention for action; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council be instructed to devise ways and means and put them into effect, to more effectually organize the women workers of this country so as to protect their interests, and maintain the wage standards in the industries where men are now being displaced by women.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Numerous city fire departments have in recent years been effectively organized into Federal Unions, embracing all men who are commonly called fire-fighters; and

WHEREAS, Some International Unions have recently claimed jurisdiction over some of the men engaged in this work, which claims, if sustained, would surely be the means of destroying the effectiveness of the firemen's organizations already established and prevent the successful organization of other such unions; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Buffalo, N. Y., that City Firemen's Unions be given complete jurisdiction over all men actually engaged in fire fighting.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel C. Murphy, Jos. E. McClory, John Donlin, W. E. Bryan and Fred W. Suitor:

WHEREAS, On July 22, 1916, an explosion occurred during the progress of the Preparedness Parade in San Francisco, killing and wounding many innocent people; and

WHEREAS, The corporate interests in the Chamber of Commerce immediately

preceding this parade boasted of a million-dollar slush fund which had been subscribed for their campaign to establish the so-called "open shop" on the Pacific coast. Agents in the Chamber of Commerce advised and caused the arrest of Warren K. Billings, Thomas J. Mooney, Mrs. Rena Mooney, Israel Weinberg and Edward D. Nolan, all union workers in San Francisco, and charged these Brothers and Mrs. Mooney, who has been acquitted, with the responsibility for the explosion; and

WHEREAS, The amazing contradiction of evidence and the questionable character of the prosecution's witnesses, added to the uncovering of the Oxman perjury plot against the defendants, has impressed men and women in all walks of life with the unfairness of the prosecution in these trials. Charges of "frame-up" became so voluminous that the President of the United States deemed it advisable to appoint a Commission to investigate all the facts surrounding the San Francisco bomb cases; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor, at its recent convention, held in Sacramento, California, October 1st, with but one dissenting vote declared their belief in the innocence of the defendants, and pledged their moral and financial support; and

WHEREAS, It is too much to expect that any single locality could bear the financial burden of a case of this character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-seventh Annual Convention, assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., declare its belief that the defendants have not had a fair trial and protest against the apparent "frame-up" and perjury committed by the prosecution, and urge all local unions to assist this defense financially and morally, to the end that justice may be established.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate R. P. Brindell of Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, There exists in Greater New York a controversy between the organized labor movement and what purports to be known as the White Rats Actors' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, For over seven years, committees of the Central Body have met with members of the Executive Council in an endeavor to adjudicate this controversy and make possible the organizing of all actors and actresses into a compact trade union organization based upon the lines of the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, To the best of our knowledge and belief, the White Rats Actors' Union of America ceased to exist in June, 1917, surrendered their club house and adjourned sine die; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the Executive Council to take up the charter of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, and request all actors' and actresses' unions as are: Vaudeville, Lyceum and Cabaret entertainers, and the Hebrew Actors' Unions now organized, and the Circus and Fair entertainers, to file applications with the Executive Council for separate charters; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That six months after the adjournment of this convention, the President of the American Federation of Labor call a convention of all those actors' and actresses' unions that have applied for and received a charter, for the purpose of organizing an International Union of Actors and Actresses.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled, adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The National and International industrial and political conditions which have arisen in modern society and out of the present war, present complex problems requiring expert advice and guidance; and

"WHEREAS, Organized labor should have the benefit of the world's experts in the shaping and solution of these problems; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Chicago Federation of Labor favors the establishment by the American Federation of Labor, of a Bureau of Research, manned by economists and experts; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs its Executive Council to put the purpose and intent of this resolution into effect.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Edward J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, The salary standard of letter carriers and post office clerks fixed by Congress, more than ten years ago, still remains the same; and

WHEREAS, The cost of living during this period has advanced an average of approximately one hundred per cent.; and

WHEREAS, This increase in the cost of living has operated to all intents and purposes exactly the same as a fifty per cent. reduction in wages; and

WHEREAS, The postal employes were the only class excluded from the horizontal wage increase granted to government employes by the last Congress, notwithstanding the fact that the Post Office is the only governmental department operated upon a self-sustaining basis, its most recent audit showing an annual surplus in excess of $9,000,000; and

WHEREAS, Postal employes are highly specialized workers, functioning in a government monopoly, performing a service which gradually unfits them for employment elsewhere, with no hope of selling their skill to a competing private industrial establishment; and

WHEREAS, Despite this fact there have been resignations from the service in such

numbers as to seriously cripple its efficiency, delaying the dispatch and delivery of all classes of mail, imperiling the business efficiency of the country at a time when such business efficiency is most needed; and

WHEREAS, Because of its oppressive labor policy the Post Office Department has been unable to keep its working force recruited to a proper standard; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deeply deplores this self-evident injustice to a deserving class of public employes, and it urges upon Congress the immediate enactment of a law increasing the pay of these employes not less than twenty-five per cent. (25%); and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to co-operate with the officers of all affiliated postal organizations to have the justice of this case brought forcibly to the attention of Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be mailed to each Congressman and Senator by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate R. P. Brindell of Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Senate Printing Committee in its report of October 6, 1917, recommends governmental operation of the print paper and pulp industries during the war, and which is to be presented to the December session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, The report says of the Federal Trade Commission's findings: "They show beyond any question that the print paper industry, in its greed for excessive profits, has imposed a most unjust burden on the American press, which faces a serious disaster if relief cannot speedily be had from the oppressive prices now exacted for print paper;" and

WHEREAS, Most of the press of the country are soon to renew contracts for paper, and if adequate relief is not secured, many of the smaller sheets will be forced to discontinue publication, causing irreparable injury to the education of the American people and to those employed on these newspapers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Federated Union, in meeting assembled, endorse the recommendation of the Senate Committee and instruct its delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention to further this recommendation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate James A. Duncan of Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The duplication of equipment and service by the railroads of this country presents a most wasteful condition, which should not be tolerated by our Government, especially during a period which calls for the highest efficiency in the operation of our transportation facilities; and

WHEREAS, It is absolutely imperative that the telegraph and telephone systems of our nation operate with guaranteed continuity, which guarantee cannot be given while these public utilities are in the hands of arrogant corporations, which deny the right of collective bargaining to their employes, and openly defy organized labor and the United States Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strenuously urge operation of these facilities as the only means possible of securing efficient operation and harmonious relations with employes.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty and Edward J. Gainor:

WHEREAS, The Federal civil service laws are defective in not making provision for granting employes the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in disciplinary cases involving demotion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, This lodging of arbitrary power in the hands of officials frequently results in injustices being inflicted upon employes and tends toward the upbuilding of a bureaucracy in our government institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employes in securing the enactment of legislation granting civil service employes the right to a hearing and to an appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes, and Edward J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers:

WHEREAS, In its report to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council says, "There has been a recognition of the principle that those associated in the work of production ought to have a voice in management of those things concerning their interest and welfare;" and

WHEREAS, Unfortunately, this desirable recognition of the rights of workers to industrial enfranchisement has not been granted by the largest employer of labor in the United States, if not in the world—the Postal Service—where approximately a quarter of a million wage-earners are expected to accept without protest the working conditions imposed by the Postmaster General; and

WHEREAS, The present Postmaster General has time after time instituted revolutionary changes affecting vitally the rights and working conditions of the postal workers with an autocratic contempt for their opinions or for whatever protests they make, which is at utter variance with the ideas of our beloved President, Wood-

row Wilson, who expressed this thought in his memorable speech to this convention: "Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other;" and

WHEREAS, It is essential to the preservation of service efficiency and for the perpetuation of our most cherished democratic ideals of government that these quarter of a million workers—men and women who are deprived of their economic power and circumscribed in the use of their political power—be not denied an avenue of expression or approach to the Postmaster General or restricted in their right to petition Congress; and

WHEREAS, In Great Britain the postal employes, backed by the organized labor movement, have long enjoyed official recognition secured by an enactment of parliament, which instructs their Postmaster General to meet and counsel with the representatives of the employes with reference to the labor policy of his department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, emphatically condemns the autocratic policy of Postmaster General Burleson toward the postal employes and hereby instructs the Executive Council to co-operate with representatives of the affiliated postal employes' organizations in securing an audience with President Wilson, and placing before him all the facts concerning the oppressive labor policy of Postmaster General Burleson.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate E. L. Edgerton of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, We are aiding our government in every possible way to win the war and we will if necessary make any reasonable sacrifice asked of us in order that humanity, justice and civilization may survive. We call the attention of the delegates to this convention, the workers of the United States, especially the skilled tradesmen whose product is easily transported, to the danger that exists unless prior to the end of the present war some measures of industrial preparedness are taken by this country against a possible industrial invasion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of a policy of industrial preparedness and the enactment of laws by Congress that will adequately protect the skilled tradesmen of our country against the loss of employment through any industrial invasion on the part of the products of any of the other nations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates R. P. Brindell, of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity, and Ernest Bohm, of the Grain Workers' Union No. 11407:

WHEREAS, The National Labor Publicity Organization was organized on January 16, 1917, in the City of New York, with the object of distributing correct union labor news of interest to the American labor movement, to the labor press and newspapers generally; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers by invitation addressed the convention and approved its purpose and object; and

WHEREAS, The second annual convention of the National Labor Publicity Organization will be held in the City of Newark, N. J., beginning January 21, 1918; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint two fraternal delegates to attend the said convention.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Thos. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, Rural letter carriers receive no money allowance from the Post Office Department for the purchase and maintenance of the equipment they must have in delivering rural mail; and

WHEREAS, The costs of said equipment, both for horse-drawn and motor vehicles have greatly increased, which operates as a wage reduction for this group of postal employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council to give all aid possible in securing favorable action by the Congress on legislation granting rural letter carriers an equipment allowance.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate G. M. Bugniazet, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, Many companies that employ our members have adopted a system in the hiring of said members, that includes an application and index card that shows his industrial history for five years last past; and

WHEREAS, Such cards are used by the companies only for the purpose of communicating with former employers as to the ability, temperament and union activities of applicant, and if he has been active in union circles it means his discharge, as soon as report is received from his former employers, thus amounting to a blacklist of our active members; and

WHEREAS, This custom is becoming more general each year, it deserves immediate action by the International, as only by united action can this evil be curbed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Brotherhood go on record as being opposed to any local union allowing her members to sign applications and record blanks provided for the purpose by the corporation, except for government, state

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or municipal positions, or any local allowing their members to sign individual contracts for employment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming International officers are hereby instructed to render every assistance and support to any local union forced into difficulty on account of refusing to allow their members to sign such applications or contracts; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers and the delegates to the American Federation and its departments be instructed to take this matter up at the coming convention and use every means to attain the co-operation of other trades in a campaign to have this system abolished at the earliest possible date.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The District Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in Chicago, Illinois, has forcibly taken away the erection of large wooden tanks, both inside of and on the roofs of buildings; and

WHEREAS, This is a direct violation of the agreement entered into between the General President and General Secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The manufacture and erection of wooden tanks has always been considered coopers' work and so endorsed by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention direct that signed agreement be entered into between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Coopers' International Union and approved of by this convention and lived up to by both organizations.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate R. P. Brindell of Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, A serious condition exists in the clothing industry in Greater New York, caused by what is known as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who seceded from the United Garment Workers of America with the intent of destroying that recognized organization; and

WHEREAS, The United Hebrew Trades, a body consisting of various local unions of different trades, and which is not chartered by the American Federation of Labor, renders all possible support to the seceders and is, therefore, antagonistic; and

WHEREAS, The United Hebrew Trades fathered and abetted and is in sympathy with the organizations known as the "People's Council" and "Workmen's Council," who have declared in public print their intention of organizing one thousand branches in the United States, the purpose being to, if possible, supplant the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct all international unions whose local unions are represented in the United Hebrew Trades to order all such local unions to withdraw from that body, and in case such local unions refuse to withdraw, to reorganize them under the banner of the American labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty:

WHEREAS, As a result of reorganizations, reclassifications and arbitrary transfers many railway mail clerks have suffered wage reductions in the past few years, thereby lowering the wage standards in this important branch of the postal service; and

WHEREAS, The upward trend of living costs has further operated to reduce the wage standards, fixed five years ago, in the railway mail service, and there is a widespread unrest and dissatisfaction among the clerks because of this condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the Austin Bill (H. R. 391), which seeks to materially increase the entrance and the maximum wage for railway mail clerks, and instructs its officers to co-operate with affiliated railway mail clerks in attempting to secure favorable action upon this measure at the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Fannie Sellons of Labor Council, New Kensington, Pa.:

WHEREAS, During this world war for democracy, never in the history of the American labor movement has it faced such great and grave problems; and

WHEREAS, With the men going to war, large groups of unorganized women are filling their places, and in the name of patriotism these women in many industries are being asked to work for less pay than the men were receiving; and

WHEREAS, Much has been accomplished in other countries in organizing their women workers, especially in England, where, during the first two years of the war, one million women were organized into trade unions; and

WHEREAS, We believe it to be incumbent upon the American Federation of Labor, which represents the labor movement of America, to do all in its power to organize the women workers of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as giving our hearty co-operation to the carrying out of the plan for organizing the unorganized women; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That experienced women organizers be appointed for this very important work.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 123—By the delegates of

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the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America:

WHEREAS, All painting on ships comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America; and

WHEREAS, The members of the International Longshoremen's Association in the port of New York persist upon infringing upon the jurisdiction of said brotherhood, etc., despite repeated protests; and

WHEREAS, Several attempts have been made by the officials of the said brotherhood to arrange a conference in the city of New York between representatives of the two international unions and their respective local unions without result; now, therefore, in view of the premises, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, does hereby direct the International Longshoremen's Association to instruct the officers and members of its local unions to desist from further trespass upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The dock coopers of Greater New York, working under charter issued by the Coopers' International Union, and under the jurisdiction of Local No. 23, have from the time of its organization been harassed by the members of the International Longshoremen Association because of their refusal to leave the craft of their trade and affiliate with the Longshoremen's Union; and

WHEREAS, The charter rights of the Coopers' International Union, guaranteed by the American Federation of Labor, clearly define the rights of coopers on all work pertaining to the repairing of same, whether it be a cargo repairing or making of new packages; and

WHEREAS, A working agreement was drafted and signed by the respective International Presidents of both organizations and later ratified and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor in convention at Baltimore, November, 1916, which if lived up to by the I. L. A. would have effectually stopped all further controversy between the two International unions; and

WHEREAS, A local union of the I. L. A. known as Cargo Repairers, has struck against the members of Local No. 23, when these men were employed on the up-town docks of Greater New York; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby disapprove the attitude of the International Longshoremen Association as unfair in this controversy and declares that all repair work on the docks belongs by charter right to the Coopers' International Union

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates Matthew Woll, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; James J. Freel and Charles A. Sumner, of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; A. P. Sovey, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, J. W. Hays, Hugh Stevenson and Max S. Hayes, of the International Typographical Union, after action taken by the Board of Governors of the International Allied Printing Trades Association:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States in the enactment of the War Revenue Law has placed an unwarranted tax on all publications, both in the volume of advertising, reading matter and profit by means of an increased postage rate and the application of a zone system; and

WHEREAS, The new system and rate of second-class postage constitutes a special or super tax on newspapers and magazines in addition to the large number of general taxes that publishers will pay in common with other industries; and

WHEREAS, The enforcement of this new system of postal rates on second-class matter will destroy thousands of newspapers, business papers, farm papers, medical papers, religious papers, agricultural papers, labor papers and national periodicals, thus crippling or destroying many of the printing shops in the country dependent on publication for their existence and throwing out of work many thousands of compositors, stereotypers, electrotypers, photo-engravers, pressmen, feeders, binders, mailers and other workers employed in the printing and manufacturing of the publications of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The public press, and more especially the labor press, is the bulwark of our liberty and freedom, a great source of education, information and recreation to millions of men and women, and the only means through which the Government can send its messages to the farmer, housewife, manufacturer, merchant, mechanic and the great army of workers; and

WHEREAS, The publishing industry is one that does not profit under war conditions, but on the contrary is burdened with unusual financial obligations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the opinion of this convention Congress should not have altered the system of rates on second-class postage; that the system of rates provided are not a legitimate war tax in that they are merely a destructive charge against a fundamental operation of a great and invaluable industry; that it will not raise revenue but actually destroy business from which the Government seeks revenue; that the system of taxes proposed are burdensome to the public press and will result in decreased publicity and materially and unwisely curtail the publications of our country; be it further

RESOLVED, That Congress be urged to amend the existing war revenue law by elim-

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inating that section dealing with second-class postage, and that this subject be then dealt with by Congress as a separate and distinctive matter viewed from the standpoint of service rather than for war revenue; that we tender to the printing trades unions and to the press of the United States our aid and assistance in any way that it can be effective in securing for them justice and fair dealing; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, Postmaster General Burleson, to all members of the President's Cabinet, and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Florence Etheridge of National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, Inspectors of customs, classified as inspectors, deputy collectors and clerks, assigned to duty on the Canadian border, receive but three dollars ($3.00) per day, which amount is insufficient to adequately support them, and are granted but fourteen days' vacation, and required to work Sundays and holidays; and

WHEREAS, The New York customs collectors, appraisers, examiners and inspectors, with the single exception of night inspectors, receive double the amount paid the men along the frontier; and

WHEREAS, By the act of March 4, 1909, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to fix and increase the compensation of inspectors of customs at a sum not to exceed six dollars ($6.00) per day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges that the Secretary of the Treasury use his discretionary power to increase the salaries of the above described employes of his department.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, There has been some dispute as to what organization should have control over the operating of stencil and plate making machines making stencils and plates for the purpose of addressing wrappers for mailing magazines, catalogues and similar publications; and

WHEREAS, These machines are used in connection with the mailing departments of newspaper plants, publication offices and commercial printing establishments, which departments are under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled grants to the International Typographical Union jurisdiction over all stencil and plate making machines used in connection with the mailing of newspapers, magazines, catalogues or other publications.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Sam De Nedrey of Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia are not citizens of the United States, in the sense of possessing the elective franchise; and

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly gone on record as favoring suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, again affirms the Federation's endorsement of Congressional legislation granting elective franchise and home government to the citizens of said District, and pledges its hearty endeavor to the accomplishment of the same.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate George B. McGovern, of Yonkers Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many workmen are incapacitated and prevented from following their chosen trade or calling by industrial injuries; and

WHEREAS, Society owes a duty in payment for incapacity in its service; and

WHEREAS, The crippled workman would be cheered by a helping hand, such as a bureau of cases of like nature informing him how they worked it out, or an opportunity to learn a new business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert all efforts to secure for the unfortunates so incapacitated legislation or such other assistance as may enable them to re-establish their independence and, if possible, greater prosperity.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The American Band Instrument Manufacturers' Association, composed of the following firms: C. G. Conn, Ltd., Elkhart, Ind.; Buescher Band Ins. Co., Elkhart, Ind.; Martin Band Ins. Co., Elkhart, Ind.; Elkhart Musical Ins. Co., Elkhart, Ind.; Emil K. Blessing Co., Elkhart, Ind.; Frank Holton & Co., Chicago, Ill.; Taylor & Horn Co., Chicago, Ill.; Frank B. Jay Co., Chicago, Ill.; J. W. York & Sons, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Grand Rapids Musical Ins. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.; H. M. White Co., Cleveland, Ohio, have been fighting organized labor for two years past and was at the time of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. in the midst of a bitter fight with the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' International Union, which union, with the valuable assistance rendered them by the American Federation of Musicians, was on the verge of victory in their fight to maintain union conditions in these plants, but the causes that forced this country's entry into the European conflict made necessary the placing of large orders for supplies in order to carry on the war successfully.

Among those were large orders for band instruments, the greater part of which was contracted for with these unfair concerns, and thereby placing these manufacturers in a position to continue their fight against organized labor indefinitely; and

WHEREAS, Present conditions in the band and musical instrument industry is such that we feel assured that all musical instruments needed in the future by this Government can be secured from firms other than those herein mentioned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be requested to use their influence with the proper parties connected with the U. S. Government to the end that all contracts in the future for musical or band instruments will be placed with firms that are not antagonistic to organized labor; be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be requested to use their best endeavors to bring about an adjustment of the trouble now existing between the Metal Polishers' International Union and the concerns herein mentioned.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Union labels have played a great part in the upbuilding of many labor organizations and it is extremely desirable that their use should be developed to the highest possible degree consistent with reasonable cost; and

WHEREAS, The vast number of different designs of labels makes it exceedingly difficult for the most ardent union enthusiast to become familiar with all of them, to say nothing of the great army of our friends whom we desire to interest in the use of our labels; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Buffalo, New York, instruct its Secretary to call upon unionists throughout the nation to submit to the Federation proposed designs for a universal union label that will be suitable for use by all the label trades by the addition of the craft's name making use of same; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the designs so obtained be submitted to the next annual convention for further action.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Edward I. Hannah of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Asphalt Workers, Flag, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters:

WHEREAS, The United Laborers No. 1 of San Francisco, California, affiliated with the International Union of Hod Carriers and Common Laborers, are endeavoring to force the members of the Asphalt Workers' Union No. 84 of San Francisco, California, to relinquish their membership in said organization; and

WHEREAS, The United Laborers' Union No. 1 is interfering with skilled labor and because of this condition the higher rate of wages established by the Asphalt Workers' Local Union No. 84 would be obliterated and the lower rate of wages demanded by the United Laborers' Union be established; and

WHEREAS, The Baltimore convention of the American Federation of Labor recognized the jurisdiction of this work, covered by the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention prevents any further interference with the skilled labor of Local Union No. 84 of San Francisco, California, employed on the construction of roads and highways; be it further

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that all central bodies and State Branches of the American Federation of Labor in California unseat as delegates the representatives of the United Laborers No. 1 of San Francisco, California, and that no support or recognition be given them until such time as the United Laborers' Union No. 1 complies with and carries out to the fullest extent the decision of the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Sam De Nedrey, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The High School Teachers' Union of Washington, D. C., and the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., have endorsed a bill for the retirement of public school teachers in the District of Columbia, which has been introduced into the Senate of the United States and been unanimously favorably reported by the Senate Committee in charge; and

WHEREAS, This bill vitally affects the interests of the District of Columbia and the educational welfare of its children; and

WHEREAS, This bill, although local in character, must be enacted, if enacted at all, by the Congress of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., do heartily indorse this bill and urge its immediate passage by the Sixty-fifth Congress in its second session; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be furnished to the Vice-President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate Geo. B. McGovern, Yonkers Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Compensation to an orphan is often less than the amount necessary for maintenance of children in institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor promote legislation which will establish a minimum compensation

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in excess of the cost of institutional maintenance.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; James J. Freel and Charles A. Sumner of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; A. P. Sovey of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, J. W. Hays, Hugh Stevenson and Max S. Hayes of the International Typographical Union, after action taken by the Board of Governors of the International Allied Printing Trades Association:

WHEREAS, Several efforts have been made to obtain an adequate wage for compositors, pressmen and other men employed in the printing department of the New York City post office, amendments to the post office appropriation bill having been reported favorably at different sessions of Congress; and

WHEREAS, These amendments have been defeated on technical points of order or through the action of conference committees; and

WHEREAS, The wages paid to these employes are entirely inadequate and are less than the wages paid by all representative private employers in the printing industry in New York City; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and instructed to use all honorable efforts to obtain an amendment to the post office appropriation bill which will provide an adequate wage for the employes of the printing department of the New York City post office; and it is further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to ascertain if Congress has provided or if the post office department has available an emergency appropriation from which the wages of these employes may be immediately increased, in order that the extraordinary drain upon their financial resources may be relieved.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is extremely important that the educational side of the Federation's work receive all possible attention, particularly at this time, in order that our membership may receive proper information upon matters pertaining to their economic and political welfare; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor each month issue to the labor press of the nation a list of standard books and new publications dealing with matters of vital importance and interest to the workers; also that the same be published in the Federationist.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 137—By Geo. B. McGovern of Yonkers Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The savings of workmen are used by "captains of industry" to further their own ends; and

WHEREAS, The workers should control their own banks; and

WHEREAS, Familiarity with banking encourages thrift, will raise the status of workers, will open the door of opportunity, will promote the general welfare and insure greater liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of Liberty Bonds has placed large numbers of workmen in possession and ownership of government bonds, which are the basis of national banks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge every workman to buy Liberty Bonds, establish national banks under the present law and endeavor to secure the amendment of the present statute so as to make a national bank a more democratic institution.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate E. L. Edgerton of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, During the period of the war a low long distance telephone and telegraph rate should be established to all training camps; and

WHEREAS, Such low rates would keep us in closer touch with our loved ones; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President, Congress and the Council of National Defense be urged to call a conference of the various telephone and telegraph companies for the purpose of bringing about closer co-operation between the companies, better interconnections and lower rates to all training camps in the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate James A. Duncan of Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes and frequent misunderstandings arising between our various craft unions emphasize the vital necessity of firmly instilling into the mind of every unionist that splendid principle upon which our Federation is based, namely, that the relationship of members of different craft unions is identical to the relationship of members of the same craft union; and

WHEREAS, The great distances which separate most of our international unions' headquarters presents one of the greatest obstacles to a realization of this great principle; and

WHEREAS, The present grave crisis which confronts our nation makes it imperative that international officials be within easy reach of each other, if the high-

est degree of efficiency is to be secured, and the greatest results attained; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, if not already doing so, be urged to establish their headquarters at Washington, D. C., and in the A. F. of L. Building, if accommodations are available.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate Sam De Nedrey of Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The people of the District of Columbia have long suffered from inadequate and dangerous street car service, the management completely ignoring the public's demand for convenience and safety, as well as the request of employes for living wages and humane working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The uncompromising attitude of this street railway management resulted in a strike of employes and as a result of said strike the Senate of the United States appointed a committee to investigate the strike and conditions relating thereto, with the result the committee reported to the United States Senate that the complaints against the deplorable conditions alleged by both public and employes were justified and recommended government ownership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as the District of Columbia is Federal territory and relief must come from the Congress of the United States, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to formulate and have introduced into the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress a bill providing for governmental ownership of the street railway systems of the District of Columbia.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 141—By Delegates Sarah Shapiro of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Anna Weinstock of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200:

WHEREAS, The adoption by the voters of New York State of the amendment enfranchising women has added the fourteenth State to the total of States where women are now accorded full citizenship rights; and

WHEREAS, The splendid services of the womanhood of all the warring nations since the outbreak of the world-war has fully demonstrated woman's capacity to take a full share in the responsibilities and duties of citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The increasing employment of women in industry makes imperative the organization, economic and political, of women workers for the protection of their rights, and in order that standards established in industry by long struggle of organized workers may not be broken down under the stress of war conditions; and

WHEREAS, The governments of England and Russia have extended the franchise to their women during the world-war; and

WHEREAS, The time is now ripe when this nation should recognize the right of its women to the franchise; and

WHEREAS, The Constitutions of many States makes it a practical impossibility for woman suffrage to be secured by State action, and much time, effort, and money will be wasted by a separate appeal to each State to grant the franchise to its women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention, reaffirm its consistent stand in favor of woman suffrage, and demands that Congress, at its December session, shall submit to the States the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment for ratification in order that complete political democracy shall prevail in the United States of America.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 142—By Delegate James H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There are in the cities of Pittsburg, Pa., and Portland, Ore., organizations of carpet upholsterers that are not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers this work and which has affiliated all of the others organized in this branch of our craft; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced at conventions of the American Federation of Labor for several years, requesting that some effective action be taken to bring about the affiliation of the organizations referred to, each succeeding convention concurring in the resolutions, and in view of the non-affiliation of the organizations referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take such action as may be necessary to bring about the affiliation with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America the organizations of Carpet Upholsterers located in Pittsburg, Pa., and Portland, Ore.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 143—By Delegate William W. McKinnon of New Rochelle Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the city of New Rochelle, N. Y., charter has been issued by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The local unions of the Steamfitters, Plumbers, Slate and Tile Roofers, Tile Layers, Composition Roofers, Painters, Electrical Workers and Stage Employes are affiliated with the said Central Labor Union; and

WHEREAS, The local unions of Carpenters, Sheet Metal Workers, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Laborers, Lathers, Musicians, Barbers, Bartenders and Engineers have been invited and requested to affiliate both by solicitation upon the part of committees of this body and in communications from Secretary Morrison; and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned non-affiliated local unions decline to become a part of the legally chartered Central Labor Union of New Rochelle, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, These said local unions which are not affiliated are, in violation of the manifest intent of Article XI, Section 2, page 18 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, organized and

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operating without charter of any kind a dual central body styled the Central Labor Union of New Rochelle, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, Such action is productive of discord in a movement whose only strength is unity; and

WHEREAS, This condition seriously retards the progress of the legally chartered Central Labor Union of New Rochelle, N. Y., in its efforts to further the interests of the American Federation of Labor and is a condition decidedly detrimental to the welfare of the parent organization; and

WHEREAS, Answer has been returned by a number of international and national unions that they are unable to oblige their respective local unions to affiliate with the legally chartered Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as interpreting Article XI, Section 2, page 18 of the Constitution as being a mandate and compelling observance upon the part of all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate Edward F. McGrady of Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The United States Government has passed the Conscription Law compelling every citizen of the United States between the ages of 21 and 30, who is physically fit, to bear arms and fight for the defense of our country; and

WHEREAS, There are hundreds of thousands of aliens who have been in the United States more than five years who are between the ages of 21 and 30, and who have not taken out citizenship papers, nor have they declared their intention to do so; and

WHEREAS, These men have refused to assist our country or their own in the present war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as being in favor of legislation that will compel these aliens to bear arms in defense of our country, or to join the forces of their own country, or to be deported from our country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate James H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Shade Hangers and Cutters, who were members of Local Union No. 111 of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America and located in Chicago, Ill., has seceded, and is now seeking to obtain support and recognition from unions of the Building Trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have a representative arrange a meeting between the representatives of Local Union No. 111 and the seceding parties with the object of harmonizing the differences that may exist in order that we may have a united movement in the city of Chicago; be it further

RESOLVED, That Building Trades and other local unions be instructed to refrain from giving to this secession movement recognition, support or encouragement.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 146—By Delegates O. S. W. Jensen and Joseph J. Chambers, Building Trades Department Council, New Rochelle, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, At the tenth convention of the Department and by instructions of Resolution No. 15, the officers of the Department were instructed to request the International officers of the Carpenters, Sheet Metal Workers, Hodcarriers, and others to affiliate their local unions in the city of New Rochelle, N. Y., with the local Building Trades Council; and

WHEREAS, These non-affiliated locals have been requested to affiliate, both by an organizer of the American Federation of Labor and by instructions of their International Unions; and

WHEREAS, The local unions mentioned in Resolution No. 15 have not as yet affiliated themselves; and

WHEREAS, Section 5, providing for the government of local councils, of the Department's laws, provide for the compulsory affiliation of local unions with a local council; and

WHEREAS, The mentioned local unions have refused to affiliate and have and are meeting together in a council which has no charter and is considered dual; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers of the non-affiliated local unions of the city of New Rochelle, N. Y., to affiliate within thirty days after the adjournment of this convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That any local union failing to affiliate within thirty days, the International officers of that local union stand instructed by this convention to suspend the charter of their local union.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates M. Zuckerman, M. Zaritsky and J. Margolis of United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America:

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., under the caption "Cap Makers—Hatters," quotes the 1916 decision of the Executive Council and the Baltimore convention and says:

"The Cap Makers were notified and again notified that they were expected and required to conform with the decision of the A. F. of L. As yet no such assurance has been given. We, therefore, regretfully recommend that the charter of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers be revoked;" and

WHEREAS, The Eleventh Biennial Convention of the U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A., held in May, 1917, has unanimously adopted a resolution (which is attached hereto) stating that the 1916 decision of the A. F. of L. is practically impossible of execution and that it is besides a great injustice to their organization, which was granted the jurisdiction of the Straw Hat Workers and Ladies' Felt Hat Workers by

the convention of 1903 of the A. F. of L., and that the U. C. H. and C. M. since then for thirteen years have legitimately organized with the sanction of the A. F. of L. these Straw Hat Workers; and

WHEREAS, The same convention of the U. C. H. and C. M. has gone on record as being ready to amalgamate with the United Hatters into a single International in order to once and for all do away with all conditions that may serve as a cause for jurisdictional controversies; and

WHEREAS, The U. C. H. and C. M. have, immediately after their convention, in a letter dated May 23, 1917, communicated the above resolution to the Executive Council, and while appealing that the 1916 decision be reconsidered, stated that they are ready to confer, amalgamate and to do practically anything and everything in order to avoid strife between brothers; and

WHEREAS, The only response to this communication that they received from the Executive Council was a reiteration of the 1916 decision and a demand to comply with it, to which the U. C. H. and C. M., in a letter dated September 7th, replied by requesting the Executive Council to point out "what definite steps should the U. C. H. and C. M. take which the Executive Council would be willing to consider as compliance with the decision of 1916;" and

WHEREAS, The U. C. H. and C. M. especially emphasized this last request by stating that it is of especially great importance, since they must know definitely what they have to do and exactly what steps they have to take to comply with the decision and since their organization must have a chance to decide upon this matter before the Buffalo Convention; and

WHEREAS, The U. C. H. and C. M. has never received word from the Executive Council as to exactly what steps they have to take in order to comply with the 1916 decision; and

WHEREAS, In their anxiety to prevent the jurisdictional controversies between themselves and the United Hatters and to promote a condition which will strengthen the ties of brotherhood among all the workers, the U. C. H. and C. M. have addressed on October 20th a letter to the United Hatters (which is attached hereto) a copy of which was communicated to the Executive Council, pointing out that the necessity of amalgamation of both our organizations has become ever more expressed and vital and proposing that the United Hatters communicate with the U. C. H. and C. M. and agree upon a date and place convenient for a conference of representatives of both organizations, who shall devote their efforts to work out a mutually agreeable plan for the amalgamation of both organizations on a basis providing for a reasonable degree of self-government for the different branches of the trade; and

WHEREAS, All these actions of the U. C. H. and C. M. could not be considered otherwise than as a serious effort to comply as far as possible with the decision of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It has always been the aspiration of the American labor movement that kindred organizations of the same industry shall amalgamate wherever and whenever possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed by this convention to arrange a conference between repesentatives of both organizations and make an effort to bring about their amalgamation.

Attached hereto: 1. Resolution of the Eleventh Biennial Convention of the U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A. 2. Letter to United Hatters of North America dated October 20, 1917.

Copy of Resolution Adopted by the Eleventh Biennial Convention of the U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A.

WHEREAS, The eleventh biennial convention of the U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A. has given its utmost attention to the decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. approved by the Baltimore convention, as communicated to us by letter of President Gompers, dated December 13th, which reads: "That the making of all felt, panama and straw hats for men and women comes under the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America, and that the finishing and trimming of such hats, through agreement between the United Hatters of North America and the Hat Trimmers and Finishers' Union, comes under the jurisdiction of the Finishers' Union, and that the cloth hat and cap making comes under the jurisdiction of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America. The convention further decided that the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America shall immediately discontinue the use of the words 'Millinery Workers' in connection with its title;" and

WHEREAS, The convention unanimously came to the conclusion that this decision as it stands could not be considered otherwise than a grave error for the reason: 1. That it is an absolute and complete reversal of the decision of 1903 which extended our jurisdiction to embrace, not only the cloth hat and cap makers, but also the "straw hat workers and ladies' felt hat workers," and which had never been revoked. Furthermore, this reversal has never been called for and there was never any reason or justification assigned for it. 2. That this 1916 decision does the greatest injustice to our organization and the millinery workers, whom it has for thirteen years legitimately organized with the sanction of the A. F. of L. and whose jurisdiction over them has, during all of these years, never been questioned. 3. That the 1916 decision is contradictory to its own terms, as different parts conflict with each other. The part demanding that we "shall immediately discontinue the use of the words "millinery workers" in connection with our title is incompatible with the first part, leaving under our jurisdiction all cloth hat workers, which, of course, include cloth hat workers, ladies' cloth hat workers who are "millinery workers." 4. That this decision as it stands is practically impossible of execution, save by a complete disbanding of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, and depriving its

members of the benefits of organization and, furthermore, creating almost unsurpassable obstacles in the way of ever organizing them again; and

WHEREAS, The U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A. have always been loyal to the American Federation of Labor and it is the uppermost desire of this convention to abide with the A. F. of L. and even by its mistakes, if it possibly could be done without endangering and jeopardizing the interests of the thousands of hat and cap makers entrusted to them; and

WHEREAS, The President of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Samuel Gompers, has honored the convention with a personal message animated with a great ideal "of trying to weld together and not to dismember"; and

WHEREAS, From the report made by the committee of this convention that has waited upon President Gompers, and from his personal message, this convention gathers that President Gompers seems to be convinced that even before a revision of the 1916 decision could be effected there is a way of bringing about an adjustment "without injury to any organization," our own included, and, of course, without any injury to the interests of the great mass of the headgear workers; and

WHEREAS, The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America and this convention have no other consideration but to organize and promote the interests of the workers of the industry and are anxious to remove any and all conditions which may serve as a cause of jurisdictional controversies, handicapping the organization and the progress of the trade and improvement of the conditions and the position of the workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, in the name of justice and in behalf of the thousands of organized workers which it represents and the tens of thousands of unorganized workers of the millinery trade which the U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A. are successfully organizing, emphatically appeal to the Executive Council and the Buffalo convention of the A. F. of L. to revise the 1916 decision and to reaffirm the decision of 1903; and, be it further

RESOLVED, To entrust the incoming General Executive Board with the power to confer, both with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and the United Hatters, in order to bring about a mutually agreeable adjustment without jeopardizing any of our present affiliations or the interests of the workers with which we are entrusted; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as being ready to amalgamate with the United Hatters into a united headgear workers' international, having jurisdiction over all kinds of headgear, of whatever material or make, and allowing for a reasonable degree of self-government for the different branches of the industry, in order that all jurisdictional controversies may thus, once for all, be removed and the way made clear for the headgear workers, united, to overcome "all the wrongs that have been endured" by them and to achieve "all the rights that have been so long denied them."

[Copy.]

October 20, 1917.

Mr. Martin Lawlor, Secretary,
United Hatters of North America,
Bible House, New York City:

Dear Sir and Brother:

The matter we wish to lay before you and your organization in this letter is, we think, of the utmost importance to both our organizations and is of vital interest to all the headgear workers, no matter in what branch of the industry they may be employed. The harmonious co-operation of organized labor is always, and especially during these grave times, indispensable; and we believe that you, as well as our organization, realize that fratricidal fights between labor organizations in kindred trades of the same industry may very well be suicidal. It is not necessary here to enter into a discussion of the merits of our jurisdictional controversy. No doubt, you are aware that our organization has always been and is convinced of the righteousness of its cause and in the justice of the position it maintains. But, be that as it may, the jurisdiction controversy is lately working havoc with the best interests of the headgear workers, and especially of those of them who still do not enjoy the benefits of organization and who must be organized if their conditions are to be improved and if they are to cease to be an impediment and handicap for the further progress and improvement of the conditions of the organized headgear workers, both in your organization and in ours. It is with the gravest concern that we took notice lately that our jurisdictional fight has in many places adopted a form which is abominable and odious to the best established principles of the labor movement. When things have gone so far that it has become possible that strikes should occur for the only purpose of eliminating male workers from the trade where they enjoy their human and natural right of making a living, it seems to us that, without going into consideration of whose fault it may be, it is time that a stop shall be put to it. It is with this in mind, and with this only, that we take the liberty to address you on this matter. We wish to assure you that what follows is written in the spirit of true devotion, not only to the interests of our own organization and the members affiliated with it, but of the headgear workers as a whole, including, to be sure, those affiliated with your organization. Our last biennial convention, which was held in New York from the 1st to the 10th of May, 1917, very carefully and at great length, considered the jurisdictional controversy between our organization and yours. The spirit in which the convention considered this controversy is expressed in the following "Whereas" of its resolution on this subject, which we herewith quote: "Whereas, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of N. A. and this convention have no other consideration but to organize and promote the interests of the workers of the industry and are anxious to remove any and all conditions which may serve as a cause of jurisdictional controversies handicapping the organization and the progress of the trade and improvement of the condition and the position of the workers."

Now our organization has no other consideration but to organize and promote the

interests of the workers of the industry and is anxious to do everything it possibly can to remove any and all conditions which may serve as a cause of jurisdictional controversy. It was with this purpose in mind that the convention adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, that the convention go on record as being ready to amalgamate with the United Hatters into a United Headgear Workers' International, having jurisdiction over all kinds of headgear of whatever material or make, and allowing for a reasonable degree of self-government for the different branches of the industry, in order that all jurisdiction controversies may thus, once for all, be removed and the way made clear for the headgear workers, united, to overcome all the wrongs that have been endured by them, and to achieve all the rights that have been so long denied them." Immediately after the convention adjourned we communicated the reported preamble and resolutions to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in a letter dated May 23, 1917, which, among others, contains the following part: "We stand ready, in accordance with the decisions of our convention, to enter any conference the Executive Council may deem advisable to call, in order to take up both the ways and means of adjusting the matter amicably and of bringing about, if possible, amalgamation of both our organizations. We sincerely hope that not only the Executive Council but the United Hatters as well, will enter into this conference with a spirit of exclusive devotion to the interests of the workers of the industry as a whole and the labor movement—the spirit in which our convention adopted this resolution." The necessity of amalgamation of both our organizations has meanwhile, owing to the circumstances and facts cited at the beginning of this communication, become ever more expressed and vital. The Executive Council, however, due, perhaps, to the fact that it has not been called upon directly by either party to arrange a conference, has so far taken no action in the matter. We are, therefore, facing a situation where, owing to the lack of the necessary initiative a condition might be created which is bound to do irreparable damage to both our organizations, all the headgear workers and the labor movement as a whole. There is no reason in the world why we should not be able once and for all to do away with all possible causes of jurisdictional controversies between our organizations in the future. Our trades are kindred, are parts of the same industry, and though they have passed, perhaps, through a different course of development and their organizations might be based on different traditions, the trades are, however, now coming to the same stage of industrial and technical development and, as far as we know, both organizations avow the same labor principles and standards. It seems to us that there are no obstacles that might be able to prevent amalgamation of both organizations on a basis, providing, of course, for a sufficient degree of self-government for the different branches of the industry and conserving as far as possible the individuality and traditions of both organizations which could not be overcome. We are aware that the amalgamation of two organizations having their long standing and separate traditions and their own peculiar and different machinery and methods is not an easy task to accomplish; but the task is so important, and on its successful accomplishment depends so much the well being and the normal progress of the headgear workers, that it seems to us that all the difficulties which might develop in the way of amalgamation should be overcome—and we are convinced that by uniting the efforts of both our organizations we shall be able to overcome them. According to the above quoted resolution of our convention, we are ready to amalgamate with your organization and we are prepared to enter into a conference with you in order to work out a feasible plan for such amalgamation. We are sending a copy of this letter to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and we hope it may become a party to our conference for the purpose of bringing about amalgamation. In conclusion, we propose that you communicate with us and agree upon a date and place convenient for a conference of representatives of both organizations, who shall devote their efforts to work out a mutually agreeable plan for the amalgamation of both organizations on a basis providing for a reasonable degree of self-government for the dinerent branches of the industry. The next session of our General Executive Board will be held on the 25th of October, and we wish we may hear from you before that date. Hoping that you will accept this communication in the same fraternal spirit in which it is intended, I remain,

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) M. ZUCKERMAN,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate James H. Hatch of Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Federal Union No. 14872, located in Chicago, Ill., is infringing on work covered by the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, by accepting as members men employed on awning and shade work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct Federal Union No. 14872 to confine their work to that which is covered by the jurisdiction accorded them when their charter was granted by the American Federation of Labor. Should they fail to do so within sixty (60) days after the adjournment of the convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to revoke their charter.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegates James William Fitzpatrick and Harry Mountford of White Rats Actors' Union:

WHEREAS, There is an organization known as the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association with a membership embracing all the vaudeville, circus and burlesque managers of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The said association has declared a universal and international boycott against the White Rats Actors' Union, a union affiliated with and in good stand-

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ing with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible for a member (male or female) of the said White Rats Actors' Union to obtain employment in any vaudeville theatre, burlesque theatre or circus because of such membership, and more particularly because such membership means and conveys that such member and such union is a part of the organized labor movement of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, If it is discovered by the said Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association that an actor or actress is a member of the White Rats Actors' Union, they are immediately discharged from their employment; and

WHEREAS, Actors and actresses are brought under pretense of employment and an alleged form of contract many miles at their own expense, and then not permitted to work because of such membership. As for example: Miss Cora Youngblood Corson and a company of six ladies were brought from Oklahoma to Rochester, N. Y., under a contract of employment at a cost to the actresses of over four hundred dollars ($400.00), and when they arrived in Rochester to perform they were summarily cancelled and not permitted to appear by the said Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association, and the said Managers' Association publicly boasted of such conduct in the theatrical press, and also publicly and repeatedly have advertised similar actions, and that they have instituted and keep a blacklist nation-wide in scope against all members of the White Rats Actors' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the Executive Council to take such steps, and to use such influence as may seem best, to bring before the proper authorities these criminal practices of the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association, so that they may be properly punished and these abuses terminated, and that the actors and actresses of the United States and Canada may have the undisturbed right to belong to an organization or union affiliated with this American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate G. W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At no time in the history of the labor movement have conditions been more fraught with dangerous situations than at present, this because of our entrance into the world's war; and

WHEREAS, The slightest misstep or mistake in commission or omission, or an error in judgment would have placed organized labor in a position that it would take years to overcome. The situation not of our seeking led to conditions over which we had no control, and required strong, clear-sighted and courageous leadership; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council proved equal to the occasion, and proved their loyalty to the trade union movement, to labor in general, and to our country as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention in regular session assembled fully endorse and concur in the course pursued by President Gompers and the Executive Council in calling a conference of the National and International officers on March 12th, nearly one month before war was declared, and concur in the action taken at that conference at which the representatives of labor declared their unswerving loyalty and fidelity to the labor movement and to our common country in peace or in war, and while asserting that insofar as lies within its power labor would suffer none of the successes achieved as a result of years of sacrifice and struggle to be taken away from labor on any pretext, and while hoping for an honorable peace, they declared that if our country were drawn into the maelstrom we would stand squarely behind the administration and our country, and urged that all members of organized labor do likewise. Moreover, we unreservedly endorse the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council in all of their actions in connection with the war and all other labor men in accepting positions of trust upon boards, commissions and committees, and declare that in their so doing the best interests of organized labor have been advanced, safeguarded and protected.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, James Moriarty and Hugh Franey:

WHEREAS, The representatives of the Sheet Metal Workers and Stove Mounters held a conference as per instructions of the Baltimore Convention (Resolution 71, page 332), with Mr. Perkins, representing the American Federation of Labor, meeting being held in the city of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, The Stove Mounters absolutely refuse to offer or suggest anything themselves that might lead to a settlement of the controversy and refuse the settlement as offered by the representatives of the Sheet Metal Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested to appoint one of their members to arrange a conference with the above named organization that this controversy may be brought to an amicable adjustment by amalgamation if necessary, so that the bitter feeling now existing between members of both organizations doing the same class of work may be obliterated and much better conditions prevail in that branch of the sheet metal industry.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegates J. P. Burke of Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers; M. Kaufman and P. Silberstein of Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada; A. Eberly, Warren, Pa., Central Labor Union, and I. Buchbinder of Neckwear Makers' Union, No. 11016:

WHEREAS, A conference of interna-

tional labor for the purpose of discussing international relations and terms of peace must sooner or later be held; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled expresses its willingness to be represented at such a conference whenever called.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, A. O. Wharton, James O'Connell, J. A. Taylor and Thos. Savage, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, At the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor, representatives of the International Association of Michinists, and Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners jointly entered into the following arrangement:

"Baltimore, Md., Nov. 20, 1916.

"To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

"The representatives of the International Association of Machinists and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held a conference in the Rennert Hotel, November 20, 1916, for the purpose of considering the dispute between the two organizations and arriving at some understanding that may eventually lead to a satisfactory adjustment of same.

"Realizing the grave importance of the questions at issue and that several conferences may be necessary to work out an agreement, it was agreed that the International President of each organization appoint a sub-committee to confer, from time to time, until an agreement has been reached.

"The representatives present felt that it would take some time to complete this work, but to show their earnestness and determination, before the conference adjourned, each President appointed a sub-committee to immediately take up the work referred to.

"These committees are now in session in this city, laying plans for future conferences.

"It was further agreed that pending a final adjustment of the dispute in question, if local troubles or disputes arise between the two organizations they should be referred to the presidents of both organizations for settlement.

"A report giving the result of the conferences will be made to the next convention.

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
FRANK DUFFY,
O. E. WOODBURY,
JAMES P. OGLETREE,
JACK FLYNN,
On behalf of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America;

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
J. A. TAYLOR,
THOMAS VAN LEAR,
A. O. WHARTON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
On behalf of the International Association of Machinists."

WHEREAS, In compliance with this agreement, the following conferences were held, without any understanding being reached:

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 21st, 1916—J. J. Keppler and William Hannon, representing the Machinists, and P. H. McCarthy and J. Flynn, representing the Carpenters.

Chicago, Ill., May 8th, 1917, Atlantic Hotel—President Hutcheson and Business Agents Oliver and Metz, representing the Carpenters, and Wm. Hannon and C. W. Fry, representing the Machinists.

Washington, D. C., June 9th and 10th, Council Room, A. F. of L. Building—President Hutcheson, Neal, Oliver, Metz and Flynn, representing the Carpenters, and President Johnston, Keppler, Hannon, Savage, Nicholson, Ames and Preston, representing the Machinists; President Gompers and Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor being present.

Indianapolis, Ind., Carpenters' Headquarters, July 9, 10 and 11, 1917—President Hutcheson, Flynn, Oliver, Metz and Neal, representing the Carpenters, and President Johnston, Keppler and Hannon, representing the Machinists.

Chicago, Ill., Carpenters' Hall and Fort Dearborn Hotel, July 12 and 13—Flynn and Metz, representing the Carpenters, and Hannon and Keppler, representing the Machinists.

WHEREAS, The failure of these five conferences to bring about any adjustment proves conclusively that it is the intention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to continue their encroachment on work coming under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinsts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the President and Executive Council to carry out the intent and purpose of Resolution No. 152, which was adopted by the Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor, without a dissenting vote, and which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, The Intefnational Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere where machinery may be used; and

"WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is attempting to do this work and taking advantage of every opportunity to place the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on same; and

"WHEREAS, Numerous protests have been made to the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of the trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and a number of conferences have been held, all to no avail, this resulting in the International Association of Machinists appealing to the Seattle Building Trades Department Convention in the form of a resolution protesting against the infringement complained of. This resolution was adopted and the officers

of the Building Trades Department instructed to use every means at their command to conserve the rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; and

"WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood materials and has never been recognized as a metal craft organization or granted jurisdiction over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and is hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution."

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 154—By Delegates Dan P. McKillop, J. Franklin and James A. Duncan:

WHEREAS, The plunging of the United States of America into a war with Germany has confronted this nation with a task so gigantic as to necessitate all possible co-operation between the government and the workers in order to safeguard us against defeat; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the workers of our allied nations fully demonstrates that the undermining of reasonable standards, or the continuance of intolerable standards of living would be fatal to our national cause; and

WHEREAS, The fulfilment of the government's ship building and other industrial programs is jeopardized by a shortage of skilled workers, to meet which shortage the government is planning with various institutions to give intensive training to unskilled men, totally ignoring the skilled workers whose interests are most vitally at stake; and

WHEREAS, Said skilled workers through their organizations, recognizing this pressing national emergency, are willing and anxious to co-operate with and aid the government to the limit of their ability, provided safeguards to the workers can be guaranteed; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we insist upon assurances being given by the United States Government that the interests and standards of living of the workers, whose co-operation is so essential to the successful carrying out of the government's program, be fully safeguarded, and that a committee of directly interested workers and their union officials wait upon the proper authorities, with a view to reaching a better understanding; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That insofar as the Metal Trades are concerned, the attached recommendation by the Metal Trades Council of Seattle, dealing particularly with the ship building program, be concurred in.

As a constructive program, we suggest the following procedure:

That the government, employes and employers, enter into an agreement, providing that:

First—The unions furnish the men required, on request by companies, as far as possible;

Second—That the union furnish instructors to train men for emergency service as may be required;

Third—That the examining boards of the unions shall pass on the qualifications of all applicants for such service, and issue proper permits to successful candidates;

Fourth—That all workmen doing mechanics' work shall receive not less than the minimum wage of the trade in question;

Fifth—That all the parties to the agreement shall recognize that the permits issued are temporary, and that when the emergency is passed, any and all lay-offs necessary, whether temporary or permanent, shall be governed by seniority in the trade; also that membership in the union and seniority shall give preference in all cases when workmen are promoted, demoted, transferred, or otherwise affected in their standard;

Sixth—Recognizing that on account of the excessive noise, dirt, danger, injuries received, hurry, exposure, and the comparative smallness of pay and uncertainty of employment, men age quickly in the steel ship building industry and become derelicts and dependents, it is agreed that, as far as possible, the excess labor provided shall be used to reduce hours of work without deduction of pay, and to provide greater safety and comfort in carrying on the work;

Seventh—We suggest that for the purpose of carrying out the agreement in an effective manner, an emergency labor supply commission, connected with the Department of Labor, independent of the United States Civil Service Commission, composed of three or five members, on which commission union labor shall predominate, be appointed, with suitable salaries and authority to decide questions arising and to appoint deputies where and when in their judgment it becomes necessary, the understanding being that as far as practicable the detail work will be voluntarily done by the union. Said emergency labor supply commission shall exist until the labor problems caused by the war are readjusted, after the war is over and the fighting forces demobilized.

Eighth—So as to make possible a more complete co-operation by all unions in this service of their country, we propose working agreements between various crafts so as to permit transfer of men as occasion requires, without friction.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 155—By Lancaster (Pa.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Lancaster, Pa., have taken up the fight of the cigar makers against the firm of Otto Eisenlohr & Bros., Inc., who locked their employes out without a moment's consideration; and

WHEREAS, This is the biggest fight of the organized and unorganized cigar makers in years and against the most unscrupulous firm of labor skinners in the cigar business, and further, Otto Eisenlohr & Bros., Inc., have nineteen (19) factories in nineteen different towns in the State of Pennsylvania, and employ five thousand (5000) cigar makers; and

WHEREAS, This is a corporation capitalized at nine million dollars ($9,000,000); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, in accordance with the foregoing resolution, do, and will hereby pledge our moral support to the Central Labor Union of Lancaster, Pa., to bring this firm to terms with their employes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend to all our affiliated unions to appoint a committee to visit the retailers in their respective localities to induce them to discontinue handling or selling the product of this firm, brand name, "Cico Cigar."

Endorsed by Central Labor Union, Lancaster, Pa.; Cigar Makers' International Union of America, Blue Label League of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, American Federation of Labor and the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate J. M. Gaviak of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, By the direction of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor (San Francisco, Cal.) a conference was ordered of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, in compliance with Resolutions Nos. 84 and 85 of said convention; the conference was held, thereby a satisfactory agreement between the two International Unions drawn on March 6, 1916, and approved by the Executive Boards of the two organizations; and

WHEREAS, This agreement was submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and approved by the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Baltimore, Md., and thereafter the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners' Executive Board cancelled said agreement to take place on April 1, 1917, which cancellation was protested by the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, wishing to set claims to the application of Asbestos and Asphalt Slate Shinglers to roofs of buildings, thereby transgressing on the jurisdiction claims of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be instructed by this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention to refrain from infringing on the jurisdiction claims of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be directed by this convention to live up to the agreement drawn on March 6th, 1916., between their brotherhood and the International State and Tile Roofers' Union of America.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate D'Alessandro, of International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

WHEREAS, Senate Bill 2854 to amend the naturalization laws, now pending in the Congress of the United States, provides a method for the immediate naturalization of thousands of our foreign-born loyal residents who have entered our army and navy and offered their lives to fight for the life of our democracy, and who are barred from receiving the full citizenship for which they are pleading because the present naturalization law under no construction can conform to the war conditions of our nation; and

WHEREAS, There are nearly ten millions of foreigners in our land who have never felt the Americanizing influence of our society and institutions of freedom, and the Bureau of Naturalization of the United States Department of Labor has been endeavoring for three years under the provisions of the present naturalization law, in co-operation with the public schools throughout the United States, to break through this barrier and lead the hundreds of thousands of seekers after American citizenship who annually take the solemn oath to become American citizens into an understanding of their rights and responsibilities as American citizens, ninety per cent. of whom are wage earners who are struggling to a comprehension of their rights as such; and

WHEREAS, Senate Bill 2854 has been prepared to overcome the obsolete provisions of law and provides funds for the expansion of this work of the Bureau of Naturalization and the public schools throughout the United States without making any real call upon the citizen taxpayers, since the revenues derived from the naturalization fees paid by the applicants for citizenship have paid all of the cost of Federal supervision and have piled up a surplus of over $660,000 in the Treasury of the United States above all cost of administration; and

WHEREAS, This is a distinctly necessary protective war work of the National Government, and this bill has been pronounced by the Senate Committee on Immigration as a "war emergency measure," with the recommendation that it be passed at an early date; therefore, be it,

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in national convention, that in the interests of organized labor and for the further protection of the citizenship of the United States of America during this war, Senate Bill 2854, to amend the naturalization laws, should immediately be passed by

the Congress and become law; and this convention calls upon all affiliated international unions and locals of its membership to immediately petition their respective Senators and Congressmen to push this bill to passage.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 158—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, 11773:

WHEREAS, From the records of the American Federation of Labor published in the American Federationist, it appears that considerable overtime is performed by the clerks at headquarters; and

WHEREAS, The practice of working overtime is discouraged as much as possible under trade union policies, especially if members of a union are out of work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Secretary Morrison be requested not to have his employes perform overtime, unless in cases of actual emergency, but to employ extra help, such extra work to be given in preference to members of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773, who may be out of work.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate Sam De Nedry, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, In various localities where shipbuilding or the manufacture of munitions or other war supplies is being carried on either by the government or private firms on an enormous scale, and extension of the works is in many cases of pressing necessity, there is an utter lack of the necessary housing of employes, conditions in this respect being almost incredibly bad and even disgraceful; and

WHEREAS, While this state of affairs is exceedingly detrimental to the wage-workers, the country at large is actually injured to a degree beyond estimate, since neither ships nor war supplies can be put at the service of the government in needed measure so long as housing for the workers is inadequate; and

WHEREAS, Immediate action is imperative in this vital matter to the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the conviction of this body that financial aid should be promptly given by the government wherever housing cannot be at once provided by private means; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the establishment of a central board or commission be recommended to the President of the United States, the duties of which shall be to negotiate with firms and communities for the purpose of speedily reaching decisions as to the most advantageous methods, measures, plans, places and persons to be utilized in a comprehensive housing project as a war necessity of the most urgent order.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates J. E. McClory, P. J. Morrin and S. P. Tobin, representing the Bridge and Structural Ironworkers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers' was temporarily suspended from the American Federation of Labor and its Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers' was not represented in the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department and, therefore, was not in a position to protect and defend its established and recognized claims of work; and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 14 was introduced by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and Resolution No. 21 was introduced by the Wood, Wire and Metalic Lathers' International Union, both of which resolutions requested the Building Trades Department to annul decisions that had been rendered by the Department a number of years ago and that had been sustained by the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor, and which had conceded to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers full and complete jurisdiction over the work, as set forth in both of the above resolutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be instructed by this convention not to annul the decisions as set forth in resolutions No. 14 and 21.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773:

WHEREAS, It is vital to the success of the labor movement that office workers, male and female, be more thoroughly organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pay at least $20.00 per week towards the expenses of an organizer for any local of stenographers or office workers wishing it.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate E. W. A. O'Dell, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario:

WHEREAS, A cry of shortage of labor has been raised throughout the country by a considerable proportion of the employing class, actuated by various motives, such as through apprehension that in the near future there may be a scarcity of qualified man power in their own particular lines of production, or through intention to substitute either female labor for male, or unskilled for skilled; and

WHEREAS, No authoritative source, either public or private, can be cited as providing statistical or other positive information to demonstrate any general scarcity of labor; and

WHEREAS, It is important that the standards of organized labor, especially as

expressed in the eight-hour day, the prevention of overwork by women, and the prohibition of wage-work by children of a tender age, be maintained without change as long as men are to be had to perform their usual tasks in production; and

WHEREAS, Much testimony has been gathered on this subject at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and no doubt much more is to be had from the delegates in attendance at this convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Chair appoint a special committee to go into session on this question at once, to investigate it so far as the means at hand permit, and report its findings before the adjournment of this Convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate Chas. MacGowan, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The General Organizers of the American Federation of Labor have not received an increase in salary for a number of years, notwithstanding the increased cost of commodities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in Section 7 of Article IX, the figures $6.00 be changed to read $7.00 on Line 3.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

The usual announcements as to time and place of committee meetings were made.

On motion by Vice-President Duncan the convention adjourned under a suspension of the rules at 11.20 a. m., to reconvene at 9.30 o'clock Wednesday morning, November 14th.

THIRD DAY---Wednesday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., November 14, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 14, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Wilson (Jas.), Donlin, Hede, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Berry, Orr, McMahon, Furuseth, Flynn, Conway (Thos.), Helt, Freel, Griggs, Short, Stillman, Ross (L. J.), Konenkamp, Williams (T. J.), Agethen, Scott (M. G.), Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, Kline, Sovey, Tobin (John F.), Baine, Bowen, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Boyer, Hempsell, Logan, Barnes, Baker, McNulty, Feeney, Brennan, Bechtold, Rickert, Daley, Schlesinger, Shapiro, Rosenberg, Zaritsky, Zuckerman, McCue, Sullivan (John), Williams, Greenstein, Duty, O'Connell, Taylor, Strain, Lane, Hynes, Moriarity, Frayne, Rankin, White (John P.), Hayes (Frank J.), Walker (J. H.), Farrington, Moore, Lewis, Weaver, O'Neal, O'Hara, Villeneuve, Taylor (C. O.), Jarrett, Kennedy (Thos.), Ogletree, Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald, Nelson, Harlin, Malley, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, McDonald (J. A.), O'Dell, Forrest (W. L.), Foster, Sellons, Brindell, Burch, Young, Bennett, Bower, Wilkinson, Tragilo, Hoefgen, McDonald, Murphy, (J. M.), Smith (A. E.), Warren, Hannum, Casey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Svenson, Allwine, Mezzacapo, McNally, Fisher, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Wilkie, Malone, Busch, Buchbinder, Mulkern, Differding, Eson, Hanrahan, Miller, Juhl, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Your Credential Committee wishes to recommend the seating of T. M. Cathrall, representing the Pittston, Pa., Central Labor Union, with one vote.

We also desire to substitute the name of J. L. Johnson for that of James B. Forrester from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and the name of Thomas J. Savage for that of Thomas Van Lear of the International Association of Machinists.

Respectfully submitted:

E. L. EDGERTON, Chairman;
T. P. HYLAND,
WM. P. CLARKE, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read the following communications and telegrams:

Fort Worth, Tex., November 12, 1917.
American Federation of Labor, in Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.:
Greetings:

Whereas, Local Union No. 208 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, in session assembled, recognizing the sterling ability of Fort Worth to properly entertain your honorable body, voted unanimously to join in the cordial invitation of our city to the American Federation of Labor to hold their convention in Fort Worth, Tex., in 1918.

Therefore, over the official seal of our local union, do we earnestly petition you to this effect, insisting that all loyal members of our brotherhood give diligent support to our urgent invitation.

Texas has been loyal and now seeks the stamp of your approval.

Yours fraternally,
FRED. TAYLOR, President.
CLAUDE FOOSE, Secretary.

Miami, Ariz., November 13, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Auditorium, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Miami Miners' Union sends greetings to American Federation of Labor, 1917 convention, and best wishes for beneficial and successful deliberations of your duty. We stand for Government ownership of all public utilities, including the mines, mills and smelters of this district, and urge the active co-operation of all organized labor to that end, and also co-operation between all international unions in the fight for better wages and conditions for one and all, and we urge the elimination of jurisdictional disputes in industrial affairs.

J. O. TREANOR, President.
P. W. BARNES, Secretary.

Louisville, Ky., November 13, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.:

United Trades and Labor Assembly of Louisville wishes the American Federation of Labor a successful convention.

G. F. STEINMETZ, JR., Secretary.

New York, N. Y., November 12, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, care George W. Bork, Secretary Convention Committee, 301 Brisbane Building, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Regret unable now to accept invitation. Owing to tardy reply have made other en-

gagements The National American Woman Suffrage Association is grateful for all the splendid endorsements which labor has given Woman Suffrage, and now most earnestly urges the Federation to help us press on to the next step following our New York victory. We appeal to the Federation of Labor to pass at its coming convention a strong resolution embodying the united call of labor upon Congress to submit a Federal amendment for Woman Suffrage.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, President.

Los Angeles, Cal., November 13, 1917.
The American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Whereas, Our country has been forced into the world war for liberty and democracy, and that the American Federation of Labor is bending every effort in the support of President Wilson; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the California State Conference of Bricklayers of the B. M. and P. I. U., in convention assembled in Los Angeles, Cal., do hereby pledge to President Gompers individually and collectively our support and confidence.

L. W. GIST,
CHARLES SPENCER,
G. GERMAIN,
GEORGE I. OSBORN,
Committee.

Cedar Rapids, Ia., November 13, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Kindly convey my greetings to your convention and my hope for its great success and the assurance that the Iowa State Federation of Labor feel mighty grateful for the able manner in which you and your associates have handled the affairs of labor in the past. With best wishes and assuring you our hearty co-operation and support.

F. A. CANFIELD,
President Iowa State Federation of Labor.

Baltimore, Md., November 12, 1917.
American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Local No. 1, Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, at its regular meeting sends fraternal greetings to the officers and delegates of the American Federation of Labor assembled at Buffalo, N. Y. "Labor Omnia Vincit."

C. V. LEONARD, President.

San Francisco, Cal., November 12, 1917.
Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Expected to be with you to say hello, but guess I have to remain here. Give my regards to the gang and accept my sincere wishes for a most successful convention. Was elected here Tuesday for four more years. We cleaned up the anti-labor crowd in good style. I trust the convention will be staunch in its support of President Wilson. He is carrying a heavy load; let us share his burden. Let the slogan be: "Stand behind the President." Good luck.

ANDREW J. GALLAGHER.

Beaver Falls, Pa., November 12, 1917.
Frank Morrison, Statler Hotel, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Cold Drawn Steel Workers' Local No. 15539, A. F. of L., extends greetings for a successful meeting. Any action taken by you that would bring the attention of the United States Government as to the causes of the present strike in the Beaver Valley will be greatly appreciated.

Yours for success,

F. K. GUMPF,
President C. D. S. W. U. No. 15539.

New York, N. Y., November 13, 1917.
American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled, Buffalo, N. Y.:

The United Board of Business Agents of the Building Trades of New York City heartily and unanimously endorses the address delivered before convention yesterday by President Woodrow Wilson, and also unanimously endorses the recommendations of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

PAUL McNALLY,
Board President.
ROOSEVELT D. TOMPKINS,
Board Secretary.

Telegrams from the various cities seeking the next convention were read by the Secretary as follows:

In behalf of Fort Worth, Tex.: Telegrams from the Young Men's Business League, the Mayor of Dallas, the Governor of Texas, the Houston Chamber of Commerce, the Galveston Commercial Association, the President of the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, United States Senator Culberson, T. C. Jennings, Labor Commissioner; Ben E. Keith, President of the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce, and the Secretary of the Austin Chamber of Commerce.

In behalf of Providence, R. I.: Telegrams from Mayor Joseph H. Gainer of Providence, the Providence Central Federated Union, United States Senator Gerry, the Mayor of Pawtucket, R. I., and the Mayor of Newport, R. I.

In behalf of St. Paul, Minn.: Telegrams from the St. Paul Association of Public and Business Affairs, the Mayor of St. Paul, and a committee representing the labor organizations of St. Paul.

In behalf of San Francisco, Cal.: A telegram from the San Francisco Convention League.

Secretary Morrison read the following cablegram:

London, November 13, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.:

General Federation of Trade Unions extends fraternal greetings to President Gompers and American Federation of Labor, and wishes both fullest success in dealing with the serious and world-reaching problems which face the convention in session at Buffalo. APPLETON.

Secretary Morrison also read the following:

Globe, Ariz., November 13, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Conditions in Globe very unsatisfactory,

although miners involved agreed to abide by the ruling of the President's Special Commission. The copper companies are not keeping their part of the agreement. Many of our active members have been refused employment, and this organization requests the A. F. of L. to demand that President Wilson insist on mining companies living up to terms of settlement.

S. J. FORD,
President Globe Miners' Union.

Delegate Voigt moved that the telegram from the Globe Miners' Union and the request made therein be concurred in. At the suggestion of President Gompers he changed his motion to provide that the matter be referred to the proper committee. The motion was seconded and carried and the telegram referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

The Illinois State Federation of Labor.
Buffalo, N. Y., November 13, 1917.
Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:
Dear Sir and Brother:

As you will recall, the Executive Council referred to you the question of trying to bring about a settlement, of amalgamation, between the seceding organization and the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers. You will no doubt recall also that we brought about an armistice between these two organizations in Chicago, and in that armistice laid the basis through which we hoped finally to bring about an amalgamation. Am pleased to advise that this amalgamation has been perfected and that both sides to the controversy have signed a written agreement on the question, along with Secretary Olander, for the State Federation of Labor, and John Fitzpatrick, for the Chicago Federation of Labor. A copy of this agreement is enclosed.

Would like very much now, if we could get your signature to that agreement. In the event that you care to or think it necessary, in connection with this matter, would be glad to meet you at any time in the near future, along with the representatives of the organizations at interest, for the purpose of discussing any points in connection with this matter that you may not understand or feel sure about. In the event that you sign it, this organization expects then to make application to the Executive Council some time after the convention is over, for the right to have their name changed in accordance with this agreement that has been reached.

Knowing that you are exceedingly busy at this time and that the Council will be busy also with other important work during the convention, and that you will have more time to go into the matter and deal with it properly at some of your other meetings between conventions, is the only reason that they are not making the request at this time.

In view of the fact that the enemies of this organization and of the labor movement having used their past situation against them when they made efforts to organize the unorganized brick makers, would like to have you, if you feel you can do so properly, to announce this amalgamation at some session of this convention.

On account of the law governing finances, etc., in the Federation of Labor, it will be impossible for any additional delegates to be seated representing this organization than the ones already seated, but if you could get the convention to give the right of a seat, with a voice in the proceedings, to Frank Kasten, President, and William Tracy, Secretary-Treasurer, who are both here, and who, too, are and will be the active officers in the amalgamated organization, and against whom the employers have used the fact that they were not a part of the A. F. of L. to discredit them in their work in organizing the unorganized brick makers, would like very much to have you do so, because that would then make it impossible for anyone to use that influence against them in the future in doing the legitimate work of their organization.

May say to you personally, Sam, that there is not any more honest, cleaner trade unionists in our movement than these two men are.

Trusting that I may hear from you favorably on these matters, with best wishes I am,
Fraternally yours,
J. H. WALKER, President.

Articles of Amalgamation By and Between the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance
and
The United Brick and Clay Workers of America.

First. The representatives of the above-named organizations hereby agree that the name of the amalgamated union shall be known as The United Brick and Clay Workers of America, subject to the approval of the American Federation of Labor.

Second. President Frank Butterworth of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance shall be Associate President of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America and Chairman of the Executive Board, and shall have equal power with the President. He shall hold such position until October 1, 1920, without the formality of an election, and his salary shall be not less than is now paid the President. It is further agreed that the position of Associate President and Chairman of the Executive Board shall be open for nomination and election in 1920.

Third. The offices of Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Vice-Presidents shall be created, and the four Vice-Presidents of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance shall fill such offices. These positions shall be open for nomination and election at the regular election of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America in 1918.

Fourth. Secretary-Treasurer William Van Bodegraven of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance agrees to resign his office on November 30, 1917, and further agrees to deliver to the United Brick and Clay Workers of America all

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property of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance in his possession on that date, and all money received under that name after November 30, 1917.

Fifth. It is further agreed that the laws of the present United Brick and Clay Workers of America shall be the laws of the amalgamated union (except as herein provided) until such time as they are legally amended.

Sixth. This agreement to be in force and effect immediately after being ratified by the American Federation of Labor.

THE INTERNATIONAL BRICK, TILE AND TERRA COTTA WORKERS' ALLIANCE.

FRANK BUTTERWORTH,
WILLIAM VAN BODEGRAVEN,
Secretary-Treasurer.

THE UNITED BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS OF AMERICA.

FRANK KASTEN,
WILLIAM TRACY.

THE ILLINOIS STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR.

V. A. OLANDER.

THE CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR.

JOHN FITZPATRICK.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

On motion by Delegate Conners, the men named in the communication were seated as delegates in the convention without vote.

The following communication was received from Delegates Dennis Lane, John F. Hart and John Kennedy of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, giving the action of the Executive Board of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, Through the kind office and great assistance given by the American Federation of Labor to our organization, our membership has been greatly increased and our organization greatly strengthened; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Executive Board of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen desire to extend their hearty thanks and appreciation to the American Federation of Labor, its Executive Council and organizers for their sincere efforts and thorough co-operation in our work of organizing.

President Gompers called for reports of committees, but none were ready at this time.

Secretary Morrison announced that 163 resolutions had been received up to midnight on Tuesday and would be given to the chairmen of the various committees in printed form.

President Gompers announced that the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, with others who had been invited to address the convention, would speak under a special order of business at 10 o'clock Thursday morning, November 15th.

Delegate McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, made a brief statement in reference to the patriotic tobacco fund which is being raised under the auspices of the Tobacco Workers' organization and requested that the delegates convey the information to their various local unions so that they might respond to the call for funds. He also requested the delegates to look for the label of the Tobacco Workers when purchasing tobacco, cigars and cigarettes.

A motion was offered by Delegate McAndrew, properly seconded and carried, that a committee be appointed to take up a voluntary subscription for the special fund mentioned by him, the tobacco purchased with the fund to be sent to the front to the men who are fighting for freedom and democracy.

President Gompers appointed the following committee: Delegates McAndrew, Sexton and Altman.

President Gompers announced that the official convention photograph would be taken at noon Thursday, November 15th.

Delegate Koveleski, after announcements as to time and place of committee meetings had been made, moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourned to 9.30 o'clock Thursday morning to enable the committees to prepare their reports.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 10.40 a. m. the convention was adjourned to 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 15th.

FOURTH DAY---Thursday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 15, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Thursday, November 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees — Goldstone, Kline, Sovey, Baine, Brown, Bowen (Wm. J.), Preece, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Price, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Baker, Conway (H. J.), Coulter, McNulty, Feeney, Rosenberg, Margolis, Greenstein, Savage, Hogan, Strain, Hart, Lane, Moriarty, Moore (John), Skemp, Schneider (George J.), McGivern, Hede, George, Kearney, Anderson (Charles), Lyons, Deviny, Orr, Suitor, Sheehan, Furuseth, Flynn, Brown (H. H.), Conway (Thomas), Helt, Freel, Sweeney, Ross (L. J.), Konenkamp, Agethan, Scott (M. G.), Hays (J. W.), Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Taylor (Claud O.), Holland, Jarrett, Kennedy (Thos.), Ogletree, Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Coughlin, Doyle (F. E.), Bryan (Frank L.), McDonald (John A.), Odell, Foster, McKinnon, Hodges, Henry, Burch, Clark (E. A.), Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison (E. C.), Martindale, Wilkinson, James, Traglio, Murphy (J. M.), Smith (A. E.), Warren, Black, Hannum, Casey, Iglesius, Depp, Svenson, Allevine, Tillman, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Wilkie, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Buchbinder, Eson, Hanrahan, Miller (F. M.), Juhl, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from the City Club of Cincinnati, O.; the Board of Trade of Scranton, Pa.; the Governor of Minnesota, and the acting Governor of Rhode Island, soliciting the next convention for the cities of Cincinnati, Scranton, St. Paul and Providence.

He also read the following telegram:

Washington, D. C., Nov. 14.

President Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Am pleased to learn of your convention's interest in Pan-American relationship and co-operation. I beg of you say to the delegates that in my capacity as the executive officer of the Pan-American Union, the official international organizations of the American republics, I shall be ready to give the Pan-American labor movement any assistance in my power, believing that it will be a powerful and practical influence towards greater solidarity and unity in the economic, social and political development of the Western Hemisphere.

JOHN BARRETT,
Director-General Pan-American Union.

President Gompers announced that the Committee on Adjustment had made request that Resolution No. 106, presented by Delegate James A. Duncan, be assigned to the Committee on Labels. No objection was offered to the change, and the resolution was re-assigned accordingly.

At the request of Delegate Perham of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, Resolution No. 26, previously assigned to that committee, was re-assigned to the Committee on Laws.

Delegate Morrin of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers asked unanimous consent of the convention, which was granted, to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates J. E. McClory, P. J. Morrin and S. P. Tobin of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, The American labor movement is loyal and patriotic to our country in the present world war, and is determined to use its best efforts to establish and maintain the co-operation of all organized workers in assisting our government to carry this war for justice and humanity to a successful conclusion; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers earnestly desires to lend its aid in the furtherance of the above principles, and has at the present time one-sixteenth of its entire membership engaged in the government military and naval service and has purchased Liberty Loan Bonds to the extent of thirty-five thousand dollars ($35,000.00), and stands ready and willing to make any sacrifices necessary to aid President Wilson and our Government to help win this war; and

WHEREAS, A great amount of the materials necessary for government work and contracts are being furnished by the United States Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and which work is being erected by or through the firms that are members of the National Erectors' Association; and

WHEREAS, For the past twelve years the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the National Erectors' Association have steadfastly refused to enter into an agreement or to in any way negotiate with our International Union, in which over 75 per cent. of the men who follow our trade are members, and the above named companies have repeatedly refused to meet the repre-

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sentatives of our International Association in conference; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be empowered and authorized to take up this matter with the Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy and the Council of National Defense, and endeavor to have the members of our association receive the same recognition and consideration that is accorded the other organized workers of our country on all war work and contracts and all other work being done for the government where the services of such skilled workmen are required.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Baird of St. Louis explained that he had received by a late mail a request from the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis to introduce a resolution. The unanimous consent of the convention was given and the following resolution was introduced:

Resolution No. 165—By Delegate Charles E. Baird of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union:

WHEREAS, It has occurred from time to time that members of the Federal Judiciary have presumed to declare unconstitutional, laws enacted by the Congress of the United States, although neither the Constitution of the United States nor the Federal Statutes specifically confer upon the members of said Federal Judiciary the right or prerogative to pass upon the constitutionality of such laws; and

WHEREAS, Some of such laws were enacted at the instance of and by the efforts of organized labor, and for the general welfare of the common people of our nation, the action of the members of the Federal Judiciary in thus nullifying said laws is subversive of the progress and best interests of humanity; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Federal Judiciary are created such by the legislative and executive departments of our government jointly, the action of the former in passing upon the validity of the enactments of the latter, constitutes an effort of a creature to approve or disapprove the acts of its creator, a condition that is inconsistent with common sense, as well as tending to undermine the spirit of true democracy by placing arbitrarily in the hands of one individual the power to nullify the laws adopted by the chosen representatives of the people; and

WHEREAS, The arbitrary assumption of such power by the members of the Federal Judiciary has in the past endangered the public welfare, and is certain to become a more serious menace to the interests of the common people and to place in jeopardy laws that have been and may be enacted for the benefit of labor and humanity, unless a timely check is placed upon the actions of the members of said Federal Judiciary, as they hold their appointments for life, conditioned only on "good behavior," they being thus amenable to no other authority; and

WHEREAS, Senator Robert G. Owen of Oklahoma has introduced in the Congress resolutions which, if adopted by said body, will constitute it a breach of "good behavior" for a member of the Federal Judiciary to attempt to pass upon the constitutionality of an act of Congress, the one making the attempt thereby automatically vacating his office, authority being given the President to make an appointment of a successor to fill said vacancy; said resolutions also reciting in detail the fact that the granting of such arbitrary power to the members of the Federal Judiciary is in direct and positive conflict with the best thought and opinion of delegates to the Constitutional Convention which drew up the Constitution of the United States, as same were most emphatically expressed by them in said convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the officers and the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor hereby stand instructed to use every honorable means at their command to secure the adoption of the said resolutions of Senator Owens by the Congress and their approval by the President of the United States; and, be it also

RESOLVED, That the delegates of all the international and local unions and central bodies be urgently requested to prevail upon the organizations they represent, that they bring every possible influence to bear upon the Senators and Congressmen from their respective districts, with the view of aiding in the adoption of said resolutions.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report that we have received credentials for the following delegates and recommend that they be seated:

Orange, N. J., Federated Trades Council—Edward J. Henry, 1 vote.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—George C. King, to be substituted in place of E. F. Kloter.

Farmers' National Congress — L. B. Strayer.

International Association of Machinists—Charles Fry.

Central Labor Union, Panther Creek Valley, Lansford, Pa.—John B. Brislin, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman.

T. P. HYLAND,
WM. P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate McAndrew of the Tobacco Workers' International Union announced that the collection on the preceding day for the patriotic tobacco fund amounted to $158.77.

Delegate Shea of the Theatrical Stage

Employes asked that the name of L. G. Dolliver, his co-delegate, be substituted for his name as a member of the Committee on Education. The request was granted.

Delegate James Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Report of Executive Council, asked that Resolution No. 17 be referred to the Committee on Organization rather than to the Committee on Report of Executive Council. Objection was raised thereto and the request was not granted.

President Gompers: The hour set for the special order has arrived to hear from the fraternal delegates. It has been the custom in our annual conventions to first hear the reports of our own fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Brother John Golden of the Textile Workers, who was a co-delegate with Brother James Lord, has been called to Washington and Philadelphia in order to attend to a great industrial dispute in which the members of his organization and industry are affected. As a consequence request has been made that the report of the fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress be deferred until the return of Brother Golden tomorrow morning, and so we will change the order of procedure.

I have the honor and the pleasure of presenting to you Brother John Hill, one of the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress to this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Address of Fraternal Delegate Hill.

President Gompers and Delegates: In the first place, let me thank you for your unbounded hospitality extended to my colleague, Mr. Hayday, and I ever since we touched American soil. We hear reports from our delegates from year to year of your treatment when they come on the other side, but I feel after all these reports, that the half has never been told on the other side, of your country, of yourselves and your great generosity to those who come among you. There was just a little touch in your decorations on Monday, unfortunately somewhat obscured today, that went to my heart, and that was behind here the two great flags of your country, the Stars and Stripes, and between them the little flag, the Union Jack, and with all her fears of these past three years and our later personal fears, even crossing the ocean we felt as if our great Uncle Sam had put his two arms around us and made us feel safe for the remainder of this war.

I felt it a great privilege to be here at your opening and to listen to that message of hope from the President of the United States. We are admirers of your President on the other side, and we are glad to know that the relations between your President and between yourselves and the President of the United States are of so happy a kind. We feel sure it augurs well for the safety and the increased welfare of those affiliated to the American Federation of Labor that you should be on those happy terms with the great head of this country of yours.

Well, Mr. President, I have also attended every session you have had since the morning of Monday, not because I was afraid of that black mark which might go against my colleague and I, but because of the very great interest your convention presents to delegates coming from the old country with the old and very different methods we have of doing our business there. And I have learned many things which I have made a note of that we may incorporate them and improve by their example when I go back again on the other side.

Mr. Hayday and I are sent here to offer greetings from the British Trades Union Congress. We are now somewhat like three and one-quarter million strong, and I therefore offer to you the hearty greetings from those men whom we represent, men who have the same difficulties and are trying in their own way to accomplish the same things as you have before you at this convention. Just before coming away the Parliamentary Committee of Congress decided to send a special invitation to your worthy and esteemed President Gompers to come over to the other side. We believe that it requires all we can do to unify and solidify our efforts now that you are with us in the national cause. There is still great need that you should be in the most close touch with what we have done on the other side, that your interests may be fully safeguarded and that the great common cause may be helped to the uttermost by the workers in America as in the United Kingdom. And if I can add anything of my poor persuasive words to what has already been said to your President, I do so now, and hope that he will be convinced and that you will be favorable to the invitation we have sent.

Mr. Hayday and I had hoped to be the bearers of that panel which we had spoken about—that gift we are going to make to your labor temple in Washington. I did hope that we would have brought it with us and exhibited it to you on this occasion, but the war difficulties, the army calling the young architect, the sculptor whom we have on the work, has delayed the work somewhat, and while it is now quite ready there was the further request that it should remain there a little longer, and I will tell you why. This panel is a great sculpture cast in bronze, some ten feet long by six feet deep, framed in British oak taken from the old flagship of Nelson, and it has been seen by one or two of the experts, has been hung in the British Academy, has been declared a masterpiece of art, and the Admiralty and the London County Council have asked that opportunity be given to the citizens of our own country and fellow-trade unionists to see it before it comes to be fixed in your temple in Washington and remain there for all time.

I must get just a little thing off my chest, and that is something that hurt me very much. I feared to offend you delegates, but I must confess that I felt very much pained

on Monday morning to listen to a story of what the workers are doing in England. Mr. Landon, I think you called the gentleman, pictured the British army and particularly that gallant little regiment from Canada, the Princess Pats, being literally cut to pieces for want of an extra shell or two to defend their position, and while in this state the workers at home in England were walking about the streets playing, themselves on a week's holiday, absolutely careless and indifferent, when he, your friend, stepped into the breach and by his voice and fine example helped to rally us somewhat from our lethargy and indifference. It is a terrible picture, worthy delegates, but let me tell you just a few facts of what the real position has been there.

Right at the beginning of the war, almost immediately after the declaration, there was a rush to the colors in our islands and the rush was so great that the army authorities were absolutely unable to deal with it. Our boys were lying on the streets all night for days and weeks in thousands in our large cities waiting their turn to be enrolled in his majesty's forces to defend their country. These are the facts. The rush was so great that I, along with other trade unionists, was asked by the admiralty to accompany their representatives to the engine shops and to the ship yards and the factories, to go down amongst the men and appeal to these men not to enlist because their services were more necessary to the country at the benches, in the ship yards, forging the arms, making the shells and munitions for our boys who were going "out there." And we had difficulty to persuade our skilled men that they were doing honorable work; that they were doing their duty by waiting there. We persuaded some, but I want to say this to you: That the leaders in the trade union movement were not shirking behind their men; they were not slackers. Take my own case—my wife and daughter have been giving every spare hour they have had and working into the night to prepare knitted and other goods for the boys who have gone. I have traveled nights, seven days running, sat on committees during the day with government representatives, doing all I could to help and advise in the organization of labor for the production of the necessaries for our boys, and while I have persuaded some to wait I did not persuade my own four boys, all of whom went in those early months, and one of them has paid the supreme sacrifice. Our boys know what it is to suffer that hell, and are we at home, their brothers and their fathers, going to be indifferent and idle and careless as to whether they are equipped or not? It is unthinkable, it is untrue, and I ask you to take what I have told you and compare it with what has been said on Monday morning. I don't like to criticise too severely, but I do know that there are men who came to our country and they were entertained by some very big capitalists who were making 100, 200, 300 per cent.; some of them dined unwisely and too well, and they went out and said things they knew nothing about. The workmen of England were maligned untruthfully and unfairly by many during those months that are now gone. I say there is no slacking in England, and I feel sure there will be no slacking amongst the members affiliated to this Federation to equip the boys we have sent.

I have spoken of my interest in your proceedings, and I know you are interested in the work of our Congress. I regret that your co-delegates, Messrs. Lord and Golden, have not been able to present their reports, but I will just give you one or two of the more outstanding resolutions which you also are interested in. At our last Congress, in September last, we decided that our industrial efforts were not quite sufficient, were not quite adequate to secure for us the objects that we have in view, and we decided to strengthen and extend our efforts in the political field, to unite us quite definitely and closely with the political party, namely, the British Labor Party. We think we have now arranged for something like 300 candidates who will be placed in the field as parliamentary candidates for the next general election, and we have good hopes to believe that at least 200 may be returned when the opportunity may come.

We had a resolution on economics. There has been a kind of see-saw policy as to what ought to be the fiscal policy of these old islands of ours, and I want to say that the British Trades Union Congress is quite against those who would declare everlasting economic war. In our resolution we said: "The economic changes brought about by the war have in no way altered the fundamental truth that free trade between the nations forms the broadest and surest foundation for world prosperity and international peace." That is our declaration, but while we lay that down as an economic policy we don't believe that free trade is going to free us from capitalist exploitation; we recognize that, but on the other hand we do know that protective tariffs form the best ground for the capitalist ring and the exploiter to hold up the men and the whole country to ransom at any time they should choose, and therefore we declare that while we are going to fight this out on the military field we are hoping for a settlement by which we will restore the good feeling and the good business between all the peoples of the civilized world. It is perhaps remarkable that our government and certain other governments have made a contrary trade declaration, but the Trades Union Congress has laid down its policy and our government has authority to accept our policy or risk our opposition to theirs.

Another important resolution I just want to touch on is the conscription of wealth. I remember some years ago when we had that resolution we perfectly shocked and alarmed our good old "one-bean-at-a-time" trade unionists. They were afraid of such a daring resolution. If there is one thing that is wrong with the British workingman it is his modesty. It is many long years since W. E. Gladstone said to a deputation of miners who approached him, "Are you all agreed on this question?" and they had to admit that this section and the next section had varying views. He said, "What you want to do is to go back and get an agreement on this or on any other question and come here and no matter what you ask them you will get it."

Sir Charles Dilt at one time said: "If there is any one thing more than another

which disappoints me with the working men of this country it is because they never ask enough." And even our present Premier—I don't know if he is our present Premier, he is the one we had when we left—said quite recently to the workers that what we wanted was "audacity, audacity, audacity." And in making that statement he was simply quoting the more famous statement of Danton, the great leader of the first French Revolution, when he said, "What we require to conquer is audacity and yet more audacity, and always audacity."

This is supposed to be an audacious resolution, the conscription of wealth, but why should we think so in these days now? What are we talking about wealth in this way? We are talking about material things, land and gold and those things—of course I know dollars don't concern Americans—but when we compare what we have done in our country, we have already conscripted all the real wealth that is in the country, all the efficient manhood of our country has already been taken by the State, and having taken that it is only a simple thing to take the material wealth where that is necessary to equip and carry on the national cause. And I ask you, I ask you to think, is there any man in Great Britain today who has given a son to the State but would not gladly change places with any man who has only given or has lost gold? There is no comparison.

One other resolution that I wish to mention, and that is a resolution on internationalism. I remember how interested we were in your letters, Mr. President, and in your literature on this question a year ago. As a parliamentary committee we gave your correspondence the most carful consideration, and your invitation to an international was considered as a parliamentary committee sitting calmly there with all the passions that this war has engendered, but thinking over it calmly we finally decided unanimously that your position was the right one, and we decided to recommend to Congress that your position should be adopted; that your invitation should be accepted. Unfortunately our Congress had not the same quiet opportunity of deliberation that we had, and as a result of some rather passionate speeches our Congress got a bit out of hand and our recommendation was defeated. Notwithstanding that, you have practically adhered to your position, if I can gather everything that I have seen emanating from your President, and at our last Congress in September we again considered this question of internationalism.

We had then before us the invitation to the Stockholm conference, but we had had just previous to our Congress a meeting of allied representatives of labor, or of some of the allies—you were not present, Mr. President—and we found at that allied conference in London that it was impossible at that time to get anything like a common understanding amongst ourselves. We found the national differences so great that to have gone to any international, particularly to have met those who were fighting against us, would have been against all our interests at that time, and therefore Congress decided that the attendance at an international at that time was not a practical proposition. We decided that we must first obtain something like general consent, general unanimity of aim amongst ourselves, and the Congress instructed the Parliamentary Committee to take these steps. Having done that we entered a strong protest against the government's action in refusing passports to our delegates, because we held that our government has no right to deny the workers opportunty of international expression if they require that in the interests of themselves and of the workers in other countries. In addition to that we resolved as follows:

"We are strongly of an opinion that an international conference would be of the greatest service, and as a necessary preliminary to the conclusion of a lasting democratic peace, we recommend the Trade Union Parliamentary Committee be empowered to assist, to arrange and take part in such a conference." That is our attitude on internationalism on the other side of the water, and so far, I say, as I can gather your position, you are practically with us on this question, and I am glad.

But since Congress we have got together. As I told you, we have linked up closely with the political side of our movement, and jointly with them we have now made a draft of our position on all the phases of the international question as it affects the different countries in parts of Europe now in dispute. We open that declaration by reaffirming what was done at the Allied Conference in February, 1915, and the opening declaration there is that this war, gentlemen, arises out of imperialistic efforts to obtain control for kings and emperors of even larger portions of the earth's surface. It arises through the competition of capitalist interests to control the labor of the workers in the countries of the world. And further, the declaration says that all nations share in the responsibility for this war. We do not assess the percentages; that is a matter which may vary in the minds of the delegates of all countries. We have strong opinions as to how these percentages are to be allocated, but there is the fact in our mind as trade unionists that below all the intrigues of politicians and diplomats there is this capitalistic influence that is the danger to you and the danger to the workers of all countries, and until we also emancipate ourselves from the domination of capital there will be no democracy for the workers of your country and of ours.

I just want to make a moment's reference to Russia. I am afraid in these days that we are not quite understanding our fellow-workers in that great country. Our sympathy has been with them for as long as all of us here can remember; they lived in a state of oppression which was almost unequaled from an industrial standpoint, and our sympathy, I say, has been with them. Why should they not retain our sympathy? What have they done that that should now be forfeited? Just let me remind you what was the cause of the Russian Revolution, and I would require to go very far back. I think I am right in saying that the first spark of democracy was lighted in this country of yours when you defeated the British government in 1776. And it was your uprising that inspired the first French Revolution; it was your uprising that helped us in the old

country to democratize and modernize our institutions somewhat on those lines, and it has been your long influence that has had something to do with the emancipation of Russia.

But what was the immediate cause? The immediate cause was that the Czar and his court were on the eve of accomplishing a definite agreement with the Emperor of Germany. Are not these the facts? Only the revolution saved the accomplishment of that agreement. And while we are pained at the present state of Russia; while we deeply regret the demoralization of her military forces which is bringing the burden on our boys in the west, I hope we will have some little patience and I hope we will remember that even as it is in Russia today it is better than that all the German forces there on that frontier and all the Russian soldiers had been brought down to the west in a compact force against us there. I want you to think on that, and I want you to remember that no revolution can be accomplished in a day.

We may have little sympathy with a great many of the things going on there at the present time because of the military demoralization of her forces, but if we have confidence at all in democracy we must do what we can to support the democracy of Russia, because it is reported today that the counter-revolution has succeeded in a part of Russia and that they are there re-establishing Nicholas on the throne as Czar of that portion of Russia. We must support the democracy there, and having given our hand in the beginning of the war; having supported the Czar; having sent 200,000 of our best boys, Canadians, Australians and Britishers, to give their lives uselessly at Gallipoli—what for—to get Constantinople for the Czar—having done that, surely we are not going to refuse the hand of Russia that is outstretched to us now because that hand is hard with centuries of toil.

Remember, men, they haven't the opportunities. Your very esteemed President, your revered President, said yesterday that had there been such an equivalent to the American Federation of Labor in Russia we should not have had anarchy and the state of things that exist there now. That is exactly the position; if Russia had had some organization similar to this of yours we should have seen Russia stand as she has never stood; we should have seen a Russia today that we would have been proud of; a Russia that would have helped you and us to end this terrible horror that we have had during these past three years.

I thank you, my fellow delegates. I have exhausted my time in talking to you; I have talked clearly and definitely as to our position, and I hope I have not criticised in any way. I should not attempt to criticise any of your friends. Your methods may be different, but we fully realize that your objects and ours are the same, and if our visit here can in any way unify our two great movements or unify our two great nations in this cause I shall be glad that I at least have accomplished something.

President Gompers introduced Mr. Arthur Hayday, fraternal delegate to the American Federation of Labor from the British Trades Union Congress.

Address of Fraternal Delegate Hayday.

President Gompers, Brothers in Unity and Comrades in Arms: I, together with Brother Hill, was selected by our September Trades Union Congress to convey in the name, first of all, of the three million and a quarter trade unionists there represented, but generally in the name of the old trade union movement of the British Isles, to the number of five million at the present moment, to convey to this great American convention of labor their fraternal greetings, their expressions of good will and their desire, if there is room for it, for a greater and closer unity as between the workers of these two great nations.

Brother Hill has, I think, adequately represented all the fraternal wishes and desires of the British trade unionists in those very excellent and well chosen words of his. It is always a pleasure to us in the old country to meet your delegation year by year. You will remember some of my colleagues in the particular union to which I am attached. You will remember William Thorn; you will remember J. R. Clynes. Both of these men told me when setting out on the journey, "You will find the American boys all right; they will not be able to do enough for you." Brother Hill and myself feel that you have done more than we ever deserved that you should do. No trouble is too great—constant inquiries as to our comfort—and I tell you quite frankly, the other evening I was out with a delegate who is now sitting in the body of this hall, and in conversation with him I felt so much at home that I was talking to him as though we were speaking just of the small localities around Great Britain until I suddenly discovered I was out of my elements and I had to beg pardon. When your representatives came over last time, Brothers Lord and Golden, each made a point of demonstrating and proving that after all we are all "much of a muchness." It is very difficult to distinguish; we speak the same tongue, we have the same aspirations, we more clearly understand one another, and each tried to make a point that there was a little bit of British breed in them, although for the time being they were resident in America and American citizens. I am very pleased to say that I am associated to some slight extent with America, just to this extent—that my wife was born in Newark, N. J., of American parents—and she would have been delighted to have even undertaken the risk of crossing over the pond, but you must remember that we have eleven living children, and should Mr. Submarine have cleared both of us out of the road I am afraid the children would have suffered greater than we would in consequence of such a calamity, and like a true, real mother, whilst her heart yearned for a visit to the place of her birth, the love was greater when the attachment, the interest and the welfare of her children were concerned.

Brother Hill mentioned, as I want to mention, just to a slight degree, the unfortunate statement, which, I might say, demonstrated ignorance, made by Mr. Landon in its relationship to the British workers.

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You can quite imagine the feelings of Brother Hill and myself when we had to listen to that here in America. You have been placarded yourselves; you will be placarded later on. We have been villified in our own country, and in the words of your President on Monday, "You are always safe in criticizing the other fellow when you are a long way away from him." It so happened two small representatives were here on the paltform. I want to say it was a libelous, untruthful statement to make of a British worker. I can only imagine that our friend, with all the American push and go, with all the lightning-like activities, seemed to push his way through somewhere, and through some set of circumstances best known to himself that he could not get quick delivery that gave quick returns, he listened to some yarn which we would say over in our country: "Somebody done it on him a bit thick." Consequently he quite magnified this thing and conjured up in his own mind the working men taking three weeks' holiday, playing football, going fishing, etc. Well, you will hear during the course of a few remarks I have to submit what the British worker has actually done, what he actually is suffering, and then I want you to forget that the man who claimed to be at one time a trade union official, but who for personal advancement left that sphere of work to become president of a chamber of commerce and undertook responsibilities in industry more profitable, should turn around on the class from which he came to the extent of villifying and trying to make an impression that we in England, because of our idleness, shirking and slacking, were responsible for the cutting up of the Princess Pats. I say that is a most unfortunate state of affairs and I want you to forget all about it and just look upon it as some mythical thing that has waved across your vision temporarily and let it go on away now and forever.

When Great Britain found herself suddenly plunged into this world war I want you to imagine just what the effect of that thunderbolt meant to the workers of a country totally unprepared for such a set of circumstances. The workers, the population, looked with an awe-struck appearance to think that such a calamity should come from Germany in particular, knowing what the strength of the political movement was in that country. They always believed that they had sufficient strength to prevent Kaiserism plunging the world into such a struggle as we are now going through. Imagine, as we had then been working hard to establish ourselves with a trade union membership of somewhere about two millions and three-quarters at that time; imagine the disorganization from the government right away down to the smallest and merest industrial workshop throughout the country, for two or three months the out-of-work fund of the trade unions having to bear a burden that it little anticipated; imagine state departments in such a condition of chaos that they hardly knew what to do. Your big captains of industry were lost, they knew not just what was the right thing, they had no organization that could deal with a position such as was then created.

What happened? The government, through its chief officials, sent for the only organizations that could effect something like order out of chaos, and that was the trade uinon representatives of the British Isles. When they got them together and put before them, as far as they felt it wise, the condition of things, Labor said at once, "Here is all our machinery; here are whatever restrictive rules we may have, whatever conditions, apart from rates and hours, placed at the disposal of the state in the interests of the state, and for the state only."

What happened then? When people talk of patriotism and when the history of the British patriotism is written up you will find there was no class that exhibited greater patriotism and rendered greater service to the country than the British trade union movement. As soon as that machinery was handed over to be used the capitalists as a class commenced to take advantage of the position. This one thing I want to warn our American comrades of: It is all right to rush freely and rush with an intense desire for the state, but watch with a jealous eye any maneuver or movement that may be undertaken by the capitalists generally of this country.

In Great Britain we found this: After almost four million of the manhood of the country had rallied to the country's call under the voluntary principle we found, going on side by side with that, not an equal sacrifice or an equal patriotism from the capitalists, but the using of the power that put them then in a stronger position and labor relatively temporarily in a weaker one. Profiteering, up went the cost of living; all these things began to show; whilst the workers were sacrificing the capitalists were profiting. We then had to take some other steps. We haven't yet been completely able to accomplish anything approaching our pre-war economic conditions from the cost of living or the point of view of exchange value of wages. But what did happen was this: A big agitation began to gather amongst the workers, who could see that whilst they had agreed not to have any strike hamper the nation on important work; whilst they had agreed to forego all their holidays, banking holidays—all these things were given — whilst they had agreed to work unlimited overtime; whilst they had agreed to work through their Sundays and their Saturday afternoons; whilst their daughters and their wives were going into the munitions works to assist, we found that the cost of living was rising out of all proportion to the purchasing power of the wage return for labor given. An agitation started for an increase in wages. I can well remember the constant conferences that took place, and what we asked them was to stop profiteering; to let the government control all food necessaries and to give us the same food at pre-war prices and that we would not ask for a cent increase in wages, but that we ought at least to have a purchasing power sufficient to enable us to keep our physical and mental make-up at least equal to that which it was at the outbreak of the war. We haven't been able to accomplish it; we have gotten somewhere on an average of about 40 per cent. increase in wages during that awful three years and a quarter of war.

In the meantime the cost of living has gone up on food necessaries about 108 or

109 per cent., and we estimate in the whole country that about two-thirds of a man's wages are spent on domestic necessaries, which means that if workmen were to receive wages that would give them now the same purchasing power as before the war they would require 108 per cent. increase on two-thirds their standard rate of wages just prior to the war.

In the meantime what is taking place? The government in its endeavor to appease the demand—because we said this: "Unless you pull the food down within reach of the wages you must send the wages up within reach of the food prices" —the government, to appease the labor movement to some extent, said, "We will stop so far as possible war profits being made." And they passed an act which decreed that 60 per cent. of the excess war profits should go to the state, leaving 40 per cent. excess war profits to the employer. How did this figure work out on the first year? On the first year one hundred and thirty-nine millions of money went to the state in the form of excess war profits.

Let me explain what we mean by excess war profits. It means that whatever was the best year of the two immediately preceding the year for profits of a particular undertaking, then whatever profits they made during the war period over and above their best year immediately before the war, 60 per cent. went to the state, but they were allowed to enjoy 40 per cent. over and above their pre-war profits. That meant somewhere about one hundred and thirty-nine millions going to the state and somewhere about ninety millions going into the pockets of the employer. Working in dollars I suppose it would mean somewhere about six hundred and ninety-five millions going to the state and about four hundred and fifty millions going to the capitalists.

It is the attitude I would like the American trade unionist to take up. We said this: "We sacrificed in flesh and blood—just for a moment interposing, I have cause to remember the submarine menace. A youth of mine, seventeen years of age, on an unarmed ship bringing food to the old country, after being blown up on three other boats, was finally sent to the bottom. I have two boys out there in France, one since October, 1914, one since April, 1915, so that you will realize how intensely I feel. And what happens in one home happens in almost every home in the British Isles without exception. What we said here was: "We will sacrifice right enough; we will go short of a meal right enough, but if we go short of a meal, then everybody else, who by reason of their money power might have it, should be prevented from having that extra meal that we go short of. The sacrifices must be equal, on the dictum that nobody, no person, has a right to benefit or profit as a result of a nation's distressing period, and in a word no one has a right to be better off now than they were before the war so long as there is a person worse off than they were before the war.

What happened again? Our state again said, "Sixty per cent. is not enough; we will raise that percentage to eighty." Profits—you all know the source of all wealth; you all know that labor makes these profits. They estimate now that the 80 per cent. will bring them in two hundred millions of pounds, or taking the five dollars to the pound, one thousand million dollars to the state. But that does not deprive the employer of very much. It will still leave them on that basis of 80 per cent., fifty million pounds, or two hundred and fifty million dollars excess profits over the best two years preceding the war, or a total by March next of one year's operation of clear excess profits to the state and the employer of one thousand two hundred fifty million dollars. The state has no right to take it and the employer has no right to have it until the men and women who produced it have been assured of a purchasing power sufficient to enable them to live.

Now, I just want to say a word to you upon the war strain. You are just commencing; you are going to play your part and I wish to goodness it was possible to finish the war on equitable terms tomorrow or on terms at all events that would assure to all those coming after us the peace that would be free from this wholesale destruction of the best elements that nations produce. But there is this, friends; when people talk of working men and working women, just remember that we have had three years and a quarter of this. Try to picture what three years and a quarter means working on an average from nine to ten days per week, taking the hour basis in overtime; that means putting in an extra half day a week in the form of overtime for three years and a quarter. Just try to picture what that physical strain means. The human body is only capable of so much; the brain cells are only capable of standing so much strain. If you work hard it is being done, and it is possible today, because of the intense excitement, the wish and desire that those serving on the battle fields and on the battle ships shall not have cause to complain that they are kept short of the necessary munitions to enable them to have at least a fair and equal chance should they at any time run up against the enemy.

But that strain is gradually being felt, and let me tell you that the government itself has been obliged to issue notices to the government department that there must be some diminution in the overtime, because it went on to such an extent that the physical make-up in the equivalent of nine and a half days a week was not giving an output a well equipped mentally and physically equipped unit could give in the six days just prior to the outbreak of the war.

The strain, friends, is being felt greatly with the women folks. We read sometimes the statement made over here by Lord Northcliffe. I know he told the American people that the sending of five million soldiers to France was possible because five million women stepped in to take their places. We want to tell you the facts of this. In July, 1914, there were three million two hundred and ninety-eight females in various forms of employment in the United Kingdom. In April, 1917, there were four million five hundred thirty-eight thousand, or an increase of one million and a quarter of females employed in industry since the outbreak of the war. The position of women in industry is go-

ing to be one of the greatest problems. You have been told fanciful stories of them wearing expensive furs and of the enormous wages they receive, and you would be surprised to know that the top rate for the time workers on munitions is twenty-six shillings per week. Some are on piece work and they pay the penalty; if they get four or five pounds per week it would not pay them for the years they have taken away from the years of their limited existence.

Remember this: There are a quarter of a million members in our society, and fifty thousand of them are serving with the colors in active service. We have some thousands of the women workers members of our society and you would be surprised to know what two years of strain to them has meant; you would be surprised if I were to tell you some of the causes that are now put on compensation claims. The women workers try to lift heavy weights; they try in every way to help their husbands, their sweethearts or brothers who are fighting, and I have had to deal lately with quite a number of compensation cases where the injury has been of a very delicate and serious nature. You need not wonder when you hear Mr. Landon trying to malign those people who are trying to do their best to serve the state and the people.

Now, the political matter just for a moment or two. If anybody was to ask me what we have accomplished (because we never forgot our political side during this war) which will give us some kind of compensating interest, I would put first of all the bill that was passed through the House of Commons and will be before our House of Lords. It may be hung up by the House of Lords. It was an extension of the Franchise Act and will bring about another two and three-quarter millions of male adults and about five million women voters in the British Isles. I would say this: That unless the British workmen, like the workingmen everywhere, suffer from the old complaint of short memory they will get just that kind of representation that they deserve to have.

One big thing that stands out to the credit of the state as the result of its activity is what we term the Rent and Mortgages Act. At the outbreak of war landlords could see that munition works dumped down into this or that district would mean a huge influx of people and it would then be their chance to send up rents and make big profits. The state stepped in as a result of trade union agitation and passed an act which remains during the war and two years after, that no landlord can increase the house rent to the tenants during the war, or for two years after the war.

Workmen's compensation has been increased by 25 per cent. by an extension of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

Old age pensioners have had pensions increased by 50 per cent., and let me remind you just for your information, the pension starts at the age of seventy years. In March, 1917, there were nine hundred forty-seven thousand seven hundred eighty old age pensioners receiving state pensions in the British Isles. Now those have been increased only a very small amount.

I am afraid there is too much, but just let me skip over these problems: the world's food shortage after the war; the reinstatement of rights and rules; the big combination of capitalists that is taking place in the old country today ready to seize or take advantage of the crippled soldier or the industrial worker as soon as the war is over; the housing question with its many problems of sanitation.

We haven't been altogether unmindful of our soldiers and sailors. The trade unionists agitate for an increase of 200 per cent. in the soldiers' pay. Our last Congress passed such a resolution, also an increase for the allowance to the women and children of the men serving with the colors. Generally speaking, friends, take it from me I give second place to no man in my desire, both in the industrial, economic and political world, to work along sane, socialist lines, but my position, and I believe the position of 90 per cent. of the trade unionists in the old country, is for crushing militarism and having it so broken up that it will be impossible for even the slightest semblance of the power to wreak havoc throughout the civilized world any more at any time.

The British trade unionist knows; he has suffered. Try to picture some of these things, if you can: Fancy a huge airship coming on the darkest of blackest nights; just imagine bombs dropping all around your home, the women and children screaming in terror; imagine all this and then say to me: What is your opinion of the war?

It is only one: I would destroy for all time all monarchies, and I do not say this in a seditious sense. I really do believe the war was brought about as the result of royal family quarrels. I at the moment agree that we are pursued with a huge monster that thrusts out its tentacles like an octopus; that will crush and destroy our efforts. Look at the things they have posted in Belgium and in occupied parts of France; you should read some of these things which are published in New York, as well as in London and in Toronto.

In conclusion, friends, I want you first of all to realize after our three years of sacrifice that instead of aeroplane raids weakening the will of the people they have strengthened their will and determination to go and fight on until at last such terms of peace will come as will not make war in the future possible at all. I would finish by this quotation:

"The moving finger writes, and having writ
moves on;
Not all your piety or wit can call it back
or cancel off a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it."

That moving finger continues now; it is for us to get the pulse of the hand; it is for us to guide the finger in order that its writings, when we look back upon them, will give us no cause for regret or sorrow; that the writings will be in touch with our aspirations, working out as it goes the problems that will emancipate the industrial workers for all time from a wage slavery that means degradation and hardship to them in its present-day form.

President Gompers introduced Mr. William Lodge, Fraternal Delegate to the

American Federation from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Address of Fraternal Delegate Lodge.

President Gompers, Delegates to this Convention: I have the extreme honor and pleasure of presenting to you fraternal greetings from your Canadian trade unionist brothers. You will readily realize that it is necessary for me to follow a different course from that which has been pursued by my co-fraternal delegates insofar that I think you know more about our Canadian business than we know. I know perfectly well that each of our names of the 80,000 trade unionists in Canada is on the roll of honor in your office, whether it be at Indianapolis, New York or Lafayette, so therefore if I want to know anything about the Canadian trade unionists I would simply go to the head office and expect to get the information.

You remember the war has now gone on for over three years. I speak today for a membership of over 80,000. Our membership decreased to a great extent at the beginning of the war because 30,000 trade unionists enlisted voluntarily in this great fight, and I don't know of any body or any section that can show an equal percentage. And just in passing I want to trespass on your time to pay a tribute to our International headquarters insofar as the obligations they assumed with us have been amply confirmed by the incidents that have passed. We have had considerable of a membership who have paid the penalty, paid the supreme sacrifice, and the organizations who carry financial obligations in the event of death of its membership, all that has been necessary for the Canadian unions to say is that "Somewhere in France" Brother So-and-So died and the money was forthcoming immediately. I say that to the International officers' credit.

Although most of you are aware of it, I suppose I ought to explain some of the functions of the Congress. We are absolutely independent of the American Federation of Labor insofar as legislation is concerned. The Dominion Trades Congress looks after the legislation work of the organized workers and incidentally that of the unorganized workers throughout the Dominion of Canada; absolutely independent, I say, but we never had a thought of separation from our international affiliation. There is only one way by which it would be possible to eradicate what may appear to some a dual position. The only way I see out of it is this: When you decide to become annexed to Canada then I believe one body will look after the situation as a whole.

The Congress officials have profited by the hard school of experience which your legislative body, the American Federation of Labor, has gone through. You take, for instance, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act as affecting the Danbury hatters; you know the trouble that was caused through that; you know the bitter experience that the Danbury hatters had to undergo. When similar legislation was attempted in the Canadian House (a bill identical was to be preesnted to the Canadian House), and before it was submitted, the Canadian Congress officials insisted that in that bill should be written in large type that "this legislation shall not affect trade unions." And it was done.

Not very long ago—I merely point this out to you to show you the necessity of the watchfulness of your members across the line, and there is no line—whoever coined that phrase, "imaginary line," has got to get a new one, as since the early part of this year there has not been even an imaginary line—there was an attempt to introduce a bill which would have forbidden our international officers from coming over and associating with us and helping us. Had it not been for the watchfulness of the Dominion trades officials at that time it would have been likely made effective.

I do not like to speak authoritatively, but I think I can speak with authority in this respect: That in one section you are supreme, President Gompers and your colleagues, and that is in the matter of jurisdictional disputes, and we will not attempt to take anything away from you in that respect.

Secretary Draper's last report showed splendid progress, our membership having grown from 66,000 in 1916 to 81,000 in 1917, an increase of 15,000. The financial standing was also very similar; that is, we had progressed in a financial way, but it does not do to give out too much into finance. I believe that is a failing we have, and we want to keep the financial end of it to ourselves.

I have said that the complexion of the American Federation of Labor and the Dominion Trades Congress are very similar, and while I have not been at the American Federation of Labor previously, I have met many who are regular attendants here, and my knowledge from reading has given me the information that we are very similar in our make-up. We have the staid trade unionist, or rather they are named the staid trade unionist, and you go along the line up to what is called the revolutionary element. We have them, and we have some I cannot name because they are just about doubtful as to their name themselves. I believe that posterity will say that the trade unionists who have accomplished things—and if revolution means anything or revolutionary element means anything it means accomplishment—posterity will state that the revolutionary element were the trade unionists who could show what they accomplished day after day and year after year. The American Federation of Labor and the affiliations thereto have declared that labor is worthy of its hire, and their slogan has been that they would make the hire worthy of the laborer. If the trade union had shown no other justification for its existence I believe its work in the cause of child labor has fully justified it. It would be unfair to you for me to travel in that direction and state the grounds on which we justify ourselves.

Now I know you will anticipate I should speak on our position in the war. There is no question as to your position in the war after the issuance of that manifesto signed by the big President of this organization and the presidents of the big international organizations; there is no question as to where you stand on it, but you had the benefit of our three years' experience. Now

if I gave you an impression of Congress's position on this war it might be a personal impression, and that would be unfair to those whom I represent. So I will do like the Frenchman says, "prenez garde," which being interpreted means "take care." I am going to give you the resolution as passed after a very long debate in the Congress at our last session in Ottawa:

"In 1915 the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, at the annual convention held in Vancouver, declared an unqualified opposition to conscription as a method of military enlistment. Last year, at Toronto, the same resolution was reaffirmed in all its emphasis. Since then the question of conscription for Canada has agitated the public mind to an unprecedented degree. Sections of the press and numerous public bodies have argued strongly in favor of the adoption in Canada, at this juncture, of that method of securing men to fill the ranks of the Canadian forces for overseas service. In fact, within the past few months the issue has been before Parliament, and a most drastic measure, in that connection, has been debated and carried through the Commons and Senate. That measure is now law and, as such, contains provisions that impose heavy penalties upon all and sundry who make use of any form of opposition to the principle that might frustrate the carrying into effect of the act now in existence. While the Congress cannot stultify itself to the degree of either withdrawing or contradicting this year its firm and carefully thought out views on the question of conscription, as embodied in the resolutions of 1915 and 1916, still, under our present form of government, we do not deem it right, patriotic, or in the interests of the labor movement, or the Dominion of Canada, to say or do anything that might prevent the government of Canada from obtaining the result they anticipate in the raising of reinforcements for the C. E. Fores by the enforcement of the law. This Congress is emphatically opposed to any development in the enforcement of this legislation which will make for industrial conscription, or the interference with the trade union movement in the taking care of the interests of the organized workers of this Dominion."

That is not my personal opinion; it is an expression of Congress. Let me add here my analysis. What that vote did mean was that the organized workers of Canada were asked to accept conscription as the workers of this country and the old land had done, and that a victorious issue to the war should be the goal. President Wilson's clear oration on Monday last and the specific stand of this great body must make for some understanding in the land which I have the honor to represent, and to the mutual interests of the allied countries.

I desire to thank you with all the power at my command for all the courtesies that have been extended to us since our arrival here. Whilst to many we may be strangers, yet as a carrier of international duties I come among you and in the name of brothers I do desire to thank you for the efforts that have been made to make me feel at home during my stay here. I do not accept it in the personal sense; it is not me to whom you extend these courtesies, but it is to the 80,000 trade unionists who are allied with you through the international movement. I present to you a worker's message in a worker's way and with a true ring of fraternity that admits of no question of its sincerity. Some of my predecessors may have been more eloquent in their remarks and more pleasing in their attitude, but none were more sincere in extending the Canadian fraternal greetings than the one who now thanks you.

President Gompers: Since the time that the people and the government of the United States has entered into this world war for freedom—freedom from oppression and tyranny and the apprehension of the danger confronting the civilization and the democracies of the world—there have come to us, and we have sent to the governments of other countries of the allied nations, representative men who aimed not only to co-ordinate effort but to co-ordinate spirit. Among the envoys sent to this country were those of the representatives of the people and the government of France. When that great military strategist and hero, Marshal Joffre, stood with his men at the Marne and checked the onward march of the invader, there was a thrill in the hearts of every lover of liberty. No man who came to our shores was greeted with greater eclat and feelings of gratitude than that great general, Marshal Joffre. With him came a number of men, associates and aides. We are honored today with having two representatives of the republic of France who came to the American Federation of Labor to convey a message. They are both upon the platform of this convention at this time; one came as a member of General Joffre's staff. He has been awarded the War Cross and the Medal of the Legion of Honor and medals for campaigns in service in Belgium. It is my pleasure and honor to present to you Major E. Requin, member of the French General Staff.

Address of Major E. Requin.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: When I was fighting on the Marne, with those who saved French democracy, I little thought that within three years I would have the privilege and honor of bringing to the American workers, joined with us to save democracy to the world, the fraternal greetings of the French army.

I thank your highly respected President, Mr. Gompers, for having given this opportunity to one of the officers of the staff of Marshal Joffre, and for his very courteous words in introducing me to you.

I shall not make a long speech, because a soldier is better trained in silence than in speech, and especially because to men of

action, such as you are, it is only necessary to lay the evidence of facts.

But even if I am not qualified to speak to you of the operation of our workingmen's organizations, at least I can tell you what close relation existed between them and our military organization; what magnificent efforts they have made for three years and what splendid results we have obtained through the union of the worker in the factory and the worker in the trenches, both soldiers of the same democracy, fighting the same battle for the same cause, with the same spirit of sacrifice and the same will to insure the victory of freedom and civilization over despotism and brutality.

When you know what the working people of France, men and women, have done for their brothers in arms, and also for their brothers of the Allied armies, you will understand why we love them, and what power in the future will be reserved for them, by their work, unity and devotion during the war.

France, in 1914, was only armed to defend her rights. If that armament seemed to have attained the limit of our resources, it was only proportionate to the continual threat of aggression from an empire twice as powerful, and whose last military law was almost like a declaration of war in time of peace.

And yet, France was obliged to develop during the war her military and industrial efforts to undreamed-of proportions.

The industrial war is a result of trench warfare, and began only in October, 1914, for the battle of the Marne was still waged and won with the military resources of times of peace.

In fact, we had to fight this battle with only 400 rounds of ammunition per gun, and we only manufactured 13,000 per day.

We had only 300 heavy guns for the entire French army, and an insufficient number of machine guns.

The plan of Marshal Joffre and the indomitable energy of an army which the enemy was mistaken in thinking defeated—(because it was not defeated and did not want to be defeated)—assured our victory.

So we drove back Prussian militarism and forced it to entrench itself in the soil which it had violated; but the day after the victory, instead of being able to end the war by exploiting this victory, we were stopped by the lack of material even more than by the exhaustion of our troops.

At this time the order was given not to fire more than 10 rounds per gun and per day! I remember having myself begged my chief of staff to give some munitions to a division whose infantry was being crushed by the German guns, while its own artillery could not even reply. One must have lived through those tragic hours to appreciate the value of the efforts realized later.

Because the victory of the Marne could not end the war, the enemy was forming a new plan to be carried out by a new army wholly organized in Germany. This was to crush our left wing, to conquer our naval bases of Dunkerque, Boulogne and Calais, and then, probably, to proclaim to the whole world that they "had the English coast under fire from their guns."

The Kaiser directed these operations in person, repeating to the troops that "it was his expressed will that the army should enter Ypres on the 1st of November." It was our expressed will that he should never enter it!

Belgium had suffered enough; what little was left was as precious to us as the soil of our own country.

However, conscious of our momentary inferiority in material, the Germans were attacking furiously. It was then that the French commander-in-chief asked of his army the most painful sacrifice that a chief has ever been forced to obtain—that of opposing guns with men while waiting for guns to be made for them, and to stay a tornado of steel with human breasts!

This was done, but how many breasts were lacerated!

After the battle of Ypres, trench warfare extended henceforward to the whole western front, and the real industrial war began.

It would be wrong to think that Germany had foreseen this trench warfare in all its details, but she had at least the advantage over us from the point of view of material, for we had lost our richest industrial provinces.

For this special warfare everything had to be created and be created during the battle.

To cut the barbed wire entanglements it was necessary to provide an enormous expenditure of ammunition.

To destroy the machine-gun shelters and the bomb-proof dugouts (because for the latter the light field gun is insufficient), we had to provide trench mortars and heavier and heavier guns.

To adjust gunfire against such objectives, often invisible from the ground, a new development of aviation was necessary.

To fight in the labyrinth of the trenches, where it is sometimes impossible to use rifles, hand grenades had to be provided.

To increase the efficiency of the infantry it was necessary to give them rifle grenades, automatic guns, small infantry portable guns.

To transport the present weight of ammunition, thousands of trucks and some complete systems of roads and railroads were to be built.

At last, not to die poisoned before the great day of victory, we were forced to meet gas with gas, poison with poison.

All these require an incalculable expenditure of material and a still larger one of productive energy.

This productive energy was required from the French at the actual moment while our workers were mobilized on the front.

They were asked to leave the brothers in arms and to return to the factories. But the workers went from the trenches without thinking for one second that they were abandoning the battle; it was their glory and our strength.

Conscious of the seriousness of the events, conscious of the value of time (every minute of which could be counted by the number of dead), anxious to save the democratic institutions from Prussian militarism, and the lives of their brothers, husbands, children, from the iron, steel, fire, gas and poison of Germany, they set to work with

a will and devotion, rising superior to the difficulties between employer and employes.

They worked by night and day shifts, and I do not think that I am mistaken in saying that they asked the suppression of certain rest periods to increase the production during a crisis.

If the French army was able to withstand a trial which no other army ever withstood, it was in part due to the confidence of the soldier in the trenches in the factory workmen; a confidence which he had acquired marching with him into battle just the day before.

The result appears clearly today.

In place of the 400 rounds of ammunition that we had at the Marne, we begin battle with 3,000 rounds per gun.

Instead of 13,000 rounds, our factories are turning out 300,000 rounds per day.

Instead of 300 heavy guns, we have 6,000 (and we have furnished our allies with about 1,000). On the offensive we use approximately one heavy gun for every 25 yards of front.

By these means, we obtain very important successes, but it is not yet sufficient to break through the German front. To obtain decisive results, the guns and munitions from America must allow us to widen more and more our attacking front.

It rests, therefore, with you to hasten this decision.

Another result, no less important of this intense industrial production, was to diminish our casualties.

They were 5.41 per cent. during 1914; they fell to 1.67 and 1.28 in 1916.

In fact, you know how the judicious use of good war material economizes human lives.

I do not mean that the manufacturing of material is sufficient to be victorious. It is also necessary to know how to use this material, and here I am going to ask your permission to digress and explain a fact little known, even in France. That is the method, wholly democratic, by which we have established our new rule of battle.

In this battle, which began with an assault, whose success or failure will decide subsequent events, it was natural that the first lessons would come from the first combatants.

The French commander-in-chief, therefore, ordered his staff officers to go to the first line to see, hear and follow the soldier. I remember having spent whole nights listening to them, discussing with them and with their officers the best procedure for attack and defense, and I assure you that between the soldier and the Marshal of France there was no other intermediary than the simple officer that I was.

But it was not enough to listen to the combatants; it was necessary to force them to reason about their own actions to draw from them valuable lessons. At the end of 1915 the commander-in-chief, therefore, asked every officer of the French army, from lieutenants to army commander, to inform him of their observations, their recommendations, their opinions. We were then charged with studying reports made by the combatants themselves, and to draw from them regulations of battle which give us today success with a minimum of losses.

So it is the whole army which drew up its own regulations. Such a method could only be adopted by Marshal Joffre, son of a workingman and foremost soldier of France.

That is why, in handing over in person these regulations to the United States General Staff last April, he could say, without taking time to explain: "These are democratic regulations."

I beg pardon for this digression. I wanted to show you how much the soldier of France collaborates with the chief.

Close collaboration of the workers with the soldiers to provide large quantities of good material; close collaboration of the soldiers with the chiefs to make the best use of it; that is why and how the people of France with their 38,000,000 of inhabitants, and in spite of their losses, are still capable today of maintaining 3,000,000 fighting men in the field, with an equipment that the German staff itself admitted last year superior to its own.

That was not yet sufficient, for France was not alone, for other weaker armies had been crushed by German numbers and material.

With the same energy shown in arming their French brothers-in-arms, the French worker armed and equipped the brother in the Servian, Roumanian and Greek armies, and the Russian also as far as possible.

Finally, the French workingman was never nearer you than today, when he is working with you to equip your army.

In fact, you know how much time is necessary, even for a country with such tremendous resources as yours, to change an equipment for peace into an equipment for war.

It is to save precious time that the American Government did not hesitate to accept the offer of France to give the best French guns to the first American divisions while waiting, that your factories should be able to supply a sufficient number of guns. I will add, for it is a testimony of fraternity that France owes to America, that our factories furnished your divisions with a complete allotment of the best guns even before having finished the same allotment for our own divisions.

This is, in too brief a statement, what the French workingman has accomplished during the war, both for us and our Allies.

You see that they are waging against German industrial forces a real battle without which the other battles could not be won. In this industrial war the French workingman has numerical inferiority, for Germany can dispose not only of her own workers, more numerous than ours, but also of those of the brutally invaded provinces. Workers of Poland, of Servia, of Russia, of Belgium, of the North of France, men and women, and, in some cases, even children and old people, were forced into slavery to increase the German production for war.

To make up for their numerical inferiority, our working people, men and women, increased their material forces ten-fold by the moral strength, which always is, in the last analysis, the greatest factor both in the factory and at the front. They united with victory in view, postponing until the day of victory all questions which might

delay that victory by so much as a single day. But they count now on your help.

The French army has faith that, taught by their experience and their own sufferings, you will never allow your boys—our brothers-in-arms—to lack the material which is necessary to win with a minimum of losses.

Build guns, munitions, and ships to transport all that this appalling war requires to attain the goal.

This goal, Mr. Gompers, you pointed out on the 15th of last May, when you said that it was a question of whether democracy would triumph or whether despotism would spread over all the earth.

For you, as well as for us, the answer is no longer doubtful. But the battle which will attain the ideal which you have so splendidly defined has not yet been won. We can, we must and we will win it together, soldiers and workmen of democracies, fighting for our existence, but on condition that we lose not a single day, straining every effort toward the war, keeping our spirits and our hearts up as high as your starry banner.

President Gompers: As I had the privilege of saying in introducing to this convention Major Requin, there is associated with him in the French High Commission now stationed at Washington a man who has won promotion from the ranks since the beginning of the war and served at the front for eighteen months. He is chief secretary to and representative of the French High Commission and I have the honor to present to you Lieutenant Francois Monod.

Address of Francois Monod, Chief of Cabinet to the French High Commissioner in the United States.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the American Federation of Labor, Ladies and Gentlemen: As a representative of the French High Commissioner in the United States I am delighted to be given the unexpected privilege of addressing, under such momentous circumstances, the greatest labor federation of the world. Our credentials here are a profound interest in your past and in your present work, a deep and abiding affection for this mighty commonwealth and democracy of yours, America, and last, but not least, our French citizenship. As a French citizen, with a certainty of expressing the feelings of my fellow citizens, men and women all over France, I am most happy to bring to you the brotherly greetings and wishes of France.

It is most fortunate that, at this American labor convention, we should meet distinguished representatives of Great Britain and of Canada. To them, as well, we extend, as representatives of France, our most cordial greetings. In this spirit, let me hail with love and reverence the colors hung over this spacious hall. Blue, white and red, they unite together the flags of Great Britain, of Canada, of America and France, and they display under our eyes the priceless and lasting brotherhood of the three great English and French speaking democracies of the world.

The meaning of labor and industrial production in this war I realized first when a little over two years ago, at the end of September and beginning of October, 1915, in the barren and melancholy fields of Champagne, with the French army, I happened to take part, for the first time, in attacks planned and carried out on a very large scale.

As though it were of yesterday, I still hear, in the bleak morning, the gigantic voice of thousands of guns, shooting at the same time and almost continuously. I still see in front of my eyes the quick swelling of huge heaps of brass shell cartridges at the side of the guns.

Later, for several days, under heavy fire, making the same commonplace experience offered to many hundreds of thousands in this war, in a dug-out, wondering when the roof would give way and crumble, or listening to the wailing of the shells travelling through the rainy night, in order to keep my mind busy and to gather instruction, I tried to set up a rough calculation of the number of shells spent on both sides, within one hour, within one day, over a very small area of the line. The figures were so big, so staggering, that I had to stop.

Then, quick as the long flash of fire of a gun in the dark, instantly, a comparison was borne in my mind; a comparison of the overwhelming contrast between the length of time or the amount of labor necessary to manufacture that delicate piece of machinery, a single perfect shell, and the few seconds within which this shell and shot, traveled and exploded, in most cases without immediate injury to the fighting men.

I had been taught the great lesson of the war, the fact which it is difficult to grasp without actual experience; besides the numbers, and the duty and the spirit, the main factor either for defense or for attack is the support of a powerful industry, brought to the limit of its capacity of production by a powerful organization, and by the skill, the devotion, the patriotism of millions of workers.

Later, visiting munition plants, I observed with unbounded admiration that powerful machinery and organization and that magnificent devotion and patriotism in full swing.

Some of these plants were in Paris, some in the peaceful south, near the blue Mediterranean, some even within range of the big enemy guns, exposed to aerial bombardments, within a few miles from the firing line, located near towns where women in the market place, children going to school, wounded and sick in the hospitals, have been cut to pieces by German bombs and German shells.

Amongst many visions, there is forever in my memory the vision of thousands of silent women carrying out, during long hours, the delicate operations of the mounting of shell fuses with the precision and skill of watchmakers, and, in the plants near the front, another vision of young women and of boys performing even

the hardest work, pulling and hauling heavy weights, and toiling under such a strain and with such a spirit gleaming in their brave eyes, that I cannot call back those memories without feeling a gulp in my throat.

Men, women, boys, for years now, every minute of the working day or of the working night, all of them, they have been feeling that, for every shell turned out by their valiant hands, they were bringing nearer the winning of the war; that, for every shell, they were shortening by so much the war, contributing by so much to the redemption of our invaded territories, lessening by so much the losses amongst their own husbands, brothers, sons and fellow-citizens in the army.

They know, all these workers behind the front, that the army is relying on their endeavor; that in their work they are like the men in charge of the deposit of munitions, who tirelessly and swiftly hand over during the fight the grenades to the grenadiers.

Maybe this feeling is quicker with some of them who are wearing a lonely look, who are carrying a careworn dream in their eyes.

A number of our French munition workers are refugees from the north, whose homes have been destroyed, some of whom have been for years without news of their own people, now starving, may be deported and enslaved under the iron German rule.

Amongst all those munition workers, as amongst all French workers, as amongst all French men, besides the unity of patriotic purpose there is to be found the deep feeling of the community of spirit and purpose between them and our allies.

That they are helping the allies, helping them gladly, whole heartedly, they know well, those amongst our workers who have been manufacturing guns and shells for our Italian, our Russian, our Serbian, our Rumanian brothers. They know well, those who now, as quick as they can, are manufacturing guns, boring or finishing shells for our American brothers, your own army, to be used by your own boys, pending the early increase of your own output.

To love one's friends, nothing better than to know them. It is specially gratifying to mention how this spirit of comradeship has been fostered between French and British munition workers by the exchange of large visiting parties at public expense, how it has been quickened between French and Russian workers by the visit in Russia of a big and big-hearted French patriot and labor union man, our late Minister of Munitions, Albert Thomas.

To be sure, with us, the meaning of the issue of the war amongst the soldiers at the front, or amongst the workers in the rear was bound to be self-evident from the beginning, as we had to stand at once like one man for our liberty, for our territory, for our existence, against the impact of a terrific invasion.

This undertsanding during the war, according to my own experience with comrades in the army, I know has never been more definite and more enlightened than amongst workers and trade union men.

Taking the matter from a broader angle, how could the understanding of the awful issue of this war not pervade a country where nation and democracy, where democracy and a defensive national army have been and are one and the same?

Surely you know something about France and about our army. You know that our army has been democratic to the core, not only in the present, but since the days of the French Revolution. To quote facts nearer to us, besides the democratic spirit and discipline in the army at large, it may be worth while to remind you, for instance, that during the war more than eighty thousand, perhaps one hundred thousand, French officers, up to the present day, have been promoted from the ranks; it may be worth while, also, to notice that the greatest of our war leaders, that our great, silent, good, gentle and human Marshal Joffre was the son of a cooper, of a labor man working with his own hands.

So much for the army. I am sorry that lack of time should prevent me from drawing here a further picture of the French democratic war spirit amongst that class of the civilian population which has been specially engaged in war industries and in the management of our munition plants.

As a telling and welcome feature, allow me, though, to mention the institution, in the munition plants, of workshop delegates, created to fulfill the wishes both of the workers and of the employers, elected by their fellow workers under definite and satisfactory conditions, helping to solve eventually labor difficulties and disagreements, and contributing their own experience and devotion to the bringing about of a better organization of the work and to the maximum development of the war industries production.

Gentlemen, I have dwelt too complacently, perhaps, on some French war traits, on some French war experiences, which are here rising and living again in my memory.

You may be more interested in knowing what we Frenchmen are thinking about America as it stands in war.

To be sure, with us, the knowledge of America and of American conditions is very imperfect. How could it be otherwise? But if our knowledge of America be inadequate, our feelings toward America reciprocate in full your feelings for France. Our affection for America, our trust and faith in America and in American labor are wholehearted.

To us there is nothing more precious, nothing more comforting than to realize that we are one with you; one with America, and with American labor, in standing for the same cause; that we are struggling together in a material and spiritual community of principles, of actions and aims.

From this standpoint, for a Frenchman who has been now for some time in this country since she entered war, there are two main subjects of absorbing interest.

First, President Wilson. President Wilson has been winning our admiration mainly as the spiritual leader of this great commonwealth of yours. The perfect bond

of trust which he, as the responsible chief of this democracy at a time of unprecedented trial, has been establishing between himself and the whole nation, is more wonderful to us than any of your wonderful material achievements.

In President Wilson we admire most the statesman who has evidenced, not only political wisdom of the highest order, but a genius in morals; who boldly, outspokenly, with the world as an audience, has chosen as a ground for war statesmanship the vindication of basic human morals and ideals.

Then, on the other hand, taking a broad view of the gigantic and speedy work of your war preparation amongst the nations at large, besides the public action of the federal government and of the federal legislature, we are profoundly interested in the spontaneous and well-organized initiative; in the wonderful moral and material co-operation of the individual citizens and of countless private bodies and associations of every description.

The initiative, the public spirit, the tireless resourcefulness of the American citizen and of American private organziations are a byword with us. Though so prepared we are observing with wonder the variety, the scope, the efficiency of the citizens' co-operation in war work as it is now taking place all over this broad land of yours.

Nowhere does, to us, this moral and material co-operation stand out as more important, as more effective, as worthy of more praise, than with the American Federation of Labor.

I read a few days ago in one of the biggest French dailies a splendid editorial on the American Federation of Labor and its President. I was delighted that amongst our fellow citizens an adequate tribute should be given to the genius of organization; to the powerful intellect of your wonderful leader; to his profound knowledge of economic and social conditions; to his splendid spirit of brotherhood; to his unselfish devotion to the great cause of labor; to his tireless achievements in promoting the progress of labor legislation.

With the same gratification I read again the war resolutions issued by the representatives of your Federation. There is, as early as July, 1915, one of your resolutions which shall not easily be forgotten by the French generations to come—your resolution to support in this country the manufacturing of munitions as long as there should remain on French or on Belgian soil a single German invader.

Then, since you entered war, there are the strong utterances by which, as labor unionists and social reformers, your representatives proclaimed your full understanding of the issue of this world-wide struggle, by which you proclaimed your unswerving adherence to the cause of democracy assailed by the forces of militarism and autocracy, and your pledge to support with your will and with your hands, at the same time, the defense of your own freedom, and the struggle for democracy, freedom and justice at large.

These are the words by which you declared "that the great war must be fought to a decision; that until autocracy is defeated there can be no hope of peace."

It was befitting, gentlemen, that the mind of America should be best expressed by the representatives of American labor. To the American mind, who could give a stronger, a more authoritative voice than you? Members of the American Labor Federation, your words are a message not only to the American nation, but to us as well. They are shining as the shafts of light from the Statue of Liberty, in the night, at the gates of America.

I wish such declarations of yours could be translated, that they might be posted in all our war industries plants; that they might be posted broadcast along the streets of our industrial districts. In France, for our millions of workers and fellow citizens, nothing could be more inspiring.

To you, to America, to American labor, their answer across the sea would ring like the words of one of your inspired poets:

"Sail on, Union strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all its hope of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate."

With such a bond of mutual understanding, with such principles and with such a will, we are now together against a tremendous proposition.

Shall mankind and independent nations and men come out free to co-operate in liberty, in equal opportunity, in social goodness? Shall freedom, shall social and moral progress, go on with us, with you and in the world?

Or shall a power of blood and of iron, who has organized as a system, as a national policy, a hideous cruelty, a loathsome and pestilential mendacity, prevail over us?

Over free nations shall we allow to prevail self-appointed rulers, who are claiming the divine right of mastery and tyranny,—who are crushing under their heels all human ideals and morals of the individual, of the nation, of the society of nations?

Shall we allow to prevail those who, in order to carry out a mad dream of economical conquest and of autocratic power, a monstrous dream of domineering Europe and the world, have wiped out whole nations by starvation, by murder, by deportation and enslavement; those who have turned to a wholesale practice, to a boasted doctrine and method, the warfare of the Zulus and the Indians of old?

Shall they master us?

Let us say it together again, there can be no peace, there can be no resuming of mankind's progress until that sword, until that cursed system are broken by the will, by the endeavor, by the co-operation of all free nations.

Gentlemen, we are now laboring under the unspeakable burden of these awful realities, as though the world and God were trying to breathe and to reach light under the roof of a leaden sky.

Do not let us deceive ourselves complacently. The power of Germany is not broken. Her military and industrial organization is tremendous, a masterpiece of

its kind, an organization where nothing is left to chance, and the whole of which is controlled by a single will, by a single military hand.

Germany is, further, controlling at present the resources of all Central Europe, for the benefit of her own rule, of her wholesale oppression, of her own military strength.

Moreover, the German nation is following its rulers and masters.

Intoxicated with material success and power for many years, a great people has been collectively and darkly obsessed by damning ideas, by a stupendous delusion. A monstrous national conceit and hellish doctrines have been so thoroughly fed to, so complacently swallowed and digested by a whole nation, that Germany at large has turned blind to mankind, has become an outlaw in the world.

One day in the summer of 1915, while a squad of German prisoners was brought to me, amongst the row of brutish and sullen-looking fellows I noticed a pleasant and delicate face. The man was a miner. We had a long talk. I remember his last words, such as I have never heard from any one of the hundreds of German prisoners I examined. He said that, as the war drew on, "he could not help thinking over the situation, and that he had been wondering why Germany had no friends in the world." Now, this, though without any means of real information, he perceived confusedly as a bewildering fact—but he did not understand; he had not begun to understand why it was so.

Do not let us be mistaken.

Every atom of our strength, of our devotion, of our production, every useful minute of our time, a boundless tenacity, an almost superhuman energy and patience are necessary to win the war. Nothing more, nothing less.

Co-operation and production must be our watchwords.

A betterment of interallied co-operation is now aimed at by the conference of the allies, where the welcome representatives of the American people are to take a prominent place.

As to production, we cannot win without a huge output of metals, of guns, of munitions, of war manufactures of all description, and last but not least, of ships.

And we cannot win without a quick and continuous production. Mark the overwhelming importance of time; there is no making up for lost time in the war.

Remember now the staggering handicap under which our workers have been not only carrying out but increasing enormously the output of our war manufacturing industries.

During three years we have been bearing the main brunt of the struggle. Then the available labor has been suddenly curtailed to an unheard-of extent by the military mobilization of millions, of the whole strong manhood of the nation, and by the detention of a large part of our best labor in the invaded territories. Last, our coal districts, our iron districts, are in the hands of the Germans.

Under easier circumstances the same heavy burden of responsibility has been laid on you. Maybe the issue of the war is henceforward depending upon the ability of American labor to carry out in a short time the gigantic program of ship building, which is now confronting you as the vital necessity of the present and of the immediate future.

Gentlemen, as a conclusion, we could not leave this picture of the stern realities of the present days without looking into the far away future, when a just peace shall be restored to us, to you, and to the world.

From the outcome of the war, what can be expected as regards the progress of democracy and of a better organization of labor?

Some people are still strangely blind. It is not making bold to say that, in the midst of the war, a new and inspiring democracy and a progressive evolution of labor and economic conditions are being developed under our very eyes.

In the political and social fabric deep changes, more astonishing here than in any other country, have taken place, which are evidencing the power of democratic peoples to control their economic life for the common good.

Then, in the democratic armies of liberty numbering millions, all sorts and conditions of men have been for years standing and fighting together in the same struggle. We are no angels, but how could we not firmly believe in, how could we not forecast more brotherhood for the future, and an easier and progressive adjustment of labor conditions?

The plain and solid truth is that in the future democracy and labor will be enabled to grow strong and to assert their rights exactly in proportion to what they will have achieved in the work of common salvation.

Gentlemen, deep-rooted in this common faith, in this common certainty with you all, let me, as an humble messenger, give voice here to France. Let my last words express to you how France is now standing in this long trial. France is looking, not backward, but forward.

France is not brooding now over her past mistakes and sufferings, or boasting over her achievements in the struggle. France is not stopping on the hard road to weep over her dead, over our brothers, our friends, our fellow citizens who gave their lives that liberty might live.

Keeping up her strength, ever strong in arms, France is looking to the stern duties in front of us and ahead of us and of you. Together with you, she is looking forward; together with you, inspired by you, representatives of the great community of American labor, in the workshop and in the trenches, France keeps on fighting and working to win.

President Gompers informed the convention that Delegate John F. Hart, President of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, had been called home on account of the death of his brother.

President Gompers asked what disposition the convention desired to make of the

invitation extended by the local committee for an automobile ride on Friday afternoon.

On motion by Delegate Gorenstein, properly seconded and carried, it was decided to accept the invitation.

On motion by Vice-President Duncan the rules were suspended that the various committees might have an opportunity to continue their work, and after the usual announcements as to time and place of committee meetings had been made, the convention adjourned at 1.10 p. m. to reconvene at 9.30 o'clock Friday, November 16th.

FIFTH DAY---Friday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., November 16, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock a. m., Friday, November 16th, Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Absentees—Franklin, MacGowan, Sovey, Baine, Brown (Walter), Bowen (Wm. J)., Dobson, Boyer, Hutcheson, MacPherson, Hannahan, Edgerton, Brennen (Wm. J)., Rosenberg, Zaritsky, Margolis, Humphrey, McSorley, O'Connell, Strain, Hart, Lane, Moriarty, Mitchell, Walker, Moore (John), Skemp, Lynch, Schneider (Geo. J.), Dold, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Derring, Berry, Orr, Sheehan, Furuseth, Flynn, Conway (Thos.), Freel, Ross (L. J.), Konenkamp, Williams (Thos. J)., Agethen, Scott (Mars. G.), Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neil, McHenry, Burgess, Holland, Jarrett, Kennedy, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Rahele, Coughlin, Crickmore, Harlan, Bryan (Frank L.), Haugh, Hagberg, McDonald (John A.), Hines, O'Brien, Gorman, Foster, Sellons, McAndrew, Hodges, Burch, Cathrell, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison, Wilkinson, Traglio, Murphy (J. M.), Smith (Aden E.), Warren, Black, Hannum, Casey, Iglesias, Depp, Svenson, Allwine, Tillman, McNally, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Burk (Hugh), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Weinstock, Differding, Eson, Hanrahan, Miller, Juhl, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from the Mayor of Cincinnati, the Secretary of the Central Labor Council and the Chamber of Commerce of the same city, asking that the 1918 convention be held there; also a communication from the Providence Building Trades Council containing the same request in behalf of Providence.

Newark, N. J., Nov. 14, 1917.

Frank Morrison, American Federation of Labor Convention, Broadway Auditorium, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Wm. Brennan, delegate Firemen's Union, elected commissioner to govern Newark on labor ticket.

HENRY F. HILFERS.

Greater New York, Nov. 14, 1917.

American Federation of Labor Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Hebrew American Typographical Union No. 83 sends its heartiest congratulations to the convention of the greatest labor organization in the world. May your deliberations be crowned with lasting success and bring the greatest good to our common cause.

B. ROOHSTEIN,
Secretary.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Secretary Clarke, for the committee, read the following report:

Your Credential Committee recommends that E. A. Clark, representing the Phoenix, Arizona, Trades and Labor Assembly, be seated with one vote, and that James S. O'Brien, representing the Cascade County Labor Assembly, Great Falls, Mont., be seated with one vote.

We further recommend that the name of John C. MacDonald be substituted for that of Frank Feeney from the Elevator Constructors, the latter being required to leave the convention.

Respectfully submitted,
E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman.
T. P. HYLAND,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Duncan introduced to the convention Emanuel Koveleski, Fraternal Delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Report of Fraternal Delegate Koveleski.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Pursuant to your election and instructions, I attended the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada at the City of Ottawa, Ont., during the week of September 17 to 22, 1917.

The meeting was held in St. Patrick's Hall and continued for six days, divided into morning, afternoon and evening sessions. The opening session on Monday morning was devoted chiefly to addresses of welcome and responses. Among those to welcome the delegates was the Prime Minister of Canada, Sir Robert L. Borden, who emphasized the importance of democracy in government and the useful work for democracy being done by the labor unions.

When I was introduced as the fraternal delegate from the United States and had expressed our thanks for the ovation given your representative, Prime Minister Borden arose on the platform and proposed three cheers for the United States of North America. They were given with a hearty

good will by delegates and guests. The only other fraternal delegate at the convention was James Winstone, of the British Trades Union Congress, who was also tendered a most sincere welcome.

The Executive Council's report for the year, submitted by President James C. Watters, reviewed a troublous twelve months of struggle with the high cost of living, military conscription and efforts to adjust industry to war conditions without sacrifice of trade union standards. There was constant consultation with the government on all these matters, and a demand made for the repeal of the Lemieux Industrial Disputes Law because it was a source of advantage to the employers and hampered the employes.

This act seeks to prevent strikes and lockouts in certain occupations by prohibiting a man's right to stop work, and making it a crime for a union to provide its members with food while out on strike. This, coupled with the absence of an eight-hour law for government contract work, made the work of the executive officers unusually difficult and created bitter feeling among the involved workers.

This state of affairs gave rise to a spirited protest against the appearance of Minister of Labor Crothers on the platform the opening day. However, the protest was overruled and he addressed the convention.

On Wednesday the convention received with applause this communication from President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor:

"Urgent matters vitally concerning the workers of this country prevent my attendance at the Canadian Congress. I regret to find myself unable to carry out the purpose of the Baltimore convention of the American Federation of Labor in recommending that course.

"Particularly do I regret my inability to greet personally the Canadian workers at this time, when workers as well as all others of our two countries are drawn close together in the struggle for a common cause to defend democratic institutions and ideals against autocratic forces that seek to dominate the world relations.

"It is hoped that the deliberations of your Congress may hearten you for renewed efforts to establish and maintain the rights of humanity against despotism, industrial and political, national or international.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"President American Federation of Labor."

On the same day I delivered an address as fraternal delegate in which I set forth organized labor's definite position and activities in connection with war and a general resume of the work of organized labor in the United States and the results achieved during the year. The complete text of my remarks is added to this report. It was given close attention and received with expressions of approval.

The great question before the convention was the attitude of the Congress toward the new Military Service Law of Canada. The following resolution was introduced by the Transcona, Manitoba, Trades and Labor Council:

"RESOLVED, That in the event of the Dominion Government enforcing the conscription of man-power without the conscription of wealth and wealth production and the nationalization of all industries hereinbefore described, this Council strongly urges that the delegates in the convention assembled, formulate plans for a general strike of organized labor from the Atlantic to the Pacific, strike to continue until such time as the Dominion Government does conscript the wealth and nationalize the industries, this being a national necessity more than conscription of man-power a military necessity."

In connection with the foregoing the Congress' executive, after citing the Congressional stand against conscription, affirmed at the convention of 1915, and since maintained, reported as a substitute:

"The Military Service Bill is now law, and contains provisions that impose heavy penalties upon all and sundry who make use of any form of opposition to the principle that might frustrate the carrying into effect of the act now in existence. While the Congress cannot stultify itself to the degree of either withdrawing or contradicting this year its firm and carefully thought out views on the question of conscription as embodied in the resolutions of 1915 and 1916, still, under our representative form of government, it is not deemed either right, patriotic or in the interests of the Dominion or of the labor classes, to say or to do aught that might prevent the powers that be from obtaining all the results that they anticipate from the enforcement of such law."

Two whole days were devoted to debate on the resolution and substitute. The substitute was finally adopted with the added statement that "This Congress is emphatically opposed to any development in the enforcement of legislation which will make for industrial conscription or the interference with the trade union movement in the taking care of the interests of the organized workers of this Dominion."

There was also lengthy consideration of the question of rural credits and the back-to-the-land movement. Delegate after delegate argued contra to this movement on the ground that settlers were striving to make a living on barren grounds while corporations were holding thousands of fertile acres upon which they paid no taxes. The movement to send returned soldiers to the bush lands also met with opposition on the ground that the government, if it would, could start these men right on fertile soil in the West. The resolution was finally referred to the provincial executives to deal with.

The Congress elects a group of officers for each province, whose executive duty it is to look after provincial legislation. The Congress officers care for Dominion legislation.

Other outstanding features of the week's work of the Congress of international import were contained in the adoption of a report advocating increased pay for the soldiers of Canada; increased separation allowances for the dependents of these soldiers; the abolition of the patriotic fund, the deficiency thus caused to be counteracted by the increased separation allowance; the elimination of discrimination in re dis-

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ability moneys; increased pensions and the general betterment of the soldiers' position; and in the adoption of the report advocating the establishment of an independent labor party in Canada along the lines of the British Labor Party.

The election of officers for 1917-1918 was presided over by your delegate at the request of President Watters, who was re-elected unanimously as a war-time President. For the first time in the history of the Congress, the women workers were given a place among the officers by the selection of Miss C. E. Grant of Ottawa as Executive Board member for the Province of Ontario.

P. M. Draper, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Congress, was also re-elected, undoubtedly as a tribute to his remarkably able handling of the exacting duties of an office to which he has been continuously chosen for a decade and more. Your delegate is indebted to him for many personal courtesies during the convention week.

William Lodge, of Ottawa Typographical Union, was chosen as the fraternal delegate of the Congress to this convention. As secretary of the local committee of reception he in every way possible sought and succeeded in making my stay in his home city very pleasant.

In accordance with a resolution adopted three delegates were elected to a peace conference. The resolution states:

"We are of the opinion that the time has come for a clear-cut pronouncement of the exact purposes for which the war is being waged, and the exact terms on which peace can be established.

"Inasmuch as the British Trades Congress, with all its powerful backing, is taking steps to obtain this, your committee recommends that the convention elect three delegates to attend the conference which is to be arranged by the British Trades Congress for consultative purposes, and to which labor representatives will be invited."

Those chosen as such delegates were J. C. Watters, the President; P. M. Draper, the Secretary-Treasurer, and James Simpson, Vice-President.

The closing hours of the convention were marked by handsome presentations by the delegates of the Congress to Fraternal Delegate John Winstone, of Great Britain, and your delegate; also to Miss Alice Henry, of the United States Women's Trade Union League; William Lodge, of Ottawa; Daniel McCann, of Ottawa, and Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper. The presentation of a blood-stained bayonet—a Canadian bayonet—direct from Vimy Ridge, to President Watters by Fraternal Delegate John Winstone, was particularly impressive.

The convention, after deciding on the ancient city of Quebec as the meeting place for 1918, then joined in the singing of "Auld Lang Syne," clasping hands in expression of the unity of purpose that binds us so closely to our northern neighbors.

Respectfully submitted,
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,
Fraternal Delegate.

Vice-President Duncan: In accordance with the custom and practice it affords me great pleasure to introduce to you our genial friend, L. B. Strayer, Second Vice-President of the Farmers' Congress.

Address of Fraternal Delegate Strayer.

Mr. President and Delegates: It affords me great pleasure to have the duty of conveying the good wishes of the Farmers' National Congress. Those of you who heard me talk last year at your convention in Baltimore, I do not need to tell you that talking is not my best hold, because those who heard me then know it now and the rest of you soon will know it.

I was introduced by your President as the Farmer-Bricklayer, and I had two associates with me from the Farmers' Congress, and as I was a trade unionist man they insisted I do the talking, and the few remarks I made were along that line. This year for some unaccountable reason I am here alone and I have got to switch, and instead of talking trade unionism I have got to give you the farmer's side. My pet hobby was the co-operation of the workers of the organized labor movement and the farmers' organization in things that are of mutual interest to both, and we are working along that line, not only myself, but those associated with me and who have been fraternal delegates to these meetings at previous conventions.

We find that the worst trouble is an unreasonable prejudice on both sides; the farmer is prejudiced against labor unions and the trade unionist as a rule is prejudiced against the farmer. Farmers look on trade unionists as a bunch of trouble makers and they don't really know anything about our trouble; they don't know the difference between a trade unionist and an I. W. W. or between a socialist and an anarchist, and they class us all in one class and call us all anarchists and we have got something of a job to remove that unreasonable prejudice against the workers.

On the other hand the workers put us farmers in the capitalist class and they think we are not only robbing them, but working against them, which is not a fact at all. Of course, we do have some farmers that belong in the capitalist class because they have wealth enough, but as a matter of fact most of us are either renters or owners of small farms, and do our own work, so that the prejudice on the workingmen's side against the farmers is unreasonable and we should get together.

That has been the way that you have been working in relation to the organizations of farmers, especially your President; he has done all he possibly could to get the farmers and the workers together, to get a co-operation of the tillers and the toilers, and that is what we all should work for. Unfortunately there is a class that are usually classed as human parasites that "work the worker" and "farm the farmer," and it is to their interest to keep us just as widely apart as they possibly can, and they use all the human ingenuity they can to keep us from getting together and working together.

I will take up briefly the farmers' side, and I am glad that I have a man to follow me who is capable of doing this much bet-

ter than I can, so I will just hit the high spots and let him finish up the job. He is the president of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League and his subject will be the "High Cost of Living," and he will tell you some of the troubles that the farmers have and why we are not as efficient in winning this war by raising all the produce necessary.

My line of farming has been poultry and dairy farming, and you may think I ought to tell my troubles to a policeman instead of bringing them to you, but I am here to tell you that it is more to your interest than ours, if anything, because you are dependent upon the things we produce, and if we have so much trouble and so many of us can't make a living at that, that means that the more of us who go out of business the shorter will be the supply and the higher the prices. I am trying to make a living at the present time and have been in the dairy business for many years, as well as the poultry business, so I know the troubles of both. We are not making it pay; our expenses are more than we sell our products for. We are fast selling out our stock and going out of business. A few have been fortunate enough to carry over a number of their stock and that is what I am trying to do with mine. If somebody had come along last year about this time when I was keeping 600 chickens through the winter and had robbed me of every one of those chickens I would have considered it a calamity, but now since I have carried them through the winter and come up to the present I made up my mind it would have been money in my pocket if somebody had stolen them a year ago. The dairy business is in the same predicament; the dairy farmers of the United States as a rule have not found it profitable and they are doing the same thing as the poultry farmers are doing. The consequence is that dairy products are going higher and higher and getting scarcer and scarcer, so you can see our troubles are your troubles also.

Now it is conceded that the winning of this war depends more upon the farmers than upon any other class of people. You can't have a war unless you feed the warriors, and we have that job on our hands. We are willing to do all that we possibly can to produce as much as we can, but we are handicapped. Mr. Townley will give you some of the troubles that the other classes of farmers are meeting with and the troubles they are working under, but we are going to do the best we can to bring this war to as early a termination as possible by doing what we can to feed the warriors as well as ourselves. We are all going to have hard times.

You have taken one attitude in your resolutions here that at the end of this war organized labor should be represented in the settlement, and we have interests that are paramount to the interests of any other class. Now I want to urge you to not only include the working class when it comes to the settlement of peace, but the farmers of the United States should have representation just as well as the organized workers. In the organization that I belong to we have two men who have been here as fraternal delegates to your convention for the past three years. One of them is now the president of the Congress and the other is the secretary, and when it comes to settling peace terms I know of no other men more competent to take a place in the settlement that those two men.

Public speakers as a rule like to wind up their addresses by quoting some poetry, but if you will stand for it I will make an attempt to tell you a skunk story as a substitute. This skunk story is a very old one; it goes back before the time of the war and it has got more grey in its whiskers than I have, but it is applicable to the occasion and I want to try to tell it. The story is that previous to the war in slavery times one of our Southern colonels who was a slave holder had young darkies among his chattels and he had one who was very fond of onions. The colonel was very fond of them and when he began missing the onions he suspicioned one of the little darkies being the cause of their disappearing. He accused him of it and the little fellow denied it, whereupon the colonel said: "Come up here; I want to smell your breath." And, of course, he smelled onions. The little darky got what was coming to him in the way of punishment. A short time afterwards he succeeded in trapping a skunk, and bringing it in he said: "Massa, heah's the little rascal that's been stealin' you' ingins'. Whew, smell 'im breff."

At a St. Paul meeting at which I was a delegate three weeks ago we captured the skunk up there, and its real name was Capitalism masquerading under the name of Patiotism spelled "pay." Since that convention there has been an obnoxious affluvia that has gone all over the United States. I smelled it three weeks ago at the Farmers' National Congress at Springfield as well. "Whew, smell 'im breath!"

President Gompers in the chair.

President Gompers introduced Mr. A. C. Townley, President of the National Farmers' Non-Partisan League.

Address of President Townley.

I want to repeat just one thing that the gentleman who preceded me has said, and that is that the farmers of this country, especially of the Northwest, misunderstand the organized workers. They class the organized workers too largely as I. W. W's. and anarchists, and I want to submit that the farmers are not altogether to blame for that impression, because they have a great deal of help in arriving at that conclusion.

For a few minutes this morning I want to carry to you a message from the farmers, the workers in the fields of the Northwest. I represent directly some hundreds of thousands of farmers, and indirectly, I think I can speak for many millions of farmers in these United States. In a time like this when all the liberties that your forefathers and mine fought for and won are in jeopardy, when no man can tell just what the future may hold for us, it is very important that you, the workers in the cities, and we in the country should un-

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derstand each other; it is very important that no third person, for selfish purposes, shall be permitted to lead you to believe that we are opposed to you and to lead us to believe that you are opposed to us. And so it is necessary that we come in contact with each other, because there are at work in this nation tremendous forces whose very life depends upon keeping you workers in the cities fighting the workers on the farm. If you will permit me, I will tell you what we understand to be our rights and our duties as American citizens. In this country, a democracy, the farmers understand that the laws of the land are not made by any one man or any one group of men to rule us all our lifetime; we understand that the laws of this land are the will of the majority of the citizens, and we understand as our duty as American citizens that when a majority of the citizens of this country have spoken, when they have passed a law or have placed men in office to make laws, it is our duty as American citizens to obey those laws and to obey the men whom the majority authorize to make them. We admit that sometimes the law may not suit us; sometimes, usually never, do the men in power suit all the people of the nation, but we believe that our first duty is to fulfill our first pledge, and that pledge in this country is that we obey, not the law of a king, a kaiser, or a czar, but that we obey the decision of a majority of our fellow citizens.

I want to tell you something about the condition of the farmer, especially of the West. I am sensible of the fact that the organized workers feel that the farmer is in some measure a capitalist; that the farmer in a large measure is robbing the workers in the city. I want to tell you that in the State of North Dakota that because of two bad crops in succession it is going to take us up there ten years to make up what we have lost in the last two years. Our mortgages are continually increasing, the number of farms that are farmed by tenants are continually increasing. I can take you to vast stretches of territory in the Northwest and in the Southwest where the farmers are so thoroughly bankrupt that it is a physical impossibility for them to pay an eight-dollar membership fee a year. There are whole groups of counties where they cannot pay a membership fee because they never see any money.

This may be surprising to some of you, but it is nevertheless a fact. The average income of the average farm family in the United States is $318.22 a year; now I mean by that that the average farm family, after they have paid for their machinery, paid the interest, paid the threshing bill, paid all those expenses of producing the crop that they must pay, they have $318.22, out of which they may buy clothing, groceries, educate their children, buy automobiles, take a trip to Florida and furnish themselves with whiskey and tobacco. I wouldn't have you understand, however, that that $318.22 is used to pay for the milk and the butter and the potatoes and things raised on the farm. That is what they have left for the work of the family with which to buy those things that they cannot produce upon the farm.

Since the war began you will find the farmers' wives and daughters and their children working in the field. I have spent many days the last few weeks driving over the country and I find their schools closed and the mothers, brothers and sisters of those boys that have gone to war out in the field picking the corn, digging up the potatoes, gathering in the food to feed the world and its armies of liberty.

We are not satisfied with these conditions; we are not getting along very well; we want better conditions and we think we deserve them, because we believe that with the improved farm machinery we have to use we are producing many times more than it takes to support our families. Years ago we didn't have the machinery that we have now; then when we came to grind up the wheat we did it with a flail. We argue that at that time the farmers of this country were able to live; they got all they wanted to eat, clothing and shelter enough, and they did not work much longer than they work now; they didn't produce one-fiftieth part of what they produce now. The average North Dakota farmer in an average year will raise wheat enough to feed his family for fifty years, but two weeks after he raises his wheat he hasn't any more than any one else. We average in this country $27,000,000,000 worth of farm products per year, and of that amount it is estimated that farmers get $9,000,000,000 for producing them.

It is getting to be quite a problem for us to find out where these other $18,000,000,000 go to. When we begin to inquire why it is that we only get eight, ten or twelve cents a pound for pork out of the thirty-five or forty-five cents that the consumer pays, the packers tell us that the reason we only get eight or ten cents is because the fellows who work in the packing plants are making so much money, that they can't do anything with them, and if they don't give it to them they will go on strike. When we inquire why it is that we got $4.00 last year for the wheat that makes a barrel of flour and that barrel sells to the consumer for $14.00 to $19.00 a barrel, the millers tell us it is because the mill workers are organized and they take all the money. And when they raised the freight rates on stuff we ship out and we complained about the raise, the railroads published the story in all of the papers that the railroad workers were on strike and they had to raise the rates to get money enough to pay them. When we want to know why it is that we have to pay $250.00 for a binder that we used to get for $115.00, the International Harvester Company tells us that the fellows who make binders are living in high society and feeding poodle dogs and that they have to have the money. That's about the way the story goes.

I want to say that I am very glad this morning for the opportunity of meeting face to face, representatives of that group of workers in the United States who are getting our money. For a long time we have wanted to talk this matter over with you. Now, there are some of the farmers who actually believe you are getting the money, but there are a lot of them who are suspicious about it, and I want to take back the word out of your own mouths to tell the farmers what you said about it. I want to know whether you delegates and

those you represent, Mr. President, have got that money or not.

President Gompers (interposing): I will tell you on the quiet after awhile.

Mr. Townley (continuing): The boss doesn't want to confess to his part of it, but I want to say to you that you don't need to be a bit afraid to confess if you have been getting the money. As a matter of fact we hope you have got it, because if you have it we believe we can settle the problem fairly easy, and if some other fellows have it whom we have a sneaking notion have got it we are going to have some trouble settling the problem.

The surplus of the farm belongs to the worker in the city and the surplus of the worker in the city belongs to the farmer. The farmers of this country are tremendously interested in the surplus you produce, and if you are as much interested as the farmers are it is only a matter of a few years until we can make a tremendous bargain here that will be very much to the benefit to all of us. We are going to make a trade; we are going to make a deal, and the farmers that produce in the fields of the United States and the workers that produce in the cities in the United States will get together and they will bring about better conditions, not only for the workers in the field and city, but for all the deserving people in all the land.

We farmers in these United States have been very much asleep, while you and your President for thirty years or more have been struggling to perfect an organization to protect yourselves industrially, but we are awakening because we are compelled to awake.

In the State of North Dakota we don't mine very much gold; we don't do much of anything except to raise wheat. North Dakota raises more wheat than any other state in the United States; a hundred million bushels of wheat is the average wheat crop for the state. I want you to notice that in North Dakota the farmers *raise* the wheat, and that is all we have to do with it. After we raise it we turn it over to the Minneapolis milling interests to handle it for us. There is a great difference between raising wheat and handling it; a great difference between raising and handling anything. Let me illustrate.

We elected a farmer-governor in North Dakota last year and he loaded his potatoes on a box car for 83 cents a bushel. During the winter he came to New York to talk about the high cost of living and he found potatoes selling for $5.50 a bushel. He came back with a glowing report to us on how to make money in the potato business, and he told us what we wanted to do was to go into the business of handling the potatoes and let somebody else raise them. Let me make that plainer to you still. When a farmer raises potatoes all he does is plow the ground, drag it and disc it, cut up the potatoes in seed, drop the potatoes in the furrow, cover them up, then cultivate and hoe them and fight the weeds and potato bugs; a little later on he pulls them out, loads the pile in a wagon, puts them in a pit or cellar, and then a little later on puts them on a box car and then somebody else begins to handle them. All he has been doing up to that time is to raise them. The other fellow makes more money handling one bushel than the farmer makes raising ten.

What is true of potatoes is true of wheat, and particularly of the wheat in North Dakota. Three years ago Professor Wurst, of the Agricultural College, told us that if we would establish elevators and flour mills in North Dakota and handle our own wheat, sell the flour, bran and shorts and get what the people paid for it—if we would grind up our wheat into flour, bran and shorts, feed the bran and shorts to cattle and sell the flour to you at the price you are paying we would make $55,000,000 more out of our wheat crop. That would be about $1,200 for every farmer in North Dakota, and that is the surplus that gets away from us. We don't propose, however, to charge you as much for the flour if we ever get to the place where we can sell it as the other fellow charges you now. So we went about it to build in the State of North Dakota a farmers' organization for the purpose of establishing flour mills and elevators and handling our own wheat. We propose to do that through the operation of state-owned flour mills and elevators because our experience and investigation showed us that they would "cut the mustard," and we haven't been able to do it in any other way. We have been trying to establish them by co-operative stock sale operations, but for some reason or other the flour trust invariably puts our mills out of business.

We looked around to see what had been accomplished in the way of publicly owned institutions and on the West Coast in the county where Seattle is located we found there a publicly owned warehouse and wharf, and we found them saving the farmers a tremendous amount of money. The private owned wharfs and elevators were charging 50 cents a ton for wharfage and were paying labor 32 cents an hour. After the county put in a publicly owned elevator and wharf the publicly owned institution paid labor 50 cents an hour and charged 20 cents a ton for wharfage and paid expenses. It was not a policy of this publicly owned institution or the people there to charge the consumer all they had been paying before, but the purpose was to divide "fifty-fifty."

And so we set about building an organization; we got 40,000 farmers in the State of North Dakota into one organization, Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Bull-Moosers and everything else, and at the first election the farmers and their friends in the State of North Dakota elected everything from governor down to dog-catcher; and I want to say to you in passing that we had the full co-operation of organized labor in the State of North Dakota and still have it. The farmers and organized workers out there stand shoulder to shoulder for the control of the State of North Dakota for the benefit of the workers in the cities and on the farms. The same thing was taking place in Minnesota, South Dakota and in Montana, where we are pretty fully organized.

Last year we raised a very poor grade of wheat; the elevator men and flour trust

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called it "feed D" wheat; they called it chicken feed. We have an experimental mill at the college in North Dakota where Professor Ladd has been grinding up this wheat to see whether it would make flour or not. He has ground up 75 samples of this poor grade of wheat and he finds that 60 pounds of this grade will make as much as 60 pounds of No. 1 Northern, except about two or three pounds. When we were selling that wheat the milling trust paid us about 60 cents a bushel. The price of flour was based upon No. 1 Northern at $1.75 or $1.80 a bushel plus a good round profit, and those who had to admit that they made flour out of this poor grade wheat said the flour wasn't any good, but we caught them at that, too. The professor not only grinds wheat into flour, but he bakes the flour into bread, and he tests it by every physical and chemical process known. Through scores of tests he showed that this made just as good bread as the flour made out of No 1 Northern. After the millers had gobbled up all our poor wheat at 75 to 80 cents a bushel they came out with an advertisement to the consumers in which they themselves said that the flour made out of this poor "feed D" wheat made better bread. By that one transaction alone the milling trust made over $20,000,000 last year. They took that out of our pockets; they didn't give it to you, and they haven't given it back to us.

I notice another matter since I have arrived in this town, and I want to read you a resolution to show you what our friends in the city of Minneapolis are doing.

(Here Mr. Townley read Resolution No. 94, introduced by the delegate representing the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, and appearing on p. 190, 2nd day's proceedings.)

I call your attention to that resolution to show you the necessity on your part of protecting yourselves and fellow-workers from these same men who belong to an organization so tight that you can't drive a spike into it any place you begin; men who are making millions and millions of dollars.

Let me show you further the attitude of this organization. About two months ago our government in its program to lower prices to you workers in the cities so that you might be able to buy bread at a reasonable price fixed the price of our wheat at $2.20 a bushel in the basket, making it about 85 cents in the field; fixed it arbitrarily and we have been getting $2.20 minus what it costs to produce it. At that time we understood that the millers were to get 25 cents a barrel profit for manufacturing flour out of the wheat we were selling for less than $2.00 a bushel, and that the bakers were going to get ten, but since that date these milling concerns have been making more than $1.00 a barrel profit. At a profit of 25 cents a barrel running half the time these millers could pay more than 10 per cent. dividends. But they took it arbitrarily, and then when your fellow workers undertook to organize to protect themselves and their families they discharged them, even when the government of these United States asked them to reinstate these men.

These millers, to hear them tell it, are very strong for liberty and democracy. They lose no opportunity when they are not busy getting that dollar a barrel or locking out workers who try to organize, to wrap the flag about their bodies and call themselves patriots. They lead the parade in spite of anything the farmers can do, and if you have been told that the farmer was not keeping step in the loyalty parade in the State of Minnesota I want to tell you that it is because these millers are at the head of the parade and the farmers don't like to follow them. They are a little bit suspicious of liberty and democracy that has to come through the leadership of these gentlemen here. They are not suspicious of the liberty and democracy that will come through the sacrifice and the work of the American people of these United States, but they don't know just where they are when these gentlemen here talk of liberty and democracy for all the world while they deny it to the fathers and mothers, the brothers and sisters of the boys who have gone across the water to fight for liberty and democracy.

In spite of the fact that the farmer does not keep step always in a parade headed in this way, I want to assure you that the farmers of the Northwest, especially of the State of North Dakota, in their loyalty to the people of this country and this nation are second to none. In our State, in spite of two bad crop years, the farmers oversubscribed the Liberty Loan more than was over-subscribed anywhere else in the United States. The farmers of the State of North Dakota—and it must have been the farmers, because nobody else lives there, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce doesn't live in North Dakota—the farmers oversubscribed 73 per cent. In the city of New York, the next best, they over-subscribed it 72 per cent., and in the city of Minneapolis where these gentlemen live they only over-subscribed it 34 per cent.

We are here primarily for the purpose of bringing about unity of the workers in the field and the workers in the city. We are looking over the plains to you as an ally in our battle against those who are making it very difficult for us to live, and we invite your co-operation with us politically and industrially to bring about better conditions and unify the forces of this country for the good of the country in time of peace and for the success of the country in time of war. If you will stand shoulder to shoulder with us in our battle to protect our families against those who are robbing us, we will stand shoulder to shoulder with you, and I pledge you further that if the 500,000 organized workers in the city of New York, the million and a quarter of organized workers in the State of New York and the organized workers over these United States will recognize the farmer in his struggle and aid him in his struggle, we will aid you in your struggle by recognizing the brand of goods made in your union shops until the day arrives when no man, either upon the farm or in the city, shall not be organized. I thank you.

President Gompers: A fellow trade unionist has been selected by the Governor of Illinois to convey a message to this convention. He is the Director of Labor in the State of Illinois, a member

of the Governor's cabinet. Mr. Barney Cohen, from whom we will now hear.

The Message of Mr. Cohen.

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: I am here, as your President announced, to deliver a message from the great State of Illinois through its chief executive, Governor Lowden. I was more than surprised a few days ago when the Governor sent for me and asked me to make this convention and to say to its President and to the delegates that as Governor of Illinois he is with you in your movement, that he recognizes the patriotism exhibited and demonstrated by the American Federation of Labor in this most terrible crisis, and to say to you that he will use all machinery within his power to help to bring about peace among the workers in Illinois, and that his sympathies are with you because he knows you are right, he knows the stand and the position you are taking is a just one and that he feels that as he has expressed himself publicly time and again for this great movement of ours, that it is time for all other patriotic men in this country other than the labor movement likewise to express themselves during this crisis.

We have in Illinois for the past six months a new organization created by the present government. Up to the first day of July, 1917, we had in Illinois what was known as 130 different departments of the government, and it was almost impossible for the administration, or rather the Governor of the State, to meet with the various heads of these divisions. Governor Lowden saw wisdom in co-ordinating the 130 bodies into nine and created what we now have—an administrative code consisting of nine directors who direct the various divisions of the great State of Illinois. Among them is the Department of Labor and in that department we now have twelve divisions, formerly administered by twelve different heads. We now have it so that the Director of Labor is in close touch with the twelve divisions and he in touch with the Governor, so that we know everything that pertains to labor, we get the first information and we are able to meet with the Governor at least once a week to point out to him the difficulties and the tribulations that labor has been confronted with.

During the past six months we had many labor disputes in Illinois, and I am proud to say to you, my friends, that Governor Lowden stood up in every one of those troubles and sent for the men who represent the labor organizations and got their views of the situation and then sent for the employers. I happened to be present when he sent for the coal operators of Illinois after having the conference with the members of the Miners' Union and having understood their side, and he told the operators of Illinois that unless they met with the members of that organization and adjusted that grievance within twenty-four hours he would take the mines of Illinois and have them operated by the people of Illinois.

I feel as a trade unionist that it is my duty to come here today and say that you, the American Federation of Labor, have in Governor Lowden a friend and an advocate of the labor movement, that he has made that declaration publicly, that he stands for the principles of the American Federation of Labor in its activities to make conditions better for the working men and working women of our state. With this message, my friends, I will leave you and thank you for this opportunity.

President Gompers introduced to the convention Delegates James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L., and John Golden, President of the United Textile Workers of America, delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. Delegate Golden read the following report:

Report of Delegates to British Trades Union Congress.

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 16, 1917.

To the Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Fellow Delegates:

In submitting our report to you we are mindful of the fact that we have been charged with a grave responsibility by the American Federation of Labor; that never did the representatives of the workers meet at such a critical time in the world's history and, in consonance with this, we submit our report, embodying as best we are able, the most important phases of the trenchant situation with which the democracy of the world is face to face.

We can say with the philosopher, "These are the times that try men's souls." In the crucible of truth and righteousness the democracy of the world is being tested, and it is our hope and profound belief that democracy will emerge from the test serene, triumphant, with a better understanding of the great human equation, victorious in its greatest trial, and bringing to the free people of the world, and those who are to be free, a new accumulation of human rights, a social program that shall be effective and international, a manipulation and understanding of the social and economic forces of the world to the end that militarism shall in this great upheaval find its last resting place, and the men and women who do the useful work of the world, whether with hand or brain, shall be free to work out our destinies, to intelligently co-operate with national and international solidarity for the better consummation of their hopes, ideals and aspirations, today, tomorrow and on to where truth and economic righteousness shall lead, and the

worker in reality, and in the best and highest sense shall become a "citizen of the world."

We have been face to face with the great tragedy; have seen at close range what this war means to humanity and we can properly and truthfully say that no phase of human life or its activities is standing up meeting the ever-changing conditions and crises, hewing to the line of democracy, or knowing its historic mission better than is the trade union movement of the Allied countries.

We left New York on August 13th and did not arrive in Liverpool until September 1st. We were met at the docks by James Sexton, who assisted us in various ways with alien officers, the customs officers and the police regulations that have to be experienced to be appreciated. and on Sunday morning, September 2d, we accompanied Brother Sexton to Blackpool, where the Congress opened its sessions on Monday, September 3d. Jim Sexton has been referred to as the "Emperor of Liverpool" and, in the light of our experiences with him, we are inclined to the opinion he has all the good qualifications of an emperor and none of the bad ones. We were received by the delegates at Blackpool with a cordiality not easy to describe and a feeling of relief was manifest everywhere, for, as we learned, our ships had been reported sunk.

The Trades Union Congress opened in the Palace Ball-room. It was the largest and most representative Congress ever held. There were 695 delegates present, repre-senting over 3,000,000 workers. The usual reception speeches were made and responded to and the President made his report to the Congress. President Hill dealt with existing industrial and social conditions and hazarded some thoughts regarding the reconstruction period. Appertaining to this, he said: "The best scheme of reconstruction will be one of our own devising; a strong and intelligent trade unionism linked with our political arm—the Labor Party. If we can inspire the men and women in the workshops and in the constituencies to support these ideals we can say to the officious lawyers and huckstering bureaucrats, 'Keep thine own shop, friend, we do not want thee here.'"

At the afternoon session began the selection of tellers and scrutineers and other formal business. Miscellaneous resolutions were considered. Among them were two resolutions put forward respectively by the Navvies' Union and the National Union of Clerks, which, while expressing appreciation of Mr. Barnes as Pensions Minister, demanded an improvement in the present scale of pensions for widows, orphans and disabled soldiers. Mr. John Hodge, the new Pensions Minister, paid a tribute to the human sympathy which his predecessor had imparted into his Department, and assured the Congress of his desire to display the same spirit toward those broken in the war.

The discussion on the resolutions was not finished when the Congress adjourned.

The fraternal delegates to the Congress were, from the American Federation of Labor, James Lord, United Mine Workers; and John Golden, United Textile Workers. From the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, David Rees, United Mine Workers. From the Labor Party, Arthur Henderson, M. P., and from the Co-operative Union, W. Gregory.

Second Day.

At the assembling of the Congress, discussion was resumed on the resolutions calling for an improved scale of war pensions. The resolutions were adopted.

President Hill read cablegrams from the Russian Conference of the Soviets, and President Gompers, expressing fraternal good wishes to the Congress.

The Congress then went into a discussion of the Stockholm question. The subject was raised on a special report presented by the Parliamentary Committee. It recorded a resolution passed by the committee on July 25th, that the Congress ought to take its proper share in convening and participating in all international gatherings, but in view of the divergent opinions among the Allied Labor and Socialist parties disclosed at the last Inter-Allied Conference, the report expressed the conclusion that a conference at Stockholm at the present moment could not be successful. The following is their report to the Conference:

The Stockholm Conference.

We have to report that on the 25th of July last your committee passed a resolution that the Trades Union Congress ought to take its proper share in convening and participating in all international labor gatherings. Following this resolution, we received from the Labor Party a communication to the effect that a National Conference would be held on the 10th of August to consider the advisability of British labor and Socialist organizations being represented at the proposed Stockholm Conference. We decided to accept

the invitation to be present, and further decided that in the event of the Labor Party Conference agreeing to be represented at Stockholm we would, subject to the approval of the Trades Union Congress, elect eight delegates. At the conference on the 10th of August the decision to be represented at Stockholm was carried by a very large majority, but at the adjourned conference on the 21st of August the motion was carried by a majority of only 3,000.

We were also invited to take part in the Inter-allied conference on the 28th and 29th of August, and at that conference Russia, Belgium, France, Italy, Portugal, Greece, South Africa and Great Britain were represented. Your committee was represented by eight delegates. The conference set up two commissions to report as to business—(1) the Stockholm Conference, (2) the general war aims of the Allies. The Stockholm Commission reported in favor of the proposed conference, and protested against the non-issue of passports; but while there was general agreement on the latter point, unanimity could not be secured on the first. The second Commission prepared a number of divergent reports, and it was made abundantly clear that there was no possibility of agreement. We have also to call attention to a paragraph in the report of the Stockholm Commission which would have provided for the representation of minorities in a way contrary to that laid down by the Labor Party Conference.

In view of the divergence of opinion, we have come to the conclusion that a conference at Stockholm at the present moment could not be successful, and in the light of all the circumstances we make the following recommendations:

1. We recommend that the Parliamentary Committee attempt in every possible way to secure general agreement of aim among the working classes of the Allied Nations, as, in our opinion, this is a fundamental condition of a successful international conference.

2. We are strongly of opinion that an International Labor and Socialist Conference would be of the greatest service and is a necessary preliminary to the conclusion of a lasting and democratic peace, and we recommend that the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee be empowered to assist to arrange and take part in such a conference.

3. We think that the participation of the Trades Union Congress should be subject to the conditions outlined in recommendation (1) and to the further condition that the voting should be by nationalities, sectional bodies within nationalities to be governed by the majority of that nationality, or alternatively that each section should be given voting powers according to the number of persons actually represented.

PASSPORTS AND GOVERNMENT ACTION.

We desire to make it clearly understood that the above recommendations arise out of the internal difficulties revealed at the Inter-allied Conference and elsewhere, and are in no way consequent upon the decision of governments to refuse passports to the Stockholm Conference. In the opinion of your committee, no government has any right to prevent an expression of feeling by the working classes of its country, and we regard the action of the government in this matter as an unwarrantable interference with our rights as citizens. The workers of this country have made enormous sacrifices in life and liberty, and are entitled to a commanding voice in the settlement of peace. We recommend that this Conference enters an emphatic protest against the action of the government in refusing passports, and demands that in the event of an International Conference taking place on the lines recommended, no obstacle shall be placed in the way of the delegates from any country.

THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

J. HILL, Chairman.
H. GOSLING, Vice-Chairman.
F. BRAMLEY.
W. J. DAVIS.
T. A. FLYNN.
J. H. JENKINS.
E. JUDSON.
W. MOSSES.
J. W. OGDEN.
A. ONIONS.
E. L. POULTON.
J. SEXTON.
R. SMILLIE.
G. H. STUART-BUNNING.
J. H. THOMAS.
W. THORNE.
R. B. WALKER.
C. W. BOWERMAN, Secretary.

September, 1917.

This report brought out one of the sharpest discussions in the Congress. The matter of the Stockholm Conference had threatened to rend the British Labor forces from end to end, and men who signed this report were not in agreement with each other, and was simply a compromise, necessary, as they all viewed it. Some forceful speeches were made for and against the proposition, and Havelock Wilson, of the Seamen's Union, moved that it be referred back to the committee. The chairman took the position that, inasmuch as it was a compromise resolution, it could not be amended or altered, but must be voted up or down by the Congress. Havelock Wilson rendered a dramatic account of the atrocious treatment of seamen by German submarine crews, reciting the cases of the Baralong and the Belgian Prince among others. The report of the committee was finally adopted.

The rest of the afternoon was devoted to the general report of the Parliamentary Committee. With the adoption of the report the Congress adjourned.

THIRD DAY.

Discussion began on what is known as the Whitely report. This provides for the

creation of joint councils and works committees of workmen and employers for the future regulation of industrial conditions. No resolution was passed, but it was agreed that the new Parliamentary Committee to be elected should examine the proposals more closely, and, if necessary, summon a special Congress to discuss the project fully. Mr. E. Bevan (Bristol Dockers) moved that a special committee of five be appointed to examine the Whitely report. Mr. Robert Smillie (Miners' Federation), speaking both as a member of the Parliamentary Committee and the Whitely sub-committee, said that the report did not suggest that the same machinery would be suitable to all industries, but that the same method of approaching the question could be adopted. Its aim was to set up machinery to settle disputes before they reached the stage of stoppage. It recognized and proposed to utilize machinery where it already existed, as, for instance, in the mining industry. Delegates Barron (Carpenters and Joiners), Mr. J. R. Clynes, M. P., Duberry (Fawcett Association of Postal Clerks), Sexton (Liverpool Dockers) and Hodges (South Wales Miners) took part in the discussion.

Mr. Jack Jones (General Workers) moved that "This Congress declares that on the termination of the war immediate steps be taken to reduce the working hours in all trades to forty-eight per week, without reduction of the standard rate of wages, and that the Parliamentary Committee and the Labor Party press for legislation on these lines." This was discussed by J. H. Thomas, M. P. (Railway Servants), J. J. Bromley (Locomotive Engineers), Mrs. Fawcett (Women Workers) and Robert Smillie (Miners' Federation) and was unanimously adopted.

Six resolutions dealing with wage questions were passed after a brief discussion.

The Congress also resolved "that it is urgently necessary to conscript the wealth of the nation." Delegate J. H. Thomas, speaking on this resolution, declared his opposition to any attempt to defray the cost of the war by the exploitation of the wage-earners.

FOURTH DAY.

The Dockers' Union introduced a resolution demanding that the demobilization of the army and munitions labor should be effected by organization based on the mutual co-operation of trade unions and employers. The resolution also recommended State maintenance of returned soldiers and displaced workers pending their re-employment, and the establishment of training centers for securing the industrial efficiency and independence of the workers. This resolution was adopted. Another resolution declared that the men capable of fulfilling the work on which they were engaged before the war must be reinstated in their employment after the war, and was adopted. The Scottish Painters' Society introduced a resolution providing that where semi-skilled and unskilled labor displaces skilled labor it should receive the same pay as skilled labor.

The National Federation of Women Workers submitted a resolution in regard to the demobilization of women after the war. It expressed the view that the problem would be one of organization of labor rather than of surplus of labor to be absorbed, and it called on Government Departments to reorganize the unemployment insurance system, to give reasonable notice, or wages in lieu of notices, to workers in all Government factories and controlled establishments, to give munition workers who have had excessive overtime four weeks' furlough on full pay, to use the new Government factories for steadying the labor markets, and to provide training and maintenance for women who cannot find employment in their own trades to equip them for new occupations.

Delegate Mary McArthur said that the women workers wanted guarantees and indemnities—guarantees that they were not going to be thrown on the streets after giving their best for three years, and proper maintenance during unemployment, with facilities for training. The resolution was adopted.

The standing orders were suspended for the consideration of the following resolutions not on the agenda:

"That this Trades Union Congress expresses its profound regret at and emphatic protest against the barbarous practices employed by enemy submarine commanders. It records its earnest conviction that these practices are calculated to destroy the high and noble traditions of the sea, which compel seafaring men to strive to effect rescue and life-saving, despite any question of the nationality of those requiring assistance. It accords its highest praise and appreciation to our brave and self-sacrificing merchant seamen for the manner in which they have conveyed to our shores the essential food-

stuffs and raw material, and it calls on the working-class forces in the adversary countries to use every effort to guarantee that all methods and means of life-saving should be utilized when merchant tonnage is sunk, such means and methods to be in accordance with the Geneva Convention and the Red Cross activities of all civilized countries, belligerent and neutral."

Mr. R. Williams (Transport Workers) and Havelock Wilson (Seamen's Union) discussed the resolution. It was carried unanimously.

Your delegates then addressed the Congress. We extended the heartfelt fraternal greetings of the American workers and stated the position of organized labor in America with regard to the Government and the Allied cause. We told them that we were unalterably opposed to going to Stockholm or anywhere else to meet with representatives of the Central Powers while their military forces were beyond their own frontiers. We told them that we had not rushed madly into the war, but we were in it united and, until the curse of the ages, Prussianism, was exterminated. We told them that, while America had not an inch of territory to gain in the event of an inconclusive or a Prussian peace, we had probbaly as much to lose as had any people or nation on earth. Our addresses were well received.

David Rees of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress then addressed the Congress.

Arthur Henderson, M. P., next addressed the Congress and in a lengthy and eloquent speech he went over the situation as it existed before and since he left the cabinet, including the Stockholm controversy. He reiterated that the Stockholm Conference would have been only a consultative conference. His speech was well received by the Congress.

Resolutions were passed at this session declaring for the principles of free trade between nations and the adoption of the metric system.

Fifth Day.

The first business of the Congress was a resolution on the food problem. It called on the Government to control all supplies and prices, and suggested that, if the Government's reply to this was not satisfactory, a special national convention should be called to consider drastic steps. Mr. W. H. Jukes (Bookbinders), in moving the resolution, declared that the wives of the workers were knocking at the door of the Congress to demand a strong policy for the control of food prices.

Mr. J. R. England (Bookbinders) said that shipowners and other profiteers had deliberately held up food to inflate prices. Mr. J. Houghton (Dockers), W. C. Robinson (Textile Workers), and J. R. Clynes, M. P., discussed the resolution, which was then carried.

The Congress then adopted a resolution demanding the repeal after the war of all acts imposing economic, industrial or military compulsion.

Mr. F. Bramley (Furnishing Trades) offered the following resolution: "This Congress welcomes the declaration of the Russian workers repudiating all proposals for imperialistic conquest and aggrandizement. We also send to the workers of Russia our whole-hearted congratulations on their magnificent achievement in securing the downfall of tyranny, persecution and despotism of an autocratic government, and express the hope that the Russian Revolution will hasten the coming of a peace based, not on the dominance of tyrannical monarchs, militarists, and diplomats, but on the principles of nationality, democracy and justice, maintained by a league of nations." After discussion by Romeril (Railway Clerks) and Sexton (Dockers) it was adopted.

Mr. G. Parker (National Federation of Colliery Enginemen, Stokers and Kindred Trades) offered a resolution protesting against the attempt of the Miners' Federation to compel those who worked in or about a colliery to become members of their federation, regardless of the fact that thousands of them were members of other trade unions.

Robert Smillie (Miners' Federation) said that it was not from any desire to secure members that the Miners' Federation was determined that all workers in and about the mines should belong to the Federation. An organization of nearly a million workers did not require to stir up strife to obtain a few thousand more members. They had often found, during the last twenty years, that their strength and ability to cope with the employers was seriously interfered with because there was not a solid organization at the collieries, and again and again they had seen the engine winders stand back of their engines and raise and lower blacklegs. He then made an appeal for organization by industry.

Mr. Clynes, M. P. (General Laborers),

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suggested that, as the differences between the two bodies were so deep, the resolution be withdrawn and the matter left in the hands of the Parliamentary Committee.

Mr. Smillie refused to agree to this, saying that the matter had been raised by the enginemen, and the miners insisted that the Congress should make a decision. After further discussion the resolution was adopted.

The President stated that, acting on the instructions in the resolution on internationalism which had passed on Tuesday, provisional arrangements had been made for a joint meeting of the Executive Committee of the Labor Party and the new Parliamentary Committee of the Congress on September 26th or 27th, and the American delegates invited to attend.

The following resolution was adopted on the motion of Mr. S. Fisser (Cardiff Coal Trimmers): "In view of the numerous expressions of opinion by trade union organizations in favor of a scheme for the State purchase of the liquor trade, this Congress urges on the Government to appoint a commission composed of equal representatives of all parties concerned, including labor (the representatives of which shall be chosen by the Parliamentary Committee or national unions), to fully investigate the administration of the Liquor Control Board. The inquiry should have special reference to the question whether the Board is a constitutional body, and the right it has to establish a system of espionage on the people, in particular those of the working class; what precautions have been taken by the Government to check enhanced profits consequent on the reduction in quality and increased prices, and calling also for inquiry into stocks of liquor privately owned. The foregoing is with a view to promoting temperance in accordance with the will of the people."

Sixth Day.

The Congress began its last session. A resolution was adopted calling on the Government to reorganize the educational system from the elementary school to the university, greater care being taken of the health of the children, and special attention being paid to technical education and to the encouragement of scientific investigation, the raising of the school age to sixteen years, and prohibition of all wage-earning work for children under sixteen. The representation of the people's bill was accepted by the Congress as a compromise only, and its extension was urged to include a reduction of the qualifying period, the closing of public houses during polling hours, and the conferring of the franchise on all adults, male and female.

Several other resolutions, of minor importance, went through without discussion.

The President stated that there had been an informal intimation that the Government intended holding up the Franchise Bill until the House of Lords was reformed. This reformation was considered impossible by many of the delegates, literally or in any other way. President Hill said that the matter would be acted on by the Parliamentary Committee as soon as possible on the adjournment of the Congress.

A resolution was passed providing for the public ownership and control of land.

President Hill (Boilermakers) and Arthur Hayday (General Workers) were elected as fraternal delegates to the Buffalo convention, American Federation of Labor.

Harry Gosling (Watermen's Union), J. Hill (Boilermakers and Shipbuilders), Will Thorne,, M. P. (General Workers), J. H. Thomas (Railwaymen), W. J. Davis (Brassworkers), J. W. Ogden (Weavers), J. H. Jenkins (Shipwrights), J. Sexton (Dockers), F. Hall, M. P. (Miners), A. Onions (Miners), R. B. Walker (Agricultural Laborers), E. Judson (Spinners), E. L. Poulton (Boot and Shoe Operatives), F. Bramley (Furnishing Trades), H. Skinner (Typographical Association), J. B. Williams (Amalgamated Musicians) and G. H. Stuart-Bunning (Postmen) were elected on the Parliamentary Committee.

It was decided to hold the next Congress in Derby.

In summing up the activities and methods of the Congress, we must admit that, while these methods would in many ways be unsuited to our convention, they can assimilate a lot of work speedily. This Congress, called at such a crucial time in the history of the world, was the largest, most representative and the most harmonious they have ever held. The trade unionists of Britain are not jingoes in any sense of the word. They know that they are face to face with a stern reality and are meeting that situation in the proper spirit. At the same time they are exerting every effort, all the time, to see that wealth and bureaucracy does not dominate the situation either at home or abroad. The trade unions of Britain are truly, as Gladstone said, "The bulwarks

of democracy." They will, with the American Federation of Labor, be one of the most potential factors in determining the basis of the world's peace when that happy time comes and, with the combined knowledge and conviction of the two great movements, gained in the field of bitter experience, our greatest hopes are entwined. The British trade union movement has grown bigger, better and more militant during this three years of anguish and sorrow. It has increased its power more than at any previous time, some of the affiliated national unions having doubled their membership. Mr. W. Gregory, addressing the Congress as the fraternal delegate from the Co-operative Union, showed that this institution of the workers has also grown more in every way than at any other period in its history. The Rochdale Co-operative movement, in its retail, wholesale, manufacturing, agricultural and transportation activities, is the largest mercantile institution on earth today. It is extending and growing locally and abroad, is formed on sound co-operative and democratic lines, does not fail anywhere if the laws and usages are adhered to, and is a democracy in truth that is growing within the shell of antiquated usages and reaction all over the world. The high cost of living strikes those in Britain and America the lightest, who deal with themselves. Time will not permit a complete exposition of this unique plan, unique because of its simplicity, but we know of communities in America where the Rochdale co-operative system is thriving beyond all expectation, and are of the opinion that in its own good time the American Rochdale Society will rank second to none in the world. The workman in the city, the manufacturer, the farmer, the stockman, etc., all can find a suitable place in this great movement for the common good of all.

We were treated with every kindness by the Congress, the city officials of Blackpool, and will always carry pleasant recollections of our visit to them.

Inter-Allied Conference of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Entente Countries.

At the adjournment of the Trades Union Congress we left that evening for London to attend the Inter-Allied Conference of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Entente Countries, which was scheduled for September 10th, at the General Offices of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain. In the meantime our old friend, Harry Gosling, utilized Sunday in showing us some of the important and historical points of interest in London, and some of the buildings, streets and hospitals that had been bombed during the air raids. We saw more of London under the guidance of Harry Gosling that day than we could probably have seen in a week on our own initiative. Among other interesting things we were taken through that mecca of free speech (Hyde Park), where fifty or more orators were declaiming on the merits or demerits of every philosophy, fad, or mania under the sun. We saw the companies of blind soldiers, men for whom the light had forever gone out, being led by nurses, taking their exercise. We saw the results of war, and a nation enlisted for war, on every hand.

On Monday morning, September 10th, the Inter-Allied Conference League, representing the labor movement of France, Italy, Belgium, Canada, America, Serbia and Great Britain, opened. Mr. James O'Grady, M. P., presided, and in his introductory speech he went over the situation since the war began and as it now exists. In a masterly address he pointed out that this must be a business conference and must deal with all questions, whether industrial or political, that directly or indirectly affect the lives of the trade union organizations and their membership. We quote from his speech as follows:

"From the commencement of the war the General Federation of Trade Unions has taken up a very strong attitude on this matter, and, in spite of representations made to us by the French, we still maintain the position which we took up when war broke out. All through we have been against any meeting of the international trade union movement which included enemy countries until the armies of the central powers were back behind their own frontiers. We do not take up that attitude because we have any deep-rooted animosity to the German people as a people, but on the one side you have the entente powers governed by democratic principles; on the other side you have the central powers governed by autocratic principles. Until these autocratic principles are destroyed forever by the people of the central powers, or until the people make a real attempt to destroy them, it is our opinion that a meeting between the two sides, at all events for the moment, is utterly impracticable and impossible.

"One of the questions that will be discussed at this conference is the removal of the International Secretariat from Berlin to a town in a neutral country. Let there be no mistake about the position

which has obtained for the last fourteen years. If I know the feeling of the trade unionists of the entente powers it is that never again are we going to allow the German trade union movement to dominate the international movement as it has done. Each country ought to stand upon its dignity. If it is a question of money, then we should be prepared to share the cost. If it is a question of work and organization, then each country should be prepared to play its part. Only on that foundation can we, in the future, prevent the trade union movement in Germany retaining the International Secretariat at Berlin and dominating the whole international.

"I think I speak for the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions when I say that our one-time German comrades have lost the confidence of the British trade union movement. As far as we have been able to gather, the German trade union movement has never yet taken a step to protest against what has been done by their own Government in the countries which have been invaded by the central powers. We know that the Belgian and the Serbian trade union movements have been almost wiped off the face of the earth by the Germans. I do not complain about that, because it may be an act of war, but what I do complain about is that the German trade union movement and the International Secretariat (of which the Serbian and Belgian trade unionists are a part) have never raised a voice of protest. It is a most extraordinary thing to me that while the German trade unionists claim to be democrats and socialists, yet the only autocratic powers in the world today are the central powers, and the Governments of Germany and Austria are backed to a man by the trade union movement of their respective countries. There can be no liberty for the trade union movement in the event of inconclusive peace or a victory for the arms of the central powers.

"The war has been a terrible tragedy to every movement in the world. I speak for the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions when I say that we believe that only when the German military machine is smashed beyond all possibility of repair will it be possible for free men, free peoples and free nations to breathe the atmosphere of liberty. Until that is done the existence, the life and the well being of our trade union movement hangs in the balance. And so our money, our influence, our industrial and political power shall be used to assure that the great democratic movement of the world shall not be called upon by men or by governments to undergo the hell of torture, suffering and sacrifice that it has undergone during the last three years."

Secretary Appleton explained the reasons for the calling of this conference at this particular time, going into detail regarding the international situation, and explaining the present affiliation of the International.

The labor movements of the following countries are at present affiliated: Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Germany, Spain, Austria, Bosnia, Herzgovina, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Switzerland, Italy, United States of America.

The General Federation's Attitude Toward Conferences with Belligerent Nations.

The following statement of the attitude of the General Federation of Trade Unions to conferences with belligerent nations was then submitted by Secretary Appleton and translated to the Continental delegates:

"The General Federation of Trade Unions has never deviated from its attitude toward the origin and enemy conduct of the war and toward the various proposals for peace conferences which, during the last three years, have emanated from different groups in different countries.

"It has held throughout that no such conference, including representatives of enemy countries, could meet without discussing, in the spirit of recrimination, the origin of the war and the unusual brutalities perpetrated in Belgium, France and Serbia. Obviously such discussions would embitter rather than relieve the situation in which International Trade Unionism found itself.

"The General Federation has consistently opposed any attempt to exclude, even by inference, the trade union movements of the colonies from conferences and discussions. It has held also that the entry of the United States of America into the struggle against the Central Powers introduced new factors and placed new responsibilities upon the trade union movements, both in Great Britain and her colonies. The incoming of America emphasized the moral factors operating against the Germanic powers, and established her right to participate in any conference called to consider programmes or to determine peace terms.

"Further than this, the Management Committee has always been alive to the fact that all the nations engaged in the war will determine to discuss peace terms from the national rather than from the party point of view, and that the partisan, pressing his own ideas to the exclusion of all others, might do much to retard peace, and might even help to bring about the defeat of those countries where democracy is a factor rather than a name. Such a result would not help democracy, but might easily involve the destruction of institutions and cultures which, by comparison with Germany, are liberal and free.

"Least of all has the Federation desired to hamper Russia in her efforts at regeneration. Neither foreign bayonets, nor foreign panaceas, nor fruitless discussions, nor fulsome compliments can establish higher standards of conduct, of happiness, or of liberty in this unhappy land. Sympathy she needs, sympathy she has, but her salvation can only be won by her own brain and blood, and ordered effort. To encourage contrary assumptions is to do Russia a great dis-service. Unpleasant as it undoubtedly is, the truth may awaken and save Russia, but she must awaken soon if she is to escape the reimposition of an autocratic regime. From the Romanoff to

the Hohenzollern will not be a satisfactory ending of the revolution.

"It has been held that general conferences of the workers of belligerent nations should be held because the Russian Government desired them. This contention is disputed, but if it were true, it should not be accepted merely because it has been advanced. American, British, French and Italian democracies possess that intelligence and experience which justifies them in determining their own action and they would not necessarily be either unkind or unwise in declining to accept the determinations of people pre-occupied with revolution and compelled to make many doubtful experiments in the business of governing a nation.

"The Management Committee has difficulty in understanding the value of general conferences before the representatives of allied countries are agreed upon the objectives of such conferences or without being sure of the possibilities or the conditions of German participation. Even today the only specific terms of peace that have been stated are those emanating from the allied countries. Germany has hitherto dealt in generalities and has measured her demands by the extent of European territory she has been able to occupy. She has offered no definite statements concerning evacuation, restitution and reparation. If members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany were permitted to attend at a general conference, they possess no power, nor is there any proof that they possess the inclination to discuss terms of peace other than those outlined by their Government. Even if they did discuss less onerous conditions, they are powerless to enforce either in their own Parliament or in their own country any conclusions reached by any general conference.

"The confusion which exists concerning international conferences is both lamentable and expensive. Recently we have had Russia demanding a mandatory conference, Great Britain insisting that it should be consultative only, France insisting upon the discussion of the origin of the war, while Germany declines to attend any conference which makes the origin and conduct of the war a serious point of discussion. The formula, 'No indemnities and no annexations,' needs definition and explanation before it can be discussed seriously. It ignores the point of view of the self-governing colonies, and its adoption by Britain would immediately antagonize Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. All the friends of Germany know this, and to involve Britain in conflict with her colonies would be for them a diplomatic triumph of the first magnitude.

"It is obvious that general conferences of belligerents must be preceded by general understanding amongst the Allies, and that these conferences must take cognizance of all the facts affecting the unofficial but effective Anglo-Saxon confederation.

"An attempt to reach a general understanding of the trade unionists affiliated to the International Secretariat was made at Leeds in July, 1916. The conclusions then reached have been adopted even by the belligerent nations, and they offer the most reasonable basis for further trade union effort.

"In opposing the various proposals for conferences to be held in Stockholm and in Berne, the Federation has been actuated by the sincerest desire to avoid embittering a deplorable situation. Neither hostility to other organizations nor desire to continue war for war's own sake, has influenced its decisions or colored its publications. It has, without thought of advantage or disadvantage to its own present or future, taken the facts of the situation as they appear, analyzed them and corrected its impressions by the experiences gained during its fifteen years' official association with the international trade union movement. Its conclusions have been given to its members and events have hitherto justified its foresight and its action and saved both the money and the reputations of its members. Up to the present it sees no reason to depart from the policy it has consistently pursued during the war.

"(Signed)

MR. J. O'GRADY, J. P., M. P.,
(Chairman) Furnishing Trades Association.
MR. JOSEPH CROSS J P.
(Vice-Chairman) Northern Counties Weavers.
COL. JOHN WARD, J. P., M. P.,
(Treasurer) Navvies, Builders, and General Laborers.
MR. JAS. CRINION, J. P.,
(Trustee) Amalgamated Card and Blowing Room Operatives.
MR. ALLEN GEE, J. P.,
(Trustee) Yorkshire Textile Workers.
COUNCILLOR ALEXANDER WILKIE, J. P., M. P.,
(Trustee) Associated Shipwrights.
MR. J. N. BELL, J. P.,
National Amalgamated Union of Labor.
MR. F. BIRCHENOUGH, J. P.,
Amalgamated Cotton Spinners.
MR. BEN COOPER,
Cigar Makers' Mutual Association.
COUNCILLOR IVOR H. GWYNNE, J. P.,
Tin and Sheet Millmen.
MR. BEN TILLETT,
Dock, Wharf and Riverside Workers.
COUNCILLOR T. MALLALIEU,
Amalgamated Felt Hatters' Union.
COUNCILLOR ALF. SHORT,
Boilermakers and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders.
MR. T. F. RICHARDS,
Boot and Shoe Operatives.
MR. JOHN TAYLOR, J. P.,
Midland Counties Federation.

"W. A. APPLETON, Secretary."

September 10, 1917.

AGENDA.

1.

Declaration of the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, as per attached circular.

2.

RESOLUTION No. 1.

"That the National Centers of the countries, together with different National Fed-

erations affiliated to the International Trade Union Secretariat, confirm the resolution already adopted in 1915 by the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain the American Federation of Labor, and the Confederation Generale du Travail, to press for and to obtain the transfer of the Secretariat of International Trade Unionism to a neutral country; the administrative work of the Secretariat being assured and controlled by an executive representative of each country affiliated. The Conference decides that this measure is rendered necessary by the war, and that its consummation is in the highest and future interests of the world's workers."

RESOLUTION No. 2.

"The Conference considers that the finish of hostilities will reveal an accumulation of new rights of workers; it demands that social progress shall be effective and international, and fully realize conclusion that 'the worker is a citizen of the world.' It demands that the workers in every country endeavor by similar and concerted action to compel the accentance, by the governments of the Entente, of the workers' program, adopted in Leeds in 1916, and it declares that this program must be inserted—as the workers' charter—in the future treaty of peace. The Conference asks that the workers in every country will concentrate upon the same measures and aim at the same goals.

"The Conferences desiring that on all great questions affecting the future of the world's workers, all necessary measures should be taken to secure understanding and concerted action, instructs the Bureau of Correspondence to make translations of, and in all languages, to comment upon, the resolutions adopted at the Conference, and at the same time to follow and note all the efforts and successes that become operative in each country."

3.

WAR AIMS.

POINTS TO BE DISCUSSED.

1. That peace must result in the abolition of all militarism, not only in Germany, but in all other countries.

2. That there shall be suppression of all secret diplomacy in the relationship between peoples; democratic principles must tomorrow rule national and international relationships, and the people must have exact knowledge of the responsibilities and engagements made in their name.

3. That there shall be complete restoration of liberty and independence to all the nationalities violated and oppressed.

4. That there shall be neither annexations, nor any mutilation of national life.

5. That in the future there shall be freedom of trade traffic and commerce.

6. In order to perpetuate a state of peace the Conference demands the organization of an International, having as its basic principle equality of right for all nations great and small.

7. To enforce the assent of nations to these principles and to assure the continuance of peace it is indispensable that there shall, at the end of hostilities, be constituted a "League of Nations," instead of any division of the people into two federations distinct and hostile.

8. The Constitution of the "League of Nations" or of the "United States of the World" must be completed by the institution of "Compulsory Arbitration" and the provision for means of settling pacifically all international conflicts. Each state must have the right of appeal the tribunal sets up, and each state must be under obligation to submit to its decisions.

9. The Conference declares in favor of a limitation of armaments, not as an effort to secure equilibrium, but as a measure precedent to general international disarmament.

10. Declares that all these necessary measures cannot be secured unless the workers of every country unite in a workers' international and seek to realize and secure their aims in a truly international spirit.

11. In the spirit of the aforesaid propositions, the Conference, following the declaration of President Wilson "that peace must mark the advent of the society of nations," declares that all the efforts of workers in democratic countries must themselves strive for that principle of the society of nations which has already been partly realized, and press for the creation of treaties between the countries of the Entente, which must include clauses ensuring that all conflicts arising between any signatories shall be dealt with by the international tribunal representative of all the contracting nations.

4.

DEMOCRATIC REPRESENTATION ON PEACE COMMISSIONS.

"The Conference places on record its appreciation of the sacrifices made and the losses endured by the working men and women of all the Entente countries. It considers that these sacrifices and losses have purchased right to direct representation from every country on any commission which meets to discuss or determine terms and conditions of peace, and it instructs the Federation of each Entente country to press upon their governments the necessity of an immediate acceptance of this request."

THE SERBIAN OUTLOOK.

M. Novakovitch (a Serbian delegate)

said that, of course, he was a champion of trade unionism, but he looked upon it as part of the Socialist movement. The object of all of their efforts was Socialism, and Socialism would be helped forward by the trade union organizations. The Chairman had said that the Conference was not a political, but an economic gathering. He would have them bear in mind that so far as the Balkan Peninsula was concerned the political situation was far and away more important and urgent than the economic situation. However, he would endeavor to conform with the spirit of the gathering, and as far as the restricted scope of the subject would allow he would speak mainly from the trade union point of view. The movement in Serbia began to considerably develop after 1903. By that time the system of government had become more democratic, but the working classes of Serbia, insofar as they could take any action at all, had to concentrate on acquiring the necessary liberty to form trade unions and to take a share in the economic development of the country. A very great struggle was the consequence of their attempt to form trade unions, but they had succeeded, and succeeded in a large measure. Before the war there were something like 40,000 trade unionists in Serbia, and it should be remembered that there was hardly a large factory or mill in Serbia. The nearest approach to industrialism, such as obtained in Great Britain, was supplied by the railways, which were run on much the same lines as in other countries, while transport work was also done on a large scale. But the enormous proportion of the things used in Serbia, such as clothes, for instance, were made by hand. The handicraft system still prevailed, and the people made for themselves practically the whole of what they wanted. They would see, therefore, that there was not the scope for trade unionism in Serbia that there was in other countries, but he wanted to call their attention to the fact that they had a labor newspaper, which had a sale of 7,000 copies. The capitalists were also associated, and they also had a newspaper, but its sale was never anything like 7,000.

Trade unionism in Serbia had been able to exert an influence on the legislature. They had been working for ten years and had obtained a ten-hour day by law. They had also obtained the abolition of night work for women and the abolition of child labor up to the age of 14 years. They had not yet obtained compulsory insurance against accidents.

At the present moment the question of legislation and progress seemed almost too sad for words. For whom was it proposed to legislate? Of the 40,000 trade unionists probably not more than 12,000 were now alive. The country had been destroyed: most of the men were killed. What could they do now in the way of forming trade unions or anything else? All they could do was to say that they were looking for help and sustenance to their fellow workers of the allied countries. They were not appealing for charity from the capitalists. They wanted to raise themselves up again as a nation of workingmen laboring in their own little country in intimate harmony with the workers of other countries. They felt that the peace of the future depended upon economic unity as well as political unity. The workers of Serbia must unite economically with the working-class organizations of other countries. There was a great political danger in leaving little countries alone and unprotected to be a bait to the aggressor. Let them beware that they did not leave the Balkan door wide open so that another war could come breaking through. Let them close the door by uniting the peoples in the love of liberty, in the cause of democracy, and the peace of the world.

Mr. Jouhaux (France) then moved the adoption of Section 1 of the Agenda, which reads:

That the National Centres of the countries, together with different National Federations affiliated to the International Trade Union Secretariat, confirm the resolution already adopted in 1915 by the General Federation of Trade Unions of Great Britain, the American Federation of Labor, and the Confederation Generale du Travail, to press for and to obtain the transfer of the Secretariat of International Trade Unionism to a neutral country; the administrative work of the Secretariat being assured and controlled by an executive representative of each country affiliated. The Conference decides that this measure is rendered necessary by the war, and that its consummation is in the highest and future interests of the world's workers.

This matter was under discussion at adjournment.

On Tuesday, September 11th, the discussion on Section 1 was resumed. Delegate Jouhaux (France), Havelock Wilson (Britain), Brownlie (Britain) and Golden (America) discussed the question and it was unanimously adopted, with the under-

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standing that there were now no neutral countries, agreement being had on the necessity of removing of the Secretariat from Germany.

Mr. Jouhaux then moved the following resolution:

That an International Conference shall be held at Berne to decide the removal from Berlin of the International Secretariat, the Conference to be representative of the belligerent and neutral countries affiliated to the International Federation.

This aroused a lively discussion. Delegates Crinion (Britain), Lord and Golden (America), Novakovitch (Serbia), Jouhaux (France), Ben Cooper (Britain), Havelock Wilson (Britain), Alex Wilkie (Britain), Lequet (France) and Mallalieu (Britain) taking part.

The idea of the French delegation was to meet the Germans face to face, not for an international meeting as generally understood, but to impeach and indict the Germans. The futility of this idea became more and more apparent as the discussion went on. We quote from Mr. Tom Shaw's (Britain) speech the following:

"I think there is a possibility of finding a way out of the difficulty. I want to say a few words on the absolute necessity of taking the bureau away from Berlin. It is evidently impossible for any of the belligerent countries to act in such a way as to be able to hold the balance equally between their own countries and the countries of the opposing powers. Assuming that we had the bureau in one of the belligerent countries, and that belligerent country and the Central Committee happened to come to a decision which was apparently unfavorable to that country, the censor would at once stop the sending out of the country of any of the documents. An allied country could do no more than an enemy country, and we cannot carry on the business unless we have a guarantee that the scales will be held as evenly as it is possible to hold them in existing circumstances. The problem then comes as to the place in which the Secretariat shall be established. The English movement is very keenly divided on the question of meeting the Germans until the Germans have been taught that they can be beaten at their own game, but no one even in this country has suggested that the international should once and for all be broken. We have always worked for the maintenance of an international that will be more effective than ever after the war by virtue of the fact that it has seen its past mistakes. The only question that does divide us is as to whether, in order to get the removal of the International Secretariat from Berlin, it is necessary to meet the representatives of the central powers in conference. I suggest that we could meet each others' wishes quite easily and without the trouble, the expense and probably the turmoil of an International Conference of all. Why should not the labor movements of the allied powers draw up a document stating specifically the grounds on which it is desirable that the bureau should be transferred from Berlin? That document could be translated, and the Swiss could be asked to circulate it. The Germans could have a statement sent with it if they liked, and the various countries could be asked to vote by post on the question as to whether the Secretariat should be removed from Berlin. If the transference is decided on we shall then be at liberty to take steps for the re-establishment of the bureau in a manner as much above suspicion as anything can be in the present state of affairs. It is absolutely essential that the International Secretariat should come out of Germany.

"Everyone who has taken an interest in the international will agree that the most prominent men are Legien, Baumeister (Legien's assistant and handyman), Sassenbach, Yochade (the leader of the German transport workers) and Hue (the leader of the German miners). Those five men are known all over the world as the leading representatives of the German International movement. Take Legien. Less than twelve months ago he signed a manifesto issued by Batocki (the German food controller), which asked the German people to fight on until a German peace was secured. That German peace meant annexations and indemnities. It is impossible that that man should act as Secretary of any international movement that will have the confidence of the allies. Baumeister went to Berne and issued an international news letter. Sassenbach wrote articles putting the German position. It is impossible to rely on two men like that keeping the scales even. The transport workers' leader is in just the same frame of mind as the others, and has subscribed to the doctrine of military necessity. He is one of the men around Legien, and acts with him. The miners' representative is apparently of the same opinion, so that when you get five leading men like that at the head of the bureau in Berlin it is impossible for us to accept that bureau or its advice as being in any way fair and equitable. We must have the bureau taken away from Berlin. Why go to the expense, the trouble, the turmoil and the difficulty of calling a conference when we can place such a case before every country in the world that there can be no danger of a hostile vote going against the transference of the bureau? A discussion can take place on the question as to which country the International Secretariat should be transferred, and once it is definitely established, then it will be for the country in which it is located to send out circulars, to send out invitations to the nations, and the nations could decide whether to accept those invitations and the terms on which they should be accepted or whether the invitations should be refused absolutely. That is an infinitely better way than going to a conference simply to discuss and decide a question that can be discussed and decided by post on the initiative of the Swiss. We should get into working order

without any friction, and possibly with good results to the whole international movement."

Mr. Shaw then proposed the following as a substitute:

That the views of the countries affiliated to the International Federation be obtained in respect to the removal of the International Bureau from Berlin to some neutral country, these views to be obtained by post, and the Swiss Federation to be requested to undertake this work. In the meantime, the representatives of the allied countries shall draft a manifesto giving reasons for the removal of the bureau, this manifesto to be transmitted to all countries affiliated, and the result of the vote to be returned to the Swiss Federation, which is to be requested to make known the determination to all belligerent and neutral countries within the organization of the International Federation. Further, if the result be in favor of the removal of the bureau, the Federation be requested to take the necessary steps to set up the office of the bureau in a country subsequently to be decided on by the vote of the nations.

The substitute resolution was adopted, the French not opposing it, but declaring that they would attend the Berne conference without committing any of the affiliated movements in any way. Your delegates took the position throughout the discussion that there were no neutral countries now, and this was the feeling of the conference.

Delegate Jouhaux then moved the adoption of Section 2 of the Agenda, which reads:

"The Conference considers that the finish of hostilities will reveal an accumulation of new rights of workers; it demands that social progress shall be effective and international, and fully realize conclusion that 'the worker is a citizen of the world.' It demands that the workers in every country endeavor by similar and concerted action to compel the acceptance, by the governments of the entente, of the workers' program, adopted in Leeds in 1916, and it declares that this program must be inserted—as the workers' charter—in the future treaty of peace. The Conference asks that the workers in every country will concentrate upon the same measures and aim at the same goals.

"The Conference, desiring that on all great questions affecting the future of the world's workers, all necessary measures should be taken to secure understanding and concerted action, instructs the Bureau of Correspondence to make translations of, and in all languages, to comment upon, the resolutions adopted at the Conference, and at the same time to follow and note all the efforts and successes that become operative in each country."

This was discussed by Delegates Lord (America), Golden (America), Keufer (France), Appleton (Britain) and Jouhaux (France), and was unanimously adopted.

Section 3, dealing with war aims, was then considered. This section is quite extensive and, on account of the variety of subjects involved, is divided into eleven paragraphs, which read as follows:

1. That peace must result in the abolition of all militarism, not only in Germany, but in all other countries.
2. That there shall be suppression of all secret diplomacy in the relationship between peoples; democratic principles must tomorrow rule national and international relationships, and the people must have exact knowledge of the responsibilities and engagements made in their name.
3. That there shall be complete restoration of liberty and independence to all the nationalities violated and oppressed.
4. That there shall be neither annexations, nor any mutilation of national life.
5. That in the future there shall be freedom of trade traffic and commerce.
6. In order to perpetuate a state of peace the Conference demands the organization of an international having as its basic principle equality of right for all nations, great and small.
7. To enforce the assent of nations to these principles and to assure the continuance of peace it is indispensable that there shall at the end of hostilities be constituted a "League of Nations," instead of any division of the people into two federations distinct and hostile.
8. The Constitution of the "League of Nations" or of the "United States of the World" must be completed by the institution of "compulsory arbitration" and the provision for means of settling pacifically all international conflicts. Each State must have the right of appeal the tribunal sets up, and each State must be under obligation to submit to its decisions.
9. The Conference declares in favor of a limitation of armaments, not as an effort to secure equilibrium, but as a measure precedent to general international disarmament.
10. Declares that all these necessary measures cannot be secured unless the workers of every country unite in a workers' international and seek to realize and secure their aims in a truly international spirit.
11. In the spirit of the aforesaid propositions, the Conference, following the declaration of President Wilson "that peace must mark the advent of the society of nations," declares that all the efforts of workers in democratic countries must themselves strive for that principle of the society of nations which has already been partly realized, and press for the creation of treaties between the countries of the entente, which must include clauses insuring that all conflicts arising between any signatories shall be dealt with by an international tribunal representative of all the contracting nations.

Delegates Jouhaux (France), Cross (Britain), Brownlie (Britain), Short (Bri-

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tain), Lord (America), Golden (America), Novakovitch (Serbia) and Shaw (Britain) discussed the section in its entirety, and there was general unanimity with the exception of paragraph four, which reads:

4. That there shall be neither annexations, nor any mutilation of national life.

It was feared that as this paragraph was written it would be subject to misinterpretation throughout the world, and finally the Conference decided to refer this paragraph to a committee consisting of Mr. Appleton, M. Jouhaux, M. Novakovitch and one of the American delegates so they could re-draft it in language that would be less likely for misinterpretation. The section was then unanimously adopted.

Section 4 was then taken up for discussion. This is practically a re-draft of the proposition of the San Francisco convention of the A. F. of L. and was unanimously adopted.

The conference then adjourned.

We feel that an inestimable amount of good has resulted from this conference, the free and candid discussion on the important matters by which it was confronted, the unanimity which was finally reached and the splendid feeling of cooperation and brotherhood which was manifest. America, as a nation involved in the allied cause, is too big and important, and the American Federation of Labor too decided a factor in the realm of national and international democracy, that we can afford to be absent from any of these meetings, and we sincerely hope and believe, and we pledged ourselves in so far as we could do so, that in all international councils held hereafter, the voice and influence of the American Federation of Labor should be heard and felt.

We attended the council meeting of the General Federation of Trade Unions, also the joint meeting of the Parliamentary Committee and the Labor Party. At this meeting the question of securing a working agreement as to peace and war aims of the allied nations was discussed, and a joint committee was appointed for that purpose.

This meeting also took up for consideration the question of electoral reform, and the following was agreed to:

That the Joint Meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress and the Executive Committee of the Labor Party views with the gravest apprehension the intention expressed in various quarters of getting the operation of the franchise bill suspended until some other measure (such as the suggested reform of the House of Lords) has been carried into law.

That this meeting emphatically protests against any delay in bringing into operation a long-delayed and much overdue democratic reform which has now become a matter of compromise among all sections of opinion represented in the speakers' conference.

That in view of the advanced stage to which the bill has attained in the House of Commons, this meeting expresses the opinion that any attempt to hold a general election upon the present obsolete register would amount to a national scandal; and that the bill ought accordingly to be as promptly as possible passed into law and put immediately into operation, so that the new electoral roll may be made up in the first half of the ensuing year, and this meeting directs that steps be taken to ask the Prime Minister to receive a deputation on the subject, the question of holding a national conference being for the present deferred.

We were invited to accompany the repsentatives of this joint meeting to meet with Premier Lloyd George at the Cabinet Chamber, and we were much impressed by the thoroughly democratic manner in which he received us. When he was informed that we were the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, he came around the table to us, expressed his pleasure in meeting us and very emphatically said, "We must have Mr. Gompers over here. We want him." If there have been any restrictions on expression or activities of men on Downing Street in the past, it is non-existent now, and these men, representing the workers of Britain, were just as much at home, were just as outspoken as they could possibly have been in their own council chambers.

The matter of the pending legislation was thoroughly discussed by the committee and the Premier, and Mr. Lloyd George assured them that no obstacles would be raised by the Government in connection with this matter, and the Government would stand by its original pledges or promises. Our observation of Premier Lloyd George, the man in whom is vested at this particular time more real power than possibly any other human being, is that he is a thorough democrat, and that he will be found working just as diligently and untiringly after the war in establishing the principles of democracy on an enduring basis as he is now working untiringly in the campaign of smashing the most brutal autocracy the world has ever seen. The British trade union movement is a real force in both the directing of the war and of the Govern-

ment. They have been tested and found not wanting.

CONCLUSION.

We regret that we were unable, on account of lack of time, to get in closer touch with the rank and file and the public at large, and especially the two great divisions of the workers in which we were most directly connected—the miners and the textile workers. We regret that for the same reasons we were unable to get into direct communication with the French workers and public. We were nineteen days on the ship going, were ashore in Britain only a month, and were in session the greater part of the time. We had numerous invitations to address public meetings in Britain, and were urgently requested by Jouhaux to go to France for similar meetings. Time would not permit, and when arrangements were made by which we could have gone to France and the western front, we were notified that our ship was likely to sail any day. There is no such thing as schedule on the high seas in these times, and we were compelled to forego any arrangements for further speaking. We did, however, attend a meeting in Manchester of the textile workers, both conflicting branches being present, and, largely through the reasoning and advice of Brother Golden, the beginning of a unity movement was inaugurated, which will in all likelihood bring all the textile workers back into one movement again.

The people of Britain and France are war-weary, but the determination is everywhere to go on to the finish. The general spirit prevailing is something that cannot be adequately described. There is no spirit of surrender manifest anywhere. They do not cheer or get excited. When asked about a son, brother or father, they have invariably one or two replies—"He has joined up" or "He has gone under." They will fight on in this spirit until victory is achieved for the allies.

One of the most tragic stories ever human being listened to was the statement of the delegate from Serbia, where out of an array of 40,000 trade unionists not more than 12,000 were now alive. But not a suspicion of despair from him. Jouhaux has had, and now has a giant's task, and he is well equipped for the job. The Confederation du Travail was several years ago captured by syndicalism, the most alluring philosophy ever the untried or inexperienced workers listened to. Herve and others fired the passions and souls of the French workers by their exposition of this, to them, wonderful new economic doctrine. The fact that Herve and others lived to revise their judgment and Herve was courageous enough to issue a statement to all the world acknowledging his mistakes, did not undo the mischief. Jouhaux is a wonderfully able man, a real orator and a sound thinker, and he is gradually shaping the French labor movement into a real, militant, enduring institution, not by simply attacking syndicalism as such, but by inculcating sound thoughts, ideas and tactics into the minds of the workers. But the German troops have occupied and are occupying some of France's richest industrial districts, and many of the best and ablest of France's trade unionists, both leaders and of the rank and file, have made the supreme sacrifice.

Jouhaux and his colleagues are, in spite of all these things, holding the economic movement intact, and giving all that is in them, mentally and physically, that the efforts and achievements of the workers of France shall be held intact now, and that they be in the best possible position to assume the gigantic task that will devolve on them when the war is ended. It was a keen disappointment to Mr. Jouhaux that time would not permit our going to France to help and advise with him and his colleagues.

The trade union movement of Britain is holding its own and making some real advances in war time. Where established conditions have been surrendered on the altar of necessity, they have surrounded them with proper guarantees and safeguards. They have increased their membership more during the period of war than ever before in their history, reporting more than 3,000,000 members in good standing at the Blackpool Congress. Excepting the few "'Leninists" and sentimentalists, there is no spirit of pacifism prevalent. They would welcome peace, but not the ominous calm that precedes another storm, and they know that there can be no assurance of peace in the world, no faith or respect for pledges or treaties until the Prussian military machine is smashed beyond any possibility of repair. Women have invaded the industrial arena in large numbers, are to a large extent operating the street railways, busses, taxi cabs, are working in the machine shops, as teamsters, etc., and are voluntarily joining their respective unions,

the unions generally establishing the same rate of wages for the women workers as men get for the same class of work. There are some exceptions, sometimes among the workers themselves, but generally the same rate per hour is paid.

We can say without boasting, that the American Federation of Labor is regarded by the workers of the allied countries as one of the biggest, most trenchant influences in this gigantic struggle, and as a powerful influence in the after-war settlement that it is hoped will see the advent of the "society of nations." We here want to call attention again to the necessity, not alone for the maintenance of our ideals abroad, but for ourselves here, of the American labor movement being represented at allied conferences, whether held here, or on the other side. They are all looking on us as the big, strong, wise brother, and we have as much at stake, are as much interested in moving the procession of national and international democracy ahead, as they are.

The general sentiment regarding Russia is tolerant, sympathetic and hopeful. They make due allowance for the mistakes of the Russian people and do not lose sight of the fact that no set of the world's workers have been more suppressed, inarticulate, or denied the opportunity of learning through actual practice. They also understand the tremendous, insidious propaganda of Germany as it has been, and is, carried on there and throughout the world. They believe that the Russian worker, once he understands, will make just as great sacrifices for his principles and ideals, and just as quickly as anyone in the world. The feeling is that Russia will clean up the internal situation, get rid of this accursed propaganda, and stay in the fight to a finish.

We want to extend to the A. F. of L. our appreciation of the great trust reposed in us, and the honor of representing our great movement, at this, the most critical time in the world's history. We have, to the best of our ability and opportunity, portrayed the situation as we found it.

We are reassured from what we have seen and experienced, that, no matter what the cost, in torture, suffering or death, the armies and the peoples of the allied countries are going on to a victorious conclusion; a victory that will mean the beginning of the end of oligarchy, autocracy, militarism, denial or prostitution of constitutional government the world over, and will mean the general moving up of the spirit of democracy in all lands, not excepting our own United States. We believe that the overwhelming majority of the world's workers are still internationalists, and when this holocaust is ended the workers on both sides of the trenches will again clasp hands and unite energies in a greater, more virile and representative international than has yet existed.

We have seen men maimed in every conceivable way, the blind men, the "gassed" men, the shell-shocked men; we have seen the women and children huddling in the cellars, basements and subways, night after night, during the air raids; we have seen the stamp and effect of this brutal war in ways and manner too various for description, and wherever we have gone, whosoever we have talked with, we have found the star of hope still shining, and the general belief that the people who have been forced into war will hold fast to their ideals, that the sacrifices will not have been in vain, and when it is all ended the gates of opportunity, of greater liberties, greater lives, and enduring democracy will be opened throughout the world for all the children of men.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN GOLDEN,
JAMES LORD,
Fraternal Delegates.

At the request of Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Report of Executive Council, Resolution No. 159 was reassigned to the Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Duncan, on behalf of the delegates representing Helpers and Laborers' Union No. 15566, and with the unanimous consent of the convention, introduced the following resolution, identified as Resolution No. 166:

Resolution No. 166.—By Delegate Sidney Burt, of Helpers' and Laborers' Union No. 15566. (Committee: C. M. Battle, Hubert Fitts, Sidney Burt, E. D. Thomas.):

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands for strength and protection by concentrating its power through organized forces into unionized labor, and since more effectual work might be accomplished through certain agencies by reason of intimate and social relations; and

WHEREAS, The colored laborers and helpers throughout the southeastern district are not familiar with the labor movement as they should be, especially upon the different railroads of the southeastern territory; and

WHEREAS, There are fifteen (15) different railroads in the district; and

WHEREAS, There are only four colored

locals on these fifteen roads, two on the Seaboard, one on the Atlantic Coast Line, and one on the Norfolk & Western; and

WHEREAS, We feel and believe that a colored organizer, because of his racial and social relations among his people, could accomplish much in organizing the forces into unions; and

WHEREAS, There is a union in our city known as the Transportation Working Men's Association of Virginia, with a membership of eighteen hundred (1,800), meeting in the same hall as we, and since so many of our men are falling in line with them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of the National Convention to recommend the appointment of a railroad man (colored) as organizer for the territory as above mentioned.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Voigt, of the Central Labor Council of Oakland, Cal., asked the unanimous consent of the convention, which was granted, to introduce the following resolution, identified as Resolution No. 167:

Resolution No. 167—By Delegate Fred W. Voigt, of Central Labor Council, Oakland, California:

WHEREAS, Making a wheatless day would have a tendency to, and probably when strictly carried out, would result in labor troubles in the baking industry; and

WHEREAS, It seems to be the unanimous opinion of both the employers and employes that the adoption of Sunday as wheatless day would be most suitable to all concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby petition Mr. Hoover, Food Administrator of the United States, to adopt Sunday as Wheatless Day.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Altman, Chairman of the Committee on Labels, asked that Resolution No. 74 be transferred to the Committee on Adjustment, and offered a motion to that effect. (Motion seconded).

Delegate Greenstein, of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, raised objection on the ground that the resolution did not involve a question of jurisdictional rights.

Delegate Britton, of the Metal Polishers' Union, contended that the matter did involve a jurisdictional dispute and that the resolution therefore properly belonged to the Committee on Adjustment.

The motion to reassign Resolution No. 74 to the Committee on Adjustment was carried.

The unanimous consent of the convention was given Delegate Conley, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor, to introduce the following resolution, identified as Resolution No. 168:

Resolution No. 168—By Delegate J. M. Conley of Iowa State Federation of Labor:

The following resolution, known as Resolution No. 18, was adopted by the Iowa State Federation of Labor in session at Dubuque, Iowa, June 12 to 15, 1917:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, and the Order of Railway Conductors refuse to recognize the rights of the Switchmen's Union of North America, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and refused to let the Switchmen's Union cooperate with them in making their demands upon the railroads; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen is at this time making special efforts and working against the interests of the Switchmen's Union on all railroad yards and terminals where the Switchmen's Union holds contracts, and said Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen are in the act of breaking the Switchmen's strike on the Wabash Railway; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen did conspire with the officials of the Interurban Railway at Des Moines, Iowa, to secure a contract which was held by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe this an unjust policy as practiced by the four Brotherhoods and is detrimental to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Iowa State Federation of Labor in convention assembled reaffirm the action of the convention one year ago at Marshalltown, Iowa, in condemning the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen for discriminating against the Switchmen's Union of North America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Iowa State Federation of Labor go on record as protesting against any moral or financial support being given the four Brotherhoods by the American Federation of Labor until they cease to discriminate against crafts which are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor take this matter up to further the interest of the crafts affected, and the delegate to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this matter up at the convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of eliminating this antagonism toward the Switchmen's Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention requests of the American Federation of Labor to use its best endeavor to insist that the four Brotherhoods become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Delegate Woll, while not objecting to the introduction of the above resolution, felt that it was not properly framed in its

present form for the consideration of the convention.

Delegate Spencer (E. C.), representing the Texas State Federation of Labor, introduced the following resolution by unanimous consent of the convention:

Resolution No. 169—By Delegate Harry L. Spencer of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Oil Field Workers of Louisiana and Texas, comprising the Gulf Coast District, some eighteen (18) local unions, with an approximate membership of eleven thousand (11,000) members, and chartered directly from the A. F. of L., are out on strike as a result of a positive refusal on the part of the employers to meet with the joint grievance committee of the Oil Field Workers; and

WHEREAS, The only object sought by the Oil Field Workers was recognition of their organizations and a standardization of wages and conditions in the fields; and

WHEREAS, The Oil Field Workers appealed to the Federal Department of Labor for a mediator, and the Department thereupon sent one, who, after several days' time admitted he was unable to obtain any results and so notified the Department, who then sent a second representative, but the combined efforts of both Department officials have been unavailing in the bringing about of even a conference with the employers; and

WHEREAS, All efforts on the part of the Federal Mediators, State Federation and Houston Labor Council officials have been exhausted in trying to bring about a satisfactory settlement of this controversy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. approve the appeal for aid for these Gulf Coast Oil Field Workers and grant such aid as in their judgment may be necessary to bring about a just settlement of this dispute.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Duncan (Jas. A.) asked the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution, by request of the Central Labor Council of Seattle, Wash., providing for the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor by referendum vote.

Objection was raised by several delegates and the resolution was not introduced.

President Gompers requested the representatives of the United Garment Workers of America and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to meet in conference for the purpose of discussing a matter of importance to both organizations.

He further announced that the official convention photograph would be taken immediately upon adjournment of the morning session.

On motion by Delegate Woll, the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned at 12:50 p. m. to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Saturday morning, November 17.

SIXTH DAY---Saturday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 17, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m. Saturday, November 17th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—MacGowan, Sovey, Bowen (William J.), Preece, Dobson, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Brennan (William J.), Bechtold, Rosenberg, Zaritsky, Margolis, Greenstein, Taylor, Hart, Lane, Hynes, Moriarty, Moyer, Mitchell, Walker, Moore (John), Baumgartner, Schneider (Geo. J.), Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Roth, Orr, LaBelle, Sheehan, Freel, Bode, Konenkamp, White (Geo.), Agethen, Scott, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Jarrett, Ogletree, Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Rahele, Harlin, Bryan (Frank L.), Magberg, McDonald, Quinn, Sellons, McAndrew, Repsher, Hodges, Henry, Burch, Clark (E. A.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison, Wilkinson, Traglio, Nevin, Murphy, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Casey, Iglesias, Depp, Svenson, Allwine, DaCosta, Longley, Wilkie, Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Mulkern, Eson, Miller, Juhl, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from Congressman Kennedy of Rhode Island, the Cincinnati local branch of the Printers' League of America, the Texas State Liquor and Malt Dealers' Association, and the Fort Worth Trades Assembly, all requesting the next convention for the cities of Providence, Cincinnati and Fort Worth.

He also read the following telegram:

Houston, Texas, Nov. 16, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Ten thousand members Gulf Coast District Oil Field Workers of Texas and Louisiana, composed of locals chartered directly under the American Federation of Labor, who have been on strike since November 1st and who have been refused conference with their employers, even after requested by Federal mediators, have now applied to Secretary Wilson and the President, the former being at present detained by a similar controversy in California. To the end that we may carry on the struggle indefinitely, we appeal through you to convention to endorse appeal to all American wage workers for financial assistance in our behalf. Please answer.

W. A. CAMPBELL,
President.

An invitation from the Elks' Lodge of Buffalo to all members of the order attending the convention to be present at their initiation ceremonies, was read.

Delegate Clarke, for the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following supplemental report:

Supplemental Report of Credential Committee.

Your committee has examined credentials presented by P. F. Casey, representing the Central Trades and Labor Council of Zanesville, Ohio; Edmund McCahill, Firemen's Association Local No. 12270 of Chicago, Ill., and Mary Morris, representing Federal Labor Union No. 7426 of Springfield, Ill., and recommend that they be seated in this convention with one vote each.

Respectfully submitted,

E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman;
T. P. HYLAND,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

Delegate Frey, for the Committee on Resolutions, stated the committee would like to submit a report at this time on Resolution No. 162.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Resolution No. 162—By Delegate E. W. A. O'Dell, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario:

WHEREAS, A cry of shortage of labor has been raised throughout the country by a considerable proportion of the employing class, actuated by various motives, such as through apprehension that in the near future there may be a scarcity of qualified man power in their own particular lines of production, or through intention to substitute either female labor for male, or unskilled for skilled; and

WHEREAS, No authoritative source, either public or private, can be cited as providing statistical or other positive information to demonstrate any general scarcity of labor; and

WHEREAS, It is important that the standards of organized labor, especially as expressed by the eight-hour day, the prevention of overwork by women, and the prohibition of wage-work by children of a tender age, be maintained without change as long as men are to be had to perform their usual tasks in production; and

WHEREAS, Much testimony has been

gathered on this subject at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor and no doubt much more is to be had from the delegates in attendance at this convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Chair appoint a special committee to go into session on this question at once, to investigate it so far as the means at hand permit, and report its findings before the adjournment of this convention.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES.

Delegate E. Koveleski, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 54 by substituting for the second "resolve" the following:

"RESOLVED, That such utterances coming from citizens holding official positions indicate a biased mind and a contracted view. They are not likely to create or maintain confidence in the courts, especially among the millions of citizens who form the ranks of organized labor, many of whom have business with such courts. It is gratifying to know that the judge of the Roxbury District Court has not the power to inflict such arbitrary and unwise measures upon the working people."

The amended resolution would then read:

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Edward F. McGrady, Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Judge Hayden of the Roxbury District Court, located in Boston, State of Massachusetts, has been unfair in his statement regarding the laboring class; and

WHEREAS, He made the following statement regarding the loyalty of the laborers of this country, to wit:

"That if I had my way, I would suspend every labor law during the war. The only people in this country who are disloyal are the laborers, and if I could, I would have every man who dares to strike put up against the barbed wire front line;" and

WHEREAS, It has been shown that the working men of this country have been loyal to the Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, here assembled in Buffalo, do hereby condemn Judge Hayden of Roxbury Court for these statements; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That such utterances coming from citizens holding official positions indicate a biased mind and a contracted view. They are not likely to create or maintain confidence in the courts, especially among the millions of citizens who form the ranks of organized labor, many of whom have business with such courts. It is gratifying to know that the judge of the Roxbury District Court has not the power to inflict such arbitrary and unwise measures upon the working people.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, Federal employes have by certain Departments been denied leave of absence requested for the purpose of engaging in work as officers of labor unions, and under the regulation of the Civil Service Commission leave of absence for over one year automatically prohibits reinstatement of the person taking such leave; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges upon Congress the enactment of a law which shall provide for the retention of Civil Service status by all officers of unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and their reinstatement in the service in the same position and at the same salary received when they left the government service.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor for such action as seems to be appropriate for carrying out its purpose.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 83—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, In the port of Baltimore, Md., the labor movement is suffering by the action of some of the labor representatives by reason of their grafting, and their positions as representatives of labor are being used by them to their selfish and personal benefits; and

WHEREAS, Members of the International Longshoremen's Association are suffering by reason of said grafting going on; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming President of this Federation demands that an investigation be made of this matter at the earliest possible moment.

Your committee has had extensive hearings in regard to this resolution. It is our opinion that the resolution, besides casting unjust and unwarranted reflections upon the representatives of labor in the city of Baltimore, does not cover the subject intended to be covered, nor does its real intent appear from its wording. It was developed that charges are made against two persons which seem to be worthy of investigation. Your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, with the further recommendation that the matter be investigated through the auspices of the city central body of Baltimore and a representative of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Chlopek spoke briefly and opposed the reference of the subject matter to the Baltimore central body. He said he had evidence in his possession that would prove conclusively that the allegations contained in the resolution were true.

President Gompers: The chair desires to make this statement—that before this resolution was introduced in this convention and upon request of the officers of the International Longshoremen's Association he has addressed a letter to the persons, though unnamed, which appeared to me as having reflection cast upon them, and the effort at an investigation was therefore begun before the opening of this convention.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate Edward F. McGrady:

WHEREAS, The loss of life and property through fire is reaching an enormous figure, which loss of life and property could easily and wisely be prevented by use of proper precaution and safeguards; and

WHEREAS, Much of the loss of life and property could be avoided through the creation of a national commission on fire prevention, with authority to make frequent inspections and rules, the strengthening of laws already in force and by the passage of such new laws as may be necessary; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, endorse fire prevention and the passage of state and national legislation that will relieve the present great loss of life and property caused each year by fire.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 88.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Fannie Sellons of Labor Council, New Kensington, Pa.:

WHEREAS, during this world war for democracy, never in the history of the American labor movement has it faced such great and grave problems; and

WHEREAS, With the men going to war, large groups of unorganized women are filling their places, and in the name of patriotism these women in many industries are being asked to work for less pay than the men were receiving; and

WHEREAS, Much has been accomplished in other countries in organizing their women workers, especially in England, where, during the first two years of the war, one million women were organized into trade unions; and

WHEREAS, We believe it to be incumbent upon the American Federation of Labor, which represents the labor movement of America, to do all in its power to organize the women workers of the country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as giving our hearty co-operation to the carrying out of the plan for organizing the unorganized women; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That experienced women organizers be appointed for this very important work.

Your committee heartily approves of the sentiments contained in Resolution No. 122, and recommends that the same be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 143—By William W. McKinnon, Delegate New Rochelle Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the city of New Rochelle, N. Y., charter has been issued by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The local unions of the Steamfitters, Plumbers, Slate and Tile Roofers, Tile Layers, Composition Roofers, Painters, Electrical Workers and Stage Employes are affiliated with the said Central Labor Union; and

WHEREAS, The local unions of Carpenters, Sheet Metal Workers, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Laborers, Lathers, Musicians, Barbers, Bartenders and Engineers have been invited and requested to affiliate, both by solicitation upon the part of committees of this body and in communications from Secretary Morrison; and

WHEREAS, The above mentioned non-affiliated local unions decline to become a part of the legally chartered Central Labor Union of New Rochelle, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, These said local unions which are not affiliated are, in violation of the manifest intent of Article XI, Section 2, page 18 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, organized and operating without charter of any kind a dual central body styled the Central Labor Union of New Rochelle, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, Such action is productive of discord in a movement whose only strength is unity; and

WHEREAS, This condition seriously retards the progress of the legally chartered Central Labor Union of New Rochelle, N. Y., in its efforts to further the interests of the American Federation of Labor, and is a condition decidedly detrimental to the welfare of the parent organization; and

WHEREAS, Answer has been returned by a number of international and national unions that they are unable to oblige their respective local unions to affiliate with the legally chartered Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor record itself as interpreting Article XI, Section 2, page 18 of the Constitution, as being a mandate and compelling observance upon the part of all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee gave this resolution careful consideration and finds that Article XI,

Section 2, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor has been drawn in conformity with the ideas of a voluntary association. We recommend that all national and international officers render all possible assistance in securing the affiliation of their respective local unions with chartered central bodies.

We further recommend that the officers of all central bodies write the international officers of the unions not affiliated, requesting said international officers to urge their locals to affiliate with their central body.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 146.—By Delegates O. S. W. Jensen and Joseph J. Chambers, Building Trades Department Council, New Rochelle, N. Y.:

WHEREAS, At the tenth convention of the Department and by instructions of Resolution No. 15, the officers of the Department were instructed to request the Sheet Metal Workers, Hodcarriers and others to affiliate their local unions in the city of New Rochelle, N. Y., with the local Building Trades Council; and

WHEREAS, These non-affiliated locals have been requested to affiliate, both by an organizer of the American Federation of Labor and by instructions of their international unions; and

WHEREAS, The local unions mentioned in Resolution No. 15 have not as yet affiliated themselves; and

WHEREAS, Section 5, providing for the government of local councils, of the Department's laws, provides for the compulsory affiliation of local unions with a local council; and

WHEREAS, The mentioned local unions have refused to affiliate and have and are meeting together in a council which has no charter and is considered dual; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the officers of the non-affiliated local unions of the city of New Rochelle, N. Y., to affiliate within thirty days after the adjournment of this convention; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That any local union failing to affiliate within thirty days, the international officers of that local union stand instructed by this convention to suspend the charter of their local union.

Your committee does not concur in the terms of this resolution for the reason that it would interfere with the autonomy guaranteed international unions in Section 2, Article II, Constitution of the American Federation of Labor. It is plainly apparent that the local unions eligible should affiliate with the local building trades council for the general welfare of the crafts, but instead of forcing them to affiliate moral suasion is about the only force possible to use under the circumstances. Your committee recommends that officers of local building trades councils should keep constantly in touch with the chief executive officers of international unions and urge them to use their utmost endeavors to have their locals affiliate with building trades councils.

The report of the committee was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Delegate Woll, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report, stating that Resolutions 17 and 106 would be reported jointly at this time because of the parties interested being compelled to return just as quickly as possible to their respective employments:

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Thomas G. Spellacy, City Firemen No. 15473:

WHEREAS, The brothers of the various City Firemen's Unions throughout the United States, believing that they are in a position of autonomy; and

WHEREAS, They believe that they can make greater progress if given a charter for an international union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a charter be granted to the City Firemen for an International Union.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Numerous city fire departments have in recent years been effectively organized into federal unions embracing all men who are commonly called fire fighters; and

WHEREAS, Some international unions have recently claimed jurisdiction over some of the men engaged in this work, which claims, if sustained, would surely be the means of destroying the effectiveness of the firemen's organizations already established, and prevent the successful organization of other such unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Buffalo, N. Y., that city firemen's unions be given complete jurisdiction over all men actually engaged in fire fighting.

Your committee having carefully considered Resolutions 17 and 106, and protests filed against the issuance of a charter to firemen by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, is of the opinion that the occupation of fire fighting involves a community interest, the life and property of the public and that of the firemen themselves, which cannot be overlooked or disregarded.

Your committee finds that this community interest demands the greatest possible degree of fraternity, association and co-

operation between all men engaged in fire fighting. This community and collective interest requires unification and concentration of responsibility and discipline. A division of the firemen into several distinctive groups of workers will weaken the essential discipline and responsibility necessary for the public welfare.

The essential and predominating character of employment of these workers is fire fighting; their employment is not competitive and can in no way influence working conditions of men engaged in similar work in other public or private employment. Their status as workers differs fundamentally in that the nature of their employment and the public interests and welfare demand that the fire-fighters forego economic action and depend entirely on legislative methods for the improvement of their conditions of work.

Your committee also finds that while part of the work of the fire-fighters may be similar to that of some of the organizations at present affiliated with the A. F. of L., that firemen are not employed with any degree of absolute permanency at any particular branch of work, but are subject to sudden and continual change, and that a division of the fire-fighters into separate and distinctive organizations is made impracticable by the rule of seniority which generally, if not universally, governs the employment and promotion of the fire-fighters from one branch of work to another.

Your committee finds, too, that if the claims of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Helpers of America and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers are recognized as valid, that then other affiliated organizations of the A. F. of L., under a like interpretation, may also claim jurisdiction over other branches of a fire department, and thereby render organization of the fire-fighters ineffective, impracticable and impossible. The employment of the fire-fighters is essentially and fundamentally a composite occupation and requires a distinctive organization.

Your committee, therefore, recommends concurrence in both resolutions and the granting of a charter of an International Union of Fire-fighters, with full and complete jurisdiction over all men actually and permanently employed at fire fighting.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Spellacy thanked the convention on behalf of the Fire Fighters of America for its vote of confidence.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Delegate Alpine, chairman of the committee, submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate R. L. Brazzle, Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators, No. 14605, Seattle, Wash.:

WHEREAS, The people and Government of the United States are at war with the Imperial German Government; and

WHEREAS, The organized workers of these United States desire to render every possible assistance to our Government; and

WHEREAS, The workers must be thoroughly organized to give the most efficient service to our country; and

WHEREAS, Private employment offices and concerns are now directing labor to employment without any consideration for our Government's needs; and

WHEREAS, Private employment offices are a great burden on the workers, by their exorbitant and extortionate fees, and by sending many people to distant places where no employment exists, and by many other forms of abuse well known and not necessary to mention herein; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge upon the several states the importance of immediate abolition of all private employment bureaus; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor petition the various state governments to aid and unite with the Federal Government to the end that all labor may be employed through the National Free Employment Bureau of the United States Department of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the United States Government to enact such laws which shall carry out the intent and purpose of this resolution.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of making a comprehensive study of this problem and taking such action between now and the next convention as in their judgment will be helpful, and reporting on this subject to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor their recommendation as to the most effective manner of either abolishing entirely private employment offices or regulating them in such a manner as to eliminate the evil features.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Voigt, of the Central Labor Council of Oakland, California, was opposed to deferring action until the next convention, as was also Delegate McKillop.

After an explanatory statement by the

chairman of the committee the motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Charles B. Stillman of the Amercan Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The successful operation of all activities of the government, federal, state and local, requires competent and efficient civil service employes. Except in isolated cases, and then inadequately, the wages of the civil service employes have remained stationary, while rent and living and taxes have been rising steadily, almost phenomenally. In contrast to this official neglect of the welfare of these public servants, an overwhelming majority of large employers have granted wage increases of from twenty to one hundred per cent., either voluntarily or through the pressure of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, Among these public employes teachers have felt this pressure severely. They are expected by the public to maintain certain standards of living and yet are denied by that same public, through its official agents, a remuneration sufficient to maintain that standard. When they have asked for even a small increase, the teachers throughout the country are met by the assertion that there are no funds. The teachers are required under penalty of law to produce more money for taxes and living expenses. Surely a great nation should not ask its servants to meet a condition which the nation itself evades; and

WHEREAS, The work of the teachers, now notoriously ill paid, determines the quality of our future citizenship, and should receive financial remuneration more nearly commensurate with its service to the community; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are, instructed to aid the American Federation of Teachers in securing from the authorities in control of teachers' salary schedules immediate action, lest actual want and discouragement deprive our public service of well trained and faithful workers.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 25.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegates C. A. Vargas, James Lord, J. Walker, Chas. H. Moyer, Central Labor Council, Clifton, Ariz.:

WHEREAS, The Mexican miners in the Clifton-Morenci-Metcalf district, numbering over five thousand men, who have just been granted charters as Locals Nos. 86, 80 and 84 by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, desire to do everything in their power not only to organize the entire fourteen thousand Mexican miners in the State of Arizona but, in addition, to assist in the organizing of the thousands of Mexican miners throughout the states of New Mexico, Colorado, California, Nevada, Utah and Oklahoma; and

WHEREAS, There are in the United States today between one and two million Mexicans, the large majority of whom are wage workers not yet organized in their respective trades; and

WHEREAS, During the period of the war and the period of reconstruction which must follow, it is especially necessary to maintain practical fraternal relations with the organized labor movement of Mexico so that wage workers crossing the border from either side shall immediately become members of the organized labor movement of the country in which they work, thereby protecting and uplifting the standards of living necessary to the welfare of both the United States of America and the United States of Mexico; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that for the period of the war full powers be given the Pan-American Federation of Labor Conference Committee, of which Samuel Gompers is chairman and John Murray secretary, to co-operate with the internationals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of organizing the Mexican workers in the United States in such a manner as will amply protect the organized labor movement of both countries.

The committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 50.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by the convention.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, Section 6 of the Urgent Deficiency Bill, enacted into law at the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, provides that no employe of any department or establishment shall be transferred from one department to another at an increased rate of compensation, and that no employe of any such department or establishment who has been employed therein within one year of his re-employment by another department or establishment, shall be granted an increase in compensation within the year following such re-employment; and

WHEREAS, The above provision of law is of the same purport as previous Acts of Congress and executive orders limiting the right of the Federal employe to better himself by changing his place of employment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that, recognizing the right of any worker to sell his services in the manner most advantageous to him, we deplore any law or order, the effect of which is to prohibit this freedom, and urge upon Congress the speedy repeal of the enactment described above; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Federation of Labor be, and they hereby are, directed to take all possible steps in this behalf.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Convict Labor.

Upon that portion of the report of the

Executive Council under the above caption, (pp. 114-115), the Committee on State Organizations reports as follows:

We endorse the action of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in their efforts to secure the enactment of an adequate Convict Labor Law; that we approve their expressions to the effect that they will continue their efforts until the purposes are achieved.

We congratulate the officers of the American Federation of Labor on their success in getting labor's historic bill of grievances adopted by the conference of trade union officials, held in Washington, D. C., in 1906, enacted into law with the exception of this one bill, and we express the hope that at the next session of the United States Congress, the one remaining bill will become a law; thus securing in eleven years, through the activities of the American Federation of Labor, complete realization of labor's legislative demands of that time.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Your committee desires, if it can, to impress on the minds of the delegates here, the pressing need for every trade unionist within each State in our country being affiliated directly with, and participating actively in the work of every State Federation.

Our form of government is such that each state has autonomy in all matters within its own borders, so that it is necessary, if our movement wants to protect and promote the interests of the workers in all questions affecting them that are state matters, particularly legislative questions, such as woman and child labor, compensation laws, education, mining laws, factory inspection, health and safety laws, sweat shops, sanitation and license qualification laws, injunction limitations, building construction laws, etc., etc., to secure the election and appointment of men to the different official positions within the state to enforce labor laws that will give labor a square deal, that they be members, paid up and in good standing in their organization, participating in its activities, just as much as it is necessary for them to be in the A. F. of L. for the purpose of securing remedial national legislation.

We would therefore strongly urge that every international union take such steps within their own organization as may be necessary for seeing to it that the members of their union are all affiliated with each State Federation of Labor in each of the states where they have local unions.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN R. ALPINE, Chairman;
J. B. BODE,
JAS. W. KLINE,
BOB WHITE,
THOS. SWEENEY,
THOS. R. PREECE,
FRED SONDEMANN,
JAMES BOYLE,
L. F. SPROUSE,
GEORGE F. KING,
J. M. CONLEY,
DANIEL D. SULLIVAN,
JOHN J. O'HARA,
HARRY L. SPENCER,
JOHN H. WALKER, Secretary,
Committee on State Organizations.

On motion by Delegate Alpine, the report of the Committee on State Organizations was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers announced the appointment of the following Special Committee on Alleged Labor Shortage: John L. Lewis, John F. Tobin, J. E. McClory, Margaret Daley, Charles Fry, Benjamin Schlesinger, John J. McDevitt.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS.

Delegate Lennon, chairman of the committee, submitted the following report:

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Change of Date—A. F. of L. Convention" (p. 135), your Committee on Laws reports as follows, having considered at the same time Resolution No. 1 of the second day's proceedings:

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate John B. Lennon:

RESOLVED, Amend Section 1 of Article III to read:

Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m. on the second Monday in June, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention.

We recommend that Section 1 of Article III of the Constitution be amended to read: "The conventions of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m. on the second Monday in June at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention."

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Duncan (Jas. A.): Does that mean that the next convention will meet in June, 1918, or June, 1919?

Chairman Lennon: It means in the judg-

ment of the committee that the next convention will be held in June, 1918.

Delegate Berry, of the Printing Pressmen, offered an amendment to the report of the committee that the change be made effective in June, 1919, in order that the organizations now holding conventions in June might have ample opportunity to readjust their laws. The amendment was seconded by Delegate Schlesinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers.

Delegate Sullivan, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, opposed the recommendation of the committee because of the fact that his organization meets in May and the adjustments of wage scales are usually made in June. He expressed himself, however, as being in favor of making a change from the present time of holding conventions.

Delegate Sullivan offered a further amendment, which was seconded by Delegate Flore, of the Bartenders, that the conventions of the Federation meet annually on the second Monday in August of each year.

In speaking for the amendment offered by Delegate Sullivan, Delegate Flore said he opposed the original motion on the ground that the international he represents held its sessions in June.

Delegate Duncan (Jas.) spoke at some length in support of the recommendation of the committee and expressed doubt as to the regularity of this convention deciding that the change if adopted should not take effect until June, 1919. Among the reasons he advanced for favoring the change were the climatic conditions usually prevailing in November and the failure in many instances of many of the delegates to have an opportunity to vote in the November election.

Delegate Gorenstein spoke in favor of the amendment offered by Delegate Berry.

Delegate Lennon, in support of the recommendation of the committee, said there was scarcely a month in the year when some international organization was not holding its convention. He reminded the delegates that the extreme heat usually prevalent in the month of August would not be conducive to the best results if the convention were held at that time. Another and more potent reason was the fact that the Federation, through its city, central and State branches, is rapidly becoming recognized as a power in the passing of legislation, and that therefore the convention of the parent body should be held sufficiently in advance of the November elections.

Delegate Sullivan, of the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, again spoke briefly, claiming that the recommendation of the committee if adopted, would deprive the various international unions of the privilege of adjusting their own business.

Delegate Fisher, Great Falls, Montana, said that in meetings of local unions and State bodies which he had attended the chairmen of the meetings had always ruled, when questions of politics were proposed, that politics could not be discussed in that particular branch or in the Federation convention. For that reason he said he failed to understand how the convention could lay down a political platform for the support of certain aspirants to office in cities or states or to the National Congress.

Delegate William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America, stated that while the change might perhaps inconvenience the members of his organization, they would be perfectly willing to adjust themselves to a change which seems absolutely necessary to the success and welfare of the American Federation of Labor. He expressed as his view that the various organizations should adjust their work in conformity to the needs of the Federation rather than to demand that the Federation adjust its affairs suitable to the needs of the affiliated organizations. He further expressed the belief that in view of the national crisis it would be unwise to defer the next convention until the year 1919.

Delegate Baine, of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, expressed similar sentiments to those of Delegate Green.

Delegate Berry again spoke and explained that it was not the purpose of his amendment to eliminate the 1918 convention, which, if his amendment were adopted, would be held at the regular time in November.

The amendment to the amendment offered by Delegate Sullivan, providing for the holding of the annual conventions in August, was lost.

President Gompers: The chair desires to state this: It is first necessary to determine whether the change shall be made from November, the present law, to June, before the amendment offered by Delegate Berry can be intelligently acted upon. I think the delegates will agree that this is the most intelligent and comprehensive manner in which to place the question before the house.

The vote on the proposition to substitute the word "June" for "November" in Section 1, of Article III, of the Constitution, was taken by show of hands and resulted as follows: 255 in favor; 21 opposed.

The recommendation of the committee was declared adopted.

The vote on the amendment offered by Delegate Berry, providing that the change of convention time should not become effective until June, 1919, was by show of hands and resulted as follows: 97 in favor; 176 opposed.

A roll call vote on the proposition was asked, but was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

President Gompers: The convention having adopted the proposition by more than the necessary two-thirds vote, the conventions of the American Federation of Labor will hereafter be held beginning the second Monday in June of each year.

Delegate John Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of a resolution. The resolution was numbered 170 and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in response to President Wilson's call that organized labor co-operate in every way possible with the Government and the agencies that it has developed for the purpose of successfully prosecuting our national war program; and

WHEREAS, The Advisory Commission and the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense have appealed to all industries and all workers to co-operate in the fullest degree in order that a maximum amount of supplies be available for our allied armies at the front, fighting our fight for humanity and the safety of world democracy; and

WHEREAS, The safety to our nation depends upon the product of our mines, mills and industrial establishments, which in turn are dependent upon the conservation of lives and limbs of the workers engaged therein; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the plan of accident prevention presented by the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, and urges upon the members of this organization that they co-operate with the Council of National Defense in putting this plan into execution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Vice-President Duncan: As a matter of information I have been informed this morning that in the granite belt of the state of Vermont, which comprises about one-fourth of the membership of the Granite Cutters' International Association, negotiations between our association and the manufacturers have resulted in an advance of wages from the minimum upward of ten cents per hour, although our present trade agreement does not expire until March, 1920.

President Gompers: The chair desires to make some explanation of a remark made by a delegate during the discussion on the amendment just adopted. I did not care to make an explanation just then while the subject was under discussion, for I did not care to influence the vote of the delegates one way or another even if I could. The remark in regard to the prohibition of the discussion of politics in local unions, central bodies or state federations, if that impression is given forth it is quite erroneous. What the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have declared, what the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor declares, is that partisan politics shall not have a place in the labor movement; not politics, for as a matter of fact there isn't any economic act which we can take or make, but what it has its political influence. The labor movement of America has influenced the political activity of our government, both national, state and municipal, more than any other group of people in the United States.

By invitation Mr. Frank L. Glynn, director of Vocational Education of the State of Wisconsin, is here to address this convention, and I have the pleasure to present Mr. Glynn at this time.

Address of Mr. Frank L. Glynn.

The public schools of this country have usually taken so much time to "do things" that most of the people cannot wait.

The graduates go out on the road "to sell"—only to come back to the house "to explain" why they failed to "land the order."

On top of this only a very small percentage last long enough to go through the system, and as a result upward of 90 per cent. leave school from the age of fourteen to sixteen years to enter employment with little more than a sixth grade education—hardly getting a jitney ride toward their future.

In New York City there were 85,000 children who entered the second grade of the elementary schools; only 43,000 graduated from the eighth grade. Of these only 21,000 entered the high school, and only 4,000 graduated from the high school.

The question in which we are interested in Wisconsin is, "What has become of the other 81,000 who have gone out from the educational melting-pot to recruit our citizenship

without a care being taken as to their future?

Through the action of the last session of our Legislature, the State of Wisconsin is organizing the most exceptional opportunity for democratic education yet known in America. It spells training and advancement for the working people in their chosen occupation, instead of wasting her youth on dull jobs and temporary juvenile employment—gradually consigning them to the scrap heap of humanity.

Cannot other legislatures see the multitude of upturned pleading faces and endeavor to bridge the gap between school, home and industry?

Vocational education in Wisconsin for upward of 40,000 working people is now ready to work hand in hand with labor, farmer, and employer, ready to turn over to meet any emergency.

Agriculture will be provided for as never before, from the mechanic who makes the tractor, reaper or harvester in the factory, to the successful raising and harvesting of crops.

Not only is this new system of State-wide democratic education to be practical, but its control, administration and supervision have been placed under a practical board made up of representatives of labor, agriculture and employers, who together with the State Superintendent of Schools and a member of the State Industrial Commission, will shape the policy. Further than this, each of the thirty cities in the State maintaining these schools has a special board on which the wage-earner has representation equally with employer and school man.

This new system of providing educational opportunity for ninety per cent. of the people is so arranged that every working boy and girl between the ages of fourteen and seventeen must spend at least eight hours a week out of his working time in school. It is not, however, the usual academic education which the young person left school to evade, but rather is it a new type of instruction which fits the boy for gaining occupations and the girl for efficient homemaking.

Labor is for it, farmers are for it, employers are for it, and the school men are for it.

It is the birth of a new "educational creed"—the opening of a new educational system for the thousands of working boys and girls who in other States are submarined into streets out of our so-called democratic schools, without a thought or care being taken for them.

It is the opening of the only public avenue of training for those who are forced by economic conditions to enter employment at a tender age. It provides so that they may "learn" while they "earn." It looks forward to the building up of an industrial commercial homemaking and agricultural citizenship unequaled in the nation.

And why should our schools not meet the issue fully and squarely? Give the "average" boy or girl a chance as well as offering an opportunity to a few.

Why should the major part of our education train for the college only? Why should a boy who graduates from school with his "work certificate" instead of his "diploma" be considered a failure and let quietly out of the back door of the school building?

Why should not the policies of the school administration throughout the country be adapted as in Wisconsin, so as to provide that the rights, the educational privileges, of the millions be recognized instead of permitting this large number of children—the backbone of the country—to be the victims of the streets?

Are we going to prevent first, and prepare, or are we going to pay afterwards?

And who pays?

Does the professor, the lawyer, the doctor—all of whom have reaped the educational harvest? Or is it the common people—the working boy and girl, the men and women of tomorrow, upon whom the great burden of the living cost falls most heavily?

How many times have you heard the school teacher say, "Johnny, you stay in school, get an education and you will always wear a white collar."

As though it were a reproach to wear overalls!

And Johnny stayed, only to come out of the educational system a weak sort of lad with no knowledge of worldly ups and downs except from his books and "recitation"—too often far removed from real life.

If school was not attractive to Johnny he was "sentenced" to work. Out with you, my boy—you need an education, so out you go to face the world without it. Look about us and see the great number of our present captains of industry. "Up through the ranks" they came, but today employment is so highly specialized that industry has but little "up" left. Sunshine is permitted to enter too many of our modern workshops from the outside—in, with very little shining from the inside—out.

Why do not our people make themselves fit?

Even our dray horses are broken to harness, our automobiles built to accurate specifications, elevators are tested to a certain load, but "humanity"—nothing.

Industry has seen it. The nation has seen it. The world's workers are suffering from it. The European war has opened the chasm and today the House of Parliament in England is coming down from her Oxford and Cambridge pedestal to give her working boys and girls a chance for education such as they never before had.

Iron, steel, seed, soil, or any other form of inanimate capital never did anything of themselves for our great social institutions of industry and agriculture. It was the human intelligence bringing them together that counted.

And yet our employment interests are shaped by such school policies. Is it any wonder that industry, commerce, home, and agriculture suffer from untrained workers? Is it any wonder that our systems of inspection are equally as necessary as our methods of production? Witness how even our government is at present handicapped for trained men in our industrial war emergency?

If there is nothing in proper training, intelligence, and joy in work, then why have large corporations, where they can afford it, seen fit to establish their own private schools for their employes?

The public can't afford to "not afford it."

The public cannot afford to permit private schools to control public education.

And if it is not worth while to the employes, then why are there so many industrial workers patronizing our private and correspondence schools—paying for education twice? The young lad who leaves school at fourteen years of age and goes to work, is paying his own burden of the school tax into the public treasury, in the food he eats, the clothes he wears, the nickel at the movies—and for what? To keep the more fortunate boy and girl in school when he himself is denied an equal opportunity by the very schools he helps to support.

The school system in the average city virtually says, "'If you want an education for culture, it is free. The public pays for it. But if you want an education which will help you to earn a living you must pay for it out of your own pocket."

What a commentary this is on Americanism and so-called democracy of our free public school system. The business and labor men have been hoodooed until they read over the schoolhouse door, "Abandon ye all hope," and stay out.

The major portion of school boards are composed of professional men. If they had a few "working men" on them, perhaps democratic education would be better taken care of.

Occasionally, however, the working boy jumps over the traces and wins the race, in spite of the system—not because of it.

Suppose it would cost millions. Is it not worth while as a financial asset to the nation, not to mention the happiness brought into the homes, the lightening of the burdens for millions of lives, through the joy in work and national patriotism that would come—as the door at the top of the ladder would open, instead of there not being any ladder there at all?

A century ago we had little poverty in this country, if any. Then it was a question of "Man's time"; now it is a question of the "Machine's time"—and with it has come our many consequent social evils.

A large employer of labor said to me a few days ago that if we are going to have vocational regulation, then hand in hand with it should go vocational education, to provide information in advance, protect our people, prevent and train, instead of trying to cure and pay when the ills are chronic or the deed is done.

The National Safety Council has found that only one-third of the accidents annually can be prevented by the use of safety devices; two-thirds depend upon the training of the workers and their understanding of the machines or appliances they are called upon to use. Safety is the equation of human intelligence.

Let us consider the case of one of our leading American manufacturers. He has seen the vision. He knows the ratio between intelligence and citizenship, and gets its value in production. His wages are the highest. His welfare is the most far-reaching. His overhead charge is the greatest. Yet his product is the cheapest. He gets results out of the higher marginal line of intelligence on the part of his workmen. But he buys it. What would he do if he could not afford to pay?

Another question: Have his employes obtained their special ability from our public schools, or from the school of "Hard Knocks"?

Why not pay the greatest where it is for the nation's greatest good? Provide so that the common people can take care of themselves. Would our manufacturer equip his office in finery at the expense of the plant equipment—just because the office is for a few while the factory is for the many?

A short time ago the State of Connecticut was spending one-fifth of the State educational funds for one-twentieth of the children of the State—in her high school. All States pay six times as much for high school training for the college as the schools for working boys and girls cost the State of Wisconsin. In the coming year nearly one million dollars will be spent on this new educational system in our State, and upward of fifty thousand working people will be immediately benefited in their earning power, not to mention the great good that will come to our citizenship.

What would our "so-called" public schools do if it were not for the support of the working people, and what do the working people get out of them beyond being "put out?"

As usual, Wisconsin is experimenting and soon she can make her contribution to the nation. Her answer will be inter-State competition and continuous employment resulting therefrom. She is not experimenting, however, with her people, but for her people. The future of her industry will hold out a ray of sunshine to the boy as he enters any field of employment, showing the way from the back door to the superintendent's chair, instead of the usual conditions of specialization, temporary employment, and the humdrum of the same thing over and over again each day, each hour, each moment, with no hope for the future but to get another job—more drudgery at a few cents more an hour with the expense on industry and the suffering on the people.

On the other hand Chicago is endeavoring to "weave the silver threads amongst the gold" by establishing the junior college in her local high schools. And the common people with eyes to the sky stand by and applaud—never seeing the funeral procession of 16,000 boys and girls annually being literally cast into the streets at the tender age of fourteen to sixteen years, with only a permit to work as a foundation for their future opportunity and service.

When will labor employers and school men of Chicago join hands in the training of the young people and give them an opportunity of preparing for the occupation that they desire to follow? Then would there be a Chicago of which all Chicagoans would be proud.

Have her people of the university or the people of the stock yards contributed most to the advancement of the city's interests? Has it been the ninety per cent neglected, or the favored ten per cent who have made the city—her commerce and her industries? And now those who were fortunate enough to forge ahead have seemingly forgotten the ever increasing crowd they left behind, in their gazing at the Olympian Heights of education for "Culture" and professional advancement. Only

a short time ago did I receive a letter from the state superintendent of schools of Illinois stating that the last legislature did nothing for vocational education. They did not even provide to accept Federal aid for this work. They overlooked the foundation of democratic education—the vocational advancement of the common people. I wonder how many of the legislators were college graduates and how much the public schools of Illinois or any other state contributed to train them for the occupations in which they are engaged.

In 1912 Chicago was paying $1,800,000 out of the public treasury for her public high schools. There is no objection whatever to this function of our educational institutions—but the working people of the city of Chicago during the same year were paying $1,500,000 out of their own pockets for private schooling to equip them to earn a living. The "entrance requirements" of the schools were too high for the "common people" to get over, and yet the common people while working could pay for an education of those who did not have to enter employment.

Is this democracy? Is this conservation? Or are such school systems leading us down the dark pathways of life back to the Middle Ages? Will they not soon have us talking Latin because it is a dead language—but, being dead, considered educational?

Are other states and cities to continue with only one-half a system of public education? By not providing for the education of the working people they are committing themselves to this policy. Wisconsin has proven the fallacy of the former and the practicability of the latter. Why not democratize the system? Why not re-Americanize the schools? Let us give the working boy and the working girl their just heritage. The smallest screw in a large machine is equally as important as the largest casting.

It is the human intelligence of the multitude, not less than the educational advancement of the favored few, that makes a nation.

Let us provide an open door for advancement to our people and emancipate education from its oversight of the average man. Let us conserve, promote and train our citizenship so that our old American ideals of opportunity will be perpetual and everlasting.

The masses of labor are to receive the greatest possible good. The door will be open to all the children of all the people. The teachers and the schools need your support and help. With labor on the education boards the outlook is promising. Let us have representative administration. Let us "Gomperize" the teachers to such a degree that they will take the present neglected little fellow by the hand and point the way to a bright and cheerful outlook, promising and rich in its golden opportunities.

Jeff Davis, president of the International Itinerant Workers' Union, Hoboes of America, was introduced to the convention.

He spoke at some length and told of the efforts put forth by the members of his organization in various parts of the country in behalf of the men of organized labor. His remarks were punctuated throughout with humorous anecdotes of his experience in society and elsewhere and he afforded the delegates much amusement by referring to certain delegates on the floor of the convention who were members of his organization. He repeated the oath of his organization, which is as follows:

"Hoboes'" Oath.

"I, ..., solemnly swear to do all in my power to aid and assist all those willing to aid and assist themselves. I pledge myself to assist all runaway boys and induce them to return to their homes and parents. I solemnly swear never to serve as a scab or strike-breaker against organized labor, and to do all in my power for the betterment of myself, my organization and organized labor. So help me God."

He closed his remarks by giving some figures of the membership of his organization and by soliciting the co-operation of organized labor

At 1 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Monday morning, November 19th.

SEVENTH DAY---Monday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., November 19, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Monday, November 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees---Goldstone, Franklin, Baine, Brown (Walter), Bowen (Wm. J.), Boyer, Ross (J. A.), Logan, MacPherson, Conway (H. J.), Kuhlman, MacDonald (John C.), Woll, Brennan, Altman, Heller, Rosenberg, Russell, McCue, Humphrey, McSorley, Duty, Hart, Lane, Mitchell, Moore (John), Lewis, Valentine, Curran, Carey, Weaver, Hedrick, Lynch, Schneider, Bergstrom, Dold, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Roth, Orr, Sheehan, Flynn, Hughes, Konenkamp, Williams (Thos.), Agethen, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, Shea, McHenry, Jarrett, Taylor (C. O.), Kennedy, Marsh, Paulsen. Mehner, Fitzgerald (Thos. D.), Rahele, Coughlin, Malley, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, MacManus, McDonald (J. A.), O'Dell, Foster, McAndrew (A.), Hodges, Burch, Kelly (Wm. J.), Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison, Traglio, Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Svenson, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Mezzacapo, McNally, Fisher, Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Wilke, Green (Wm)., Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Weinstock, Eson, Hanrahan, Miller, Juhl, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from the president of the Plumbers' Union of St. Paul and from eighty other labor organizations of that city, soliciting the 1918 convention for St. Paul. He also read the following telegrams:

"Phoenix, Arizona, Nov. 16, 1917.

"American Federation of Labor Convention, Frank Morrison, Secretary, Convention Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.

"Executive Board of the Arizona State Federation of Labor on record against any discrimination against any race of aliens. Duncan resolution would destroy labor movement of Southwest completely if adopted. Arizona labor movement emphatically opposes Duncan resolution by order Executive Board.

"THOS A. FRENCH,
"Secretary Arizona State Federation of Labor."

"Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 18, 1917.

"Samuel Gompers, Statler Hotel, Buffalo, N. Y.

"Was called here because of serious strike of our men at Akron and the lines running in here. They had gone out in violation of contracts. Have had them returned. Contracts restored with five cents per hour increase in wages. There is still a serious situation affecting three thousand men here. Impossible for me to leave. You will please explain to the Executive Council and excuse me from any convention work.

"W. D. MAHON."

Secretary Clarke, for the Committee on Credentials, submitted the following:

Supplementary Report of Committee on Credentials.

Your Credential Committee finds it necessary that the name of James J. Ryan be substituted for that of James T. Moriarty of the Sheet Metal Workers.

We also recommend that W. E. Junker be seated as a delegate from the National Federation of Federal Employes, they being entitled to three delegates and have but one in attendance.

We have also a credential presented by Miss Anne Hogan, representing Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, and advise that she be seated.

Frank Feeney of the Elevator Constructors, having returned, we advise that he be re-seated in place of John C. MacDonald.

Respectfully submitted,

E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman;
T. P. HYLAND,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Sarah Conboy, for the Committee on Organization, submitted the following report:

Labor Press and A. F. of L. Publications.

On that part of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Labor Press and A. F. of L. Publications" (page 133, first day's proceedings), your committee is in accord with all that has been said.

We would like to call to the attention of the delegates present and to the wage workers everywhere in particular, the necessity of willingly supporting and subscribing for the labor press in order that they may be fully acquainted with doings of the labor world.

Surely, if we are anxious for the daily

news of the business and commercial world we should be more anxious for the news of the labor world.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Railway Employes' Department.

In the appendix to the Executive Council's report (page 146), under that portion entitled "Railway Employes' Department," Secretary-Treasurer Scott of the Railway Employes' Department reports increases in wages and reduction in working hours in the railroad shops without the necessity of resorting to strikes to obtain them.

Other matters of importance are under consideration for action later, especially the organizing of the yet unorganized employes of railways. In this work we wish them success.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Building Trades Department.

In the appendix to the Executive Council's report (page 143), under the title "Building Trades Department," we find the report of Secretary-Treasurer Spencer of that Department. It is gratifying to learn of the good work that Department is doing in the building trades. The Department consists of 18 international unions, 268 local councils and 7 state councils, making a total of 293 organizations affiliated, with a membership of almost 600,000, and a balance of funds on hand of $12,790.86. The Department is to be commended for the progress made during the past year.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Metal Trades Department.

In the appendix of the Executive Council's report (pages 144-5), President O'Connell of the "Metal Trades Department" submits to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor an interesting report on the work the Department has done during the past year. This includes:

Ship Building Industry;

The Manufacture of War Munitions;

The Enforcement of the Eight-hour Day;

The Adjustment of Wages;

The Adjustment of Working Conditions;

The Protection of the Men Generally.

This Department is also to be commended for its activities during the year.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Mining Department.

In the appendix of the Executive Council's report (pages 149-150), under the above caption, President Lord reports splendid progress made during the last year. Joint agreements have been entered into in the union fields, and these have had their influence on the non-union fields. We commend this Department for its progress during the past year.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Porto Rico.

In the appendix of the Executive Council's report (pages 150-156), under the caption of "Porto Rico," we note with pleasure the progress made in Porto Rico in the work of organization.

Under the low wage system and the long work-day, dissatisfaction and discontent existed among the workers. Strikes resulted, causing hardships and privations to the workers and stubborn opposition and resistance on the part of the employers and those in authority. The American Federation of Labor and all international unions should stand by these workers in their efforts to better their conditions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Canada.

In the appendix of the Executive Council's report (pages 156-160), under the caption "Canada," we note from the report of Secretary-Treasurer Draper of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, that it is evident the labor organizations of Canada are not only holding their own since the war began, but in many instances were successful in increasing wages and establishing better working conditions. The work of organization goes steadily on. The increase in membership during the past year was over 15,000. The total membership exceeded 81,000. This is gratifying to us, and should be a source of satisfaction to this convention.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 9—By the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots:

WHEREAS, We, the members of the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, desire to bring to your attention at this time a condition that confronts us in the city of Seattle, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., which condition retards our progress and cripples our standing in the above mentioned cities because of the different independent organizations, as they term themselves to be, which exist therein. The

members of these organizations were at one time members of this association in good and regular standing, but being misled by those who have an established control over those members while working as officers of the local or subordinate associations, is the reason why they are now in bad standing; and

WHEREAS, We have done everything possible to induce these associations to pay up their indebtedness and become reinstated and placed in good and regular standing, and we have gone to the extent of guaranteeing them a reduction to a very small sum of the entire indebtedness, but each time these offers have been refused; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully ask the American Federation of Labor to help, aid and assist us in every way possible to cause these different independent local associations (which they claim to be) to reinstate themselves in the National Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, the only association that can properly represent the licensed deck officers of the merchant marine; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor refuse to give help, aid or assistance to William A. Westcott, President of California Harbor of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific; also Patrick Mullen, Secretary of Puget Sound Harbor, Masters, Mates and Pilots of Seattle, Wash., as said associations or harbors and their influences are disrupting and weakening to the subordinate harbors of this association which are located in the above named places, viz.: San Francisco, Cal., and Seattle, Wash.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the different locals of the American Federation of Labor located in Seattle, Wash., and San Francisco, Cal., be also notified not to give any help, aid or assistance to the above mentioned harbors until such time as they have placed themselves in good and regular standing in the National Harbor to which they belong; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor assist in every way possible to bring about the reconciliation necessary to establish each of said harbors in good and regular standing so that the National Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots may receive the success and prosperity that the labor movement in these two cities deserves.

Your committee refers this matter to President Gompers, authorizing him to take this matter up with the persons and harbors referred to in this resolution, with the object in view of having the disputes with the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots properly adjusted.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 10—By the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots:

WHEREAS, Certain steamship companies have instituted the "Welfare Plan" among the officers employed on their vessels by forming an organization known as the "American Steamship Licensed Officers' Association, Inc.," located in New York City; and

WHEREAS, Said organization is maintained principally by and for the employers, as is evidenced by the preamble of its Constitution, which reads: "Realizing, also, that there are an increasing number of employers who are disposed to co-operate with their employes in furthering these objects, we propose to deal directly with our employers." And as further evidenced by the last paragraph of the second section of its "Certificate of Incorporation," which reads: "The corporation shall have no affiliation with any labor or trade union, but shall be maintained as an entirely independent organization"; and

WHEREAS, Said organization was instituted with the purpose of disrupting or weakening the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor regards the "American Steamship Licensed Officers' Association, Inc.," as an organization inimical to the best interests of labor, and urges all true friends of organized labor to refrain from identifying themselves with said association in any way; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Neptune Association of Masters and Mates of New York City, which is an affiliated body with California Harbor of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific of San Francisco, Cal., and Puget Sound Harbor No. 16 of Seattle, Wash., be considered as being detrimental to organized labor, as the objects of this association will show, copy of which reads as follows, and which is found on the front page of the Constitution and By-laws of the Neptune Association of New York City: "The object and purpose of this association is to unite into one great body the licensed masters and mates of ocean and coastwise steam vessels, and thus enable them to demand and obtain a voice in the making of the laws and regulations under which they are governed; to improve the condition and status of the profession generally; to furnish assistance in professional matters, and at the same time to promote cordial relations with employers. Furthermore, that this association be maintained as an entirely independent organization, and to have no agreements or affiliations with any labor or trade union." The following is found in the back of the Constitution and By-laws of the Neptune Association. While it only refers to one year, yet it is thoroughly understood that the agreement still holds good and is in force: "Articles of Agreement between Neptune Association and California Harbor No. 15 of California Harbor of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific. 1. It is hereby agreed by California Harbor of Masters, Mates and Pilots of the Pacific of San Francisco, Cal., party of the first part, and Neptune Association of Masters and Mates of ocean and coastwise steam vessels of New York, party of the second part: That on and after April 1, 1913, and for a period of one (1) year thereafter, that the party of the first part will recognize the members of the party of the second part as brothers; and the party of the second part will recognize the members of the party of the first part as brothers. 2. It is further agreed: That the party of the first part shall have jurisdiction over all ocean and coastwise deck officers on the

Pacific, and that the party of the second part shall have jurisdiction over all ocean and coastwise deck officers of the Atlantic. 3. It is further agreed: That the party of the first part and the party of the second part shall not solicit membership from each other while their members are sailing between Atlantic and Pacific Coast ports, or vice versa. Provided: That if any member of either party elects to sail on the coast for a period exceeding three months, then such shall be required to become a member of the association having jurisdiction thereof and any such member shall not be required to pay any sum in excess of one dollar ($1.00) as an entrance fee. 4. It is further agreed: That the members of the party of the first part will not sign on any vessel bound for the Atlantic Coast for less than the established scale of wages on the Atlantic Coast; and, the members of the party of the second part will not sign on any vessel bound for the Pacific Coast for less than the established scale of wages on the Pacific Coast. 5. It is further agreed: That all legislative action for the benefit of the ocean and coastwise licensed deck officers must be voted on by both associations, and if the majority of votes cast by the members of both associations is in favor of such legislation, then each association shall pay a per capita tax pro rata according to their membership to defray the expense of such legislation. And no legislative action shall be taken without the sanction of the other, unless such legislative action shall affect their own particular coast, then the expense incurred shall be borne by the association taking such action. 6. It is further agreed: That all members in good standing in either of the associations shall be entitled to all privileges, such as the use of association rooms, legal advice, etc. Provided: That if any monetary assistance is rendered, the member's association shall refund to the assisting association any such money so expended, provided, that in case of the death of any member of either association the funeral expenses shall be refunded to the association burying such members. 7. It is further agreed: That the party of the first part will not recognize and other association of licensed ocean or coastwise deck officers on the Atlantic Coast other than Neptune Association during the existence of this agreement, and the party of the second part will not recognize any other association of licensed ocean or coastwise deck officers on the Pacigc other than California Harbor during the existence of this agreement. *Note:* Since the date of this agreement Puget Sound Harbor No. 16 of Seattle, Wash., has become affiliated with the Neptune Association of New York and California Harbor No. 15, Masters and Mates and Pilots of the Pacific of San Francisco, Cal.

Your committee refers this resolution to President Gompers with the object in view of taking up the grievances existing between the Neptune Masters, Mates and Pilots of New York City and the American Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots, with a view of making an adjustment in this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate J. J. Ellicott of Office Employes' Association No. 12755, Chicago:

WHEREAS, A vigorous campaign is now being waged in Chicago to organize all the workers in the stockyards, including the office workers, and this campaign offers an unusual opportunity to make a beginning in the direction of organization while these workers are in a receptive mood; and

WHEREAS, Success in organizing the office workers in the stock yards would have the effect of attracting the attention of all office workers throughout the city, to the number of about fifty thousand, to the idea of organization, and would undoubtedly result in bringing this large group into the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Because of insufficient funds the office Employes' Association finds it impossible to reach their fellow workers to interest them in their organization or to carry on an effective campaign while they are in a receptive mood; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That an amount not to exceed the sum of one thousand dollars ($1,000.00), be and hereby is appropriated from the funds of the American Federation of Labor to defray the expenses of an organizer to be chosen by the Office Employes' Association No. 12755, at a salary not to exceed one hundred dollars ($100.00) a month.

Your committee refers the whole question of organizing all the employes of the stock yards to the Executive Council for favorable action, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Charles B. Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers desires to record before this convention its appreciation of the support received from the labor movement throughout the country, from President Gompers, Central Bodies, organizers, the rank and file. Since Illinois has been our special battleground during the past year, we desire to acknowledge particularly our obligation to the labor men of Chicago and Illinois and specifically to the President and Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. If it had not been for the efforts of John Walker and Victor Olander, the teachers of Chicago would not now be protected by the tenure provisions of the Otis-Mueller Bill, guaranteeing them warning and a trial before dismissal; and

WHEREAS, The co-operation of organized labor did not result in the immediate formation of a large number of local unions of teachers, owing to the world of prejudice to overcome on the part of both teachers and public, but the campaign of education is now bearing fruit; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm the policy adopted at the Baltimore convention, that it "continues to use its best efforts in the work of organizing teachers."

Your committee unanimously concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate D. W. Helt of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America is a young and growing organization, operating in a field in which there are something over 75,000 wage-earners in the United States and Canada who are eligible to membership; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America are not financially able at this time to place any additional organizers in the field to organize our craft; and

WHEREAS, The numbers of our craft have been greatly reduced through the call to the colors, causing those remaining additional responsibility through the lengthening of sections to maintain and repair; and

WHEREAS, The railroads through their General Managers' Associations are encouraging the formation of independent local associations, to the detriment of the principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The call has come from the men of our craft in the United States and Canada for assistance in their organization through which a living wage and the eight (8) hour day can be established in our craft; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct its Executive Council to appoint one or more special organizers as the funds of the organization will permit, to assist the Grand Lodge of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America to organize the men of our craft; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the various district organizers and the volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the Executive Council to give their special attention to the organization of the Railroad Signalmen in their respective districts and localities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America, will cooperate with the American Federation of Labor in their work of organization to the full extent of our ability.

Your committee refers the subject matter contained in this resolution to the Executive Council for action, if the funds of the Federation will permit. Also that international unions and local bodies be requested to give their assistance, wherever possible, in organizing this class of workers.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 29—By Delegate Michael F. Kenny of the Grocery Handlers, Porters and Warehousemen's Local No. 14960, Jersey City, N. J.:

RESOLVED, That A. F. of L. organizers will endeavor to organize the following warehouses: Buffalo, N. Y., soon to open; Pittsburgh, Pa., 32-34 Terminal Bldg.; Boston, Mass., Inman, D and Fargo streets; Philadelphia, Pa.; Chicago, Ill.; Chicago Junction, R. R. Bldg.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council for compliance therewith.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The various trades in the needle industry of this country are substantially identical in their important productive features; and

WHEREAS, All these trades are subject to seasonal periods of work and idleness which frequently force the workers of one trade to look for occupation, during the idle seasons, in the shops of other needle trades; and

WHEREAS, These temporary influxes are and have been a source of dissatisfaction and irritation to the workers in these trades, in the absence of any reciprocal understanding and regulations between the various national and local labor organizations in the needle industries; and

WHEREAS, The general interests of the hundreds of thousands of needle workers in the country would be better protected and their organizations strengthened and enlarged if there were an organized and defined system of mutual help and cooperation among them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take steps to organize and establish a Needle Trades Department within the American Federation of Labor along the lines and principles of the other trade departments at present in existence and operation in the Federation.

Your committee refers the subject matter contained in this resolution to the Executive Council for investigation as to the necessity for forming such department.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegates Gorenstein and Sillinsky spoke in favor of the establishment of a needle trades department, Delegate Sillinsky directing the attention of the convention to the difficulties arising through the necessity of members of the garment working industry being required to carry several cards of membership.

A motion was offered by Delegate Sillinsky, seconded by Delegate Gorenstein, that the Executive Council be instructed to call the three organizations, namely, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, the United Garment Workers and the Journeymen Tailors' Union into a conference within sixty days after the adjournment of this convention with instructions to form a department in the needle industry.

Delegate Duffy, chairman of the com-

mittee, discussing the question, said in part: If we are going to form another department we want it to be a success and we want all the men and women in the needle trades to take part in it. The committee did not know whether the garment workers wanted to take part in it or not and we do not know whether the cap makers and the hatters want to take part in it. We felt that under the circumstances the best thing to do was to refer the matter to the Executive Council to make an investigation as to the necessity of such a department, and if it is necessary, then the Executive Council can go ahead and form it.

President Gompers: The chair is compelled to rule that the amendment is not in order. The resolution upon which the committee has reported provides just such instructions to the Executive Council as was submitted by the delegate who offered the amendment. The committee reports that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council, and the delegate can secure the same purpose if the report of the committee is defeated.

Delegate Lennon: Would a substitute motion to refer the entire matter to the Executive Council to call a conference of the three organizations primarily interested at a reasonable date after the adjournment of this convention be in order?

President Gompers: That would be perfectly proper.

Delegate Lennon then offered a motion as a substitute for the report of the committee, that the President of the Federation be authorized to call a conference consisting of representatives of the United Garment Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers and the Journeymen Tailors within a reasonable time after the close of this convention to consider these or other questions that may be of import to these three organizations. (Seconded by Delegate Gorenstein.)

Delegate Black, Toronto Central Labor Council, agreed with the recommendation of the committee and emphasized the necessity of an investigation being made before the advisability of the formation of a needle trades department could be intelligently determined.

Delegate Schlesinger opposed the recommendation of the committee on the ground that it was indefinite, and said in part: It may be that the Executive Council would have to call in some other organizations that have not been mentioned here by Brother Lennon. As a matter of fact not all the tailoring industries are represented in this convention. I am perfectly satisfied with the amendment offered by Brother Lennon if it takes in all the representatives of the needle industry organized in this country.

Delegate Rickert, of the United Garment Workers, said that he was opposed not only to the amendment, but also to the original report of the committee, because he believed that through the passage of such a resolution the seceding faction of the United Garment Workers of America would be given recognition that previous conventions had decided they were not entitled to. He said that in his opinion the motive underlying the introduction of this resolution was to give the independent faction an opportunity to say that they had in some measure been recognized by a convention of the American Federation of Labor. He said that the door was open to the seceders at any time to come back into the organization in the same way that they went out, but in no other way.

Delegate Sweeney, of the Journeymen Tailors, corrected a statement made by Delegate Rickert that the resolution in question had been introduced by the Journeymen Tailors. He expressed the hope that the men and women of the garment making trades might be united at some date in the near future.

Delegate Lennon spoke in favor of his amendment.

Delegate Voigt, of the Central Labor Council of Oakland, Cal., expressed the hope that there might be solidarity, not only among the garment workers, but in the American labor movement as a whole.

Delegate Schlesinger spoke along the same lines and in referring to the seceding organization said they had sixty or seventy thousand members and had during the past three years been able to accomplish much for the workers involved. He told of his repeated efforts in past conventions to bring about the unification of the forces in the clothing industry and said he thought this would be brought about if the convention would give to the Executive Council the power to exercise its authority. Responding to the criticism which had been made in reference to the formation of a needle trades department, he said it was the intent of the resolution that a garment trades department be es-

tablished rather than a needle trades department.

Delegate Larger opposed the amendment and likewise the report of the committee because the Ladies' Garment Workers in introducing the resolution had mentioned the secession movement in the Garment Workers. He denied the statement made by one of the previous speakers that there were 70,000 members among the secessionists today and expressed the belief that the secession element would in time return to the parent organization if they were not given influence and encouragement by the Ladies' Garment Workers and others.

Delegate Koveleski spoke on the subject and referred to the large strike in Rochester. He also denied the statement made that there were 5,000 members of the secession movement in Rochester, making the assertion that there were not 200 members at the present time and that by their actions they were obstructing the way in organizing the garment trades in that city.

Delegate Holland, of the New York State Federation of Labor, in speaking on the subject made the statement that the garment working industry in New York City was controlled by the "Forward," the official organ of the Hebrew trades in that city. He said the secession movement could be very easily explained in a few words by the statement published broadcast in the City of New York: "Get away from your Christian leaders."

Delegate Voigt, Oakland Central Labor Council: I arise to a point of order. Christianity is not an issue with the question before the house.

President Gompers: Much as the chair would like to rule your point of order well taken, he cannot do it. The point of order is not well taken.

Delegate Holland then continued his statement and said that if the Hebrew trades would keep their hands off the seceders they would soon take their place where they properly belonged.

Delegate Black, of the Toronto District Labor Council, told of conditions in Montreal and other cities in Canada where it had been impossible to organize the garment workers on account of the secessionist influence.

The previous question was called for and supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

On the amendment offered by Delegate Lennon—that the President of the Federation be authorized to call a conference consisting of representatives of the United Garment Workers, the Ladies' Garment Workers and the Journeymen Tailors within a reasonable time after the close of this convention to consider these or other questions that may be of import to these three organizations—the vote resulted as follows: 84 in favor; 167 opposed. The amendment was declared lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried, the vote by show of hands resulting as follows: 151 in favor; 113 against.

A roll call was requested, but the request was not supported by the necessary number of delegates.

Secretary Conboy continued the report of the Committee on Organization, as follows:

Resolution No. 72—By Delegates B. W. King of Alabama State Federation of Labor and L. Bowen of Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The Southern States generally and the State of Alabama in particular, have not kept pace with the more progressive States in organization and the enactment of laws beneficial to the workers; and

WHEREAS, There is not, with the exception of a weak child labor law, a single statute on the books of the State for the protection and equal rights of labor. On the other hand, there are many laws in force that practically prohibit labor by repressive measures from bringing about any improvement of conditions; among which are the Alabama anti-boycott law, convict lease system, the fellow servant liability act, and others too numerous to mention. The election laws enacted in the interests and at the behest of powerful corporations hedged the franchise of working class voters with so many technicalities that it is almost impossible, with the resources at our command, to muster sufficient voting strength to remedy these evils; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council be instructed by this convention to place an experienced organizer, perferably one with legislative experience, in the State of Alabama, not later than the opening of the convention of the State Federation of Labor on May 20, 1918, and to remain until the conclusion of the session of the State Legislature following.

From the facts submitted to your committee by the delegates introducing the resolution, and others, we believe that organizing work in the State of Alabama should be given special attention and consideration. The matter is therefore referred to the Executive Council for favor-

able action, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate John F. Tobin in the chair.

Delegate King, of the Alabama State Federation of Labor, spoke in behalf of the resolution and dwelt at some length on conditions in that State and the various laws now in force which work to the detriment of organized labor.

Delegate James Wilson spoke in behalf of immediate action in the interests of the the wage workers of Alabama, not only by the American Federation of Labor but by the various international organizations.

President Gompers in the chair.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

President Gompers: Delegate Dobson, of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, has requested an opportunity to be heard upon a matter, and the chair recognizes him for that purpose.

Delegate Dobson: Having voted with the majority on the recommendation in reference to a needle trades department, the matter has just been drawn to my attention regarding the possibility of the secessionists of the Garment Workers being recognized under that resolution. I therefore desire to ask the chair whether in his judgment that resolution will permit the recognition of the secessionists of the Garment Workers of America?

President Gompers: The resolve reads as follows: "That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take steps to organize and establish a needle trades department within the American Federation of Labor along the lines and principles of the other trade departments at present in existence and operation in the Federation." The action of the convention was this: That the convention refers the subject matter contained in this resolution to the Executive Council for investigation as to the necessity for forming such a department. The question is referred to the Executive Council to make an investigation as to the necessity for the establishment of a needle trades department and the investigation will be to the fullest upon the subject matter, but it must be with organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. There is no escape for the Executive Council from that statement for this, among other reasons: A convention of the American Federation of Labor has declared that the seceders from the United Garment Workers of America are not entitled to and shall not receive recognition or support of any character. Until that action of the American Federation of Labor is reversed or modified in some form that must be the governing feature and action of the men in the labor movement.

Secretary Frey, for the Committee on Resolutions, asked that Resolution No. 152 be transferred to the Committee on International Relations. The request was granted.

Delegate Conboy, continuing the report of the Committee on Organization:

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Walter Green, T. B. Henry, James E. Cousins, John L. Price and William N. Chavis:

WHEREAS, The colored delegates representing the local unions affiliated directly with the American Federation of Labor in the State of Virginia, having thoroughly examined the situation of organized labor and the elements that must go into the workings, so as to place its benefits within the reach of all its members without regard to race or color, and feeling that the interest of the cause would be greatly improved if colored organizers were given a place in the workings of the American Federation of Labor, of organizing additional local unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the colored delegates of directly affiliated local unions of the State of Virginia do hereby request this convention to grant and recommend that colored organizers be appointed or elected, according to the convention's rulings, and placed especially in Virginia at the following cities where organizing is greatly needed: Roanoke, Richmond, Rocky Mount, Portsmouth, Norfolk and Suffolk, Va.; Raleigh, N. C., and Jacksonville, Fla., or any city where organizers may be needed. These cities named are working at a low rate of wages per diem and need the services and advantages of American Federation of Labor organizers.

Your committee refers this resolution to the Executive Council for action if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Dennis Lane, John F. Hart and John Kennedy of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Baltimore, Md., one year ago, the Executive Council was requested to render such assistance in organizing the butcher workmen as its finances would permit; and

WHEREAS, In compliance with that request the work has been earnestly carried on since, with the result that our membership has been greatly increased, and at the present time we are meeting with success in organizing the large packing centers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, In order that this work be

continued to a successful termination that we may make secure our gain, resulting from the assistance already given by the American Federation of Labor, that the Executive Council be requested to continue its assistance to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen as far as its finances will permit.

Your committee reports concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate P. Harry Jennings:

WHEREAS, There is organizing work being done under the direction of the American Federation of Labor among office workers of New York City at the present time; and

WHEREAS, There is great need and a possibility of an effective organization among the office employes in Boston; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the State Branch of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled request the American Federation of Labor to send to Boston as soon as possible Miss Jane Olcott as an organizer for the office workers of that city.

Your committee recommends that the matter pertaining to organizing contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for action, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate E. G. Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The State Federation of Labor of North Dakota has not been able to finance a campaign of organization in the inland cities and towns of the State; and

WHEREAS, It has been striving not only to maintain, but to establish new unions along its borders; and

WHEREAS, The organized farmers of that State, through their activity and agitation as to the benefits of organization, have provided a fertile field for forming of Trade and Federal Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be urged as soon as possible to send representatives to the principal cities of the State to organize their craft, and that the American Federation of Labor do likewise at as early a date as possible.

Your committee reports concurrence in this resolution and refers same to the Executive Council for compliance with this request, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

Delegate Hall spoke in favor of the resolution.

A motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate W. T. Wilkie of Federal Labor Union No. 15345, Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of unorganized workers in Nova Scotia willing and anxious to be organized in their respective crafts and callings; and

WHEREAS, There has been organized during the last ten months about two thousand one hundred iron and steel workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to place an organizer in Nova Scotia to organize the unorganized workers, for a period of one year.

Your committee refers the matter contained in this resolution to the Executive Council for compliance, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association, No. 11773, and Joseph J. Ellicott, Office Employes' Association No. 12755:

WHEREAS, At the present there is an unprecedented demand for clerical workers, which makes all the more necessary that an attempt be made to uphold the standards of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the convention direct the Executive Council to appoint two organizers, one man and one woman, both of whom shall be office workers and familiar with organizing work, to devote their entire time to organizing office workers.

Your committee refers the subject matter contained in the resolution to the Executive Council with power to act, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegate Kennedy of Pennsylvania Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The necessity of organizing the women workers of the country under normal conditions is important; and

WHEREAS, During this abnormal condition in the affairs of the American people, the women are commencing to branch out into industries, taking the place of men workers; and

WHEREAS, The protection of your women, as well as the wage standards of the nation, is important; and

WHEREAS, The Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor at its recent convention decided that this important question should be referred to the American Federation of Labor Convention for action; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Executive Council be instructed to devise ways and means and put them into effect, to more effectually organize the women workers of this country so as to protect their interests, and maintain the wage standards in the industries where men are now being displaced by women.

The subject matter contained in the resolution is referred to the Executive Council with power to act, if the funds will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 161—By Delegate W. M.

Pollock of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773:

WHEREAS, It is vital to the success of the labor movement that office workers, male and female, be more thoroughly organized; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pay at least $20.00 per week towards the expenses of an organizer for any local of stenographers or office workers wishing it.

The subject matter contained in this resolution is referred to the Executive Council for favorable action, if funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 166—By Delegate Sidney Burt, of Helpers' and Laborers' Union No. 15566. (Committee: C. M. Battle, Hubert Fitts, Sidney Burt, E. D. Thomas.):

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands for strength and protection by concentrating its power through organized forces into unionized labor, and since more effectual work might be accomplished through certain agencies by reason of intimate and social relations; and

WHEREAS, The colored laborers and helpers throughout the southeastern district are not familiar with the labor movement as they should be, especially upon the different railroads of the southeastern territory; and

WHEREAS, There are fifteen (15) different railroads in the district; and

WHEREAS, There are only four colored locals on these fifteen roads, two on the Seaboard, one on the Atlantic Coast Line, and one on the Norfolk & Western; and

WHEREAS, We feel and believe that a colored organizer because of his racial and social relations among his people could accomplish much in organizing the forces into unions; and

WHEREAS, There is a union in our city known as the Transportation Working Men's Association of Virginia, with a membership of eighteen hundred (1,800), meeting in the same hall as we, and since so many of our men are falling in line with them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of the National Convention to recommend the appointment of a railroad man (colored) as organizer for the territory as above mentioned.

The subject matter is referred to the Executive Council with the recommendation that an organizer be appointed as soon as possible, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

Delegates Battle and Burt spoke in support of the resolution and told briefly of the work that had already been done by the colored men in the South and of the opportunities for further organizing the class of workmen mentioned in the resolution.

Delegate King, of the Alabama State Federation of Labor, also spoke in support of the resolution, as did also Delegate MacGowan, of the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 169—By Delegate Harry L. Spencer of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Oil Field Workers of Louisiana and Texas, comprising the Gulf Coast District, some eighteen (18) local unions with an approximate membership of eleven thousand (11,000) members, and chartered directly from the A. F. of L. are out on strike as a result of a positive refusal on the part of the employers to meet with the joint grievance committee of the Oil Field Workers; and

WHEREAS, The only object sought by the Oil Field Workers was recognition of their organizations and a standardization of wages and conditions in the fields; and

WHEREAS, The Oil Field Workers appealed to the Federal Department of Labor for a mediator, and the Department thereupon sent one, who, after several days' time admitted he was unable to obtain any results and so notified the Department, who then sent a second representative, but the combined efforts of both Department officials has been unavailing in the bringing about of even a conference with the employers; and

WHEREAS, All efforts on the part of the Federal Mediators, State Federation and Houston Labor Council officials have been exhausted in trying to bring about a satisfactory settlement of this controversy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. approve the appeal for aid for these Gulf Coast Oil Field Workers and grant such aid as in their judgment may be necessary to bring about a just settlement of this dispute.

Your committee recommends that the matter be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and such action as it deems necessary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Conboy: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman;
A. J. KUGLER,
WM. A. NEER,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
THOMAS S. FARRELL,
MARY ANDERSON,
J. E. FORREST,
PATRICK FLYNN,
S. J. KONENKAMP,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
W. L. FORREST,
CHARLES E. JAMES,
W. H. YOUNG,
SARAH CONBOY, Secretary.

On motion by Delegate Conboy, the report of the Committee on Organization was adopted as a whole.

It was moved by Delegate Frey, seconded and carried, that the first order of business on Tuesday afternoon, November 20th, be a report from Vice-President James Duncan upon his experiences and observations in Russia as a member of the American Commission.

Vice-President O'Connell moved that 10 o'clock Wednesday morning, November 21st, be set as the special order of business to hear the report of the Committee on Adjustment. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan offered an amendment, which was accepted by Vice-President O'Connell, that should the Committee on Resolutions be not finished with its report on Wednesday morning at 10 o'clock, the report of the Adjustment Committee be deferred until the completion of the Resolution Committee's report. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12.25 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 2 o'clock of the same day.

SEVENTH DAY---Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Monday, November 19th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees — Anderson (Mary), Raider, Obergfell, Morrin, Boyer, Hutcheson, Van Duyn, Logan, MacPherson, Kuhlmann, McDonald, Hannahan, Brennan (Wm. J.), Bechtold, Altman, Daley, Marshall, Gainor, O'Connor, Vaccarrelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Fry, Hagan, Strain, Hart, Lane, Moriarty, Mitchell, Moore (John), Lewis, Curran, Loder, Weber, Miller, Carey (D. A.), Weaver, Lynch, Schneider, Dold, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Roth, Deviny, Orr, Gavlak, Helt, Sumner, Sillinsky, Gorman, Konenkamp, Agethen, Curtis, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, King, O'Neal, McHenry, Taylor (C. O.), Jarrett, Kennedy, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (Theo. D.), Rahele, Coughlin, Harlin, Bowen, Hagberg, Hines, O'Dell, Sellons, McAndrew (A.), Burch, Hodges, Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett Bower, Wilkinson, Traglio, Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Smith (Aden E.), Gafney, Warren, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Allison, Mezzacapo, McNally, Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Wilkie, Green (Walter), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Eson, Hanrahan, Miller (F. M.), Juhl, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm, Christman, Fitzgerald.

Delegate Clarke, Secretary of the Credentials Committee, reported as follows:

Supplementary Report of Committee on Credentials.

Your Credential Committee has received a credential for Matt J. Robinson, to represent the Chattanooga Central Labor Union and we advise that he be seated with one vote.

The Federal Board of Farm Organizations have issued a credential to Gifford Pinchot to represent their Board, and we recommend that he be seated without vote.

Delegate Geo. L. Hedrick, representing the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, has been required to leave the convention and we recommend that Joseph F. Kelley be seated in his stead.

Respectfully submitted,
E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman.
T. P. HYLAND,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

The President's Mission to Investigate the Labor Conditions on the Pacific Coast and Mountain Region.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 88-89), your committee approves of the steps which were taken by the President of the United States and the President of the American Federation of Labor in connection with this investigation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Distribution of Labor.

In connection with that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (p. 89), your committee considered Resolution No. 154 and includes both the report and the resolution in its recommendation.

Resolution No. 154—By Delegates Dan P. McKillop, J. Franklin and James A. Duncan:

WHEREAS, The plunging of the United States of America into a war with Germany has confronted this nation with a task so gigantic as to necessitate all possible co-operation between the government

and the workers in order to safeguard us against defeat; and

WHEREAS, The experience of the workers of our allied nations fully demonstrates that the undermining of reasonable standards, or the continuance of intolerable standards of living would be fatal to our national cause; and

WHEREAS, The fulfilment of the government's ship building and other industrial programs is jeopardized by a shortage of skilled workers, to meet which shortage the government is planning with various institutions to give intensive training to unskilled men, totally ignoring the skilled workers whose interests are most vitally at stake; and

WHEREAS, Said skilled workers through their organizations, recognizing this pressing national emergency, are willing and anxious to co-operate with and aid the government to the limit of their ability, provided safeguards to the workers can be guaranteed; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we insist upon assurances being given by the United States Government that the interests and standards of living of the workers, whose co-operation is so essential to the successful carrying out of the government's program, be fully safeguarded, and that a committee of directly interested workers and their union officials wait upon the proper authorities, with a view to reaching a better understanding; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That insofar as the Metal Trades are concerned, the attached recommendation by the Metal Trades Council of Seattle, dealing particularly with the ship building program, be concurred in.

As a constructive program, we suggest the following procedure:

That the government, employes and employers enter into an agreement, providing that:

First—The unions furnish the men required, on request by companies, so far as possible;

Second—That the union furnish instructors to train men for emergency service as may be required;

Third—That the examining boards of the unions shall pass on the qualifications of all applicants for such service, and issue proper permits to successful candidates;

Fourth—That all workmen doing mechanics' work shall receive not less than the minimum wage of the trade in question:

Fifth—That all the parties to the agreement shall recognize that the permits issued are temporary, and that when the emergency is passed, any and all lay-offs necessary, whether temporary or permanent, shall be governed by seniority in the trade; also that membership in the union and seniority shall give preference in all cases when workmen are promoted, demoted, transferred, or otherwise affected in their standard;

Sixth—Recognizing that on account of the excessive noise, dirt, danger, injuries received, hurry, exposure, and the comparative smallness of pay, and uncertainty of employment, men age quickly in the steel ship building industry and become derelicts and dependents, it is agreed that, as far as possible, the excess labor provided shall be used to reduce hours of work without deduction of pay, and to provide greater safety and comfort in carrying on the work;

Seventh—We suggest that for the purpose of carrying out the agreement in an effective manner, an emergency labor supply commission, connected with the Department of Labor, independent of the United States Civil Service Commission, composed of three or five members, on which commission union labor shall predominate, be appointed, with suitable salaries and authority to decide questions arising and to appoint deputies where and when in their judgment it becomes necessary, the understanding being that as far as practicable the detail work will be voluntarily done by the union. Said emergency labor supply commission shall exist until the labor problems caused by the war are re-adjusted, after the war is over and the fighting forces demobilized.

Eighth—So as to make possible a more complete co-operation by all unions in this service of their country, we propose working agreements between various crafts so as to permit transfer of men as occasion requires, without friction.

Your committee is of the opinion that there should exist within the Department of Labor a bureau which would supply labor, employers and the several departments of the government all necessary information relative to the need of workers in industries, and that it is advisable that there should exist more thorough co-operation and co-ordination between the Civil Service Commission and such a bureau.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the subject be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to co-operate with the presidents of affiliated organizations in working out such problems relative to the distribution of labor to be employed upon war materials as will arise, and confer with the government in connection with the development of the National Employment Bureau.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Woman in Industry.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 89-90), your committee endorses the sentiments expressed in the Executive Council's report and recommends that every effort be made by affiliated organizations to assist in bringing about the organization of women employed in industry.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

High Cost of Living.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption (pp. 90-92), your committee approves of the active interest taken by the Executive Council

and recommends that the same activity be continued.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Freedom of Expression.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above heading (pp. 92-93), your committee recommends that the principles so ably set forth and the expressions of opinion contained in this portion of the Executive Council's report be endorsed. We are in accord with these fundamental principles and especially during the war period that there should be, as has been so clearly stated, no restriction of free speech and a free press, and that those who abuse or defile this cornerstone of democracy and human rights should be punished by due process of law and trial by jury.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above heading (pp. 94-100), your committee recommends that full endorsement be given to the patriotic work which has been undertaken by the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Barnes: The report of the committee says that we endorse in full the patriotic work of the Alliance. There is a question arises as to what is patriotism here. I know something about the Alliance convention at Minneapolis. I was a spectator at that convention and I discovered that the Governor of Minnesota, who was the first executive of a state in the Union to, by proclamation, prevent the assembling of a peaceful congress of people and hounded them out of his state, was the first patriot who spoke at the Alliance convention in Minneapolis. That kind of patriotism I don't approve of and I describe it as anything but patriotic in America to deny free speech and free assemblage.

I witnessed the welcoming of the Alliance convention to the city of Minneapolis by the labor-bating and labor-hating press, column after column of praise for the patriotism not yet expressed by the Alliance, but anticipated. The business organizations of the town had opened their doors for the patriotic Alliance; the same business organizations that are robbing the farmers and brow-beating the labor organizations as told to me by responsible representatives of the Central Body of Minneapolis.

We are to endorse all the patriotic acts of the Alliance. There is some differentiation as to the patriotic acts and the patriotic people who have been employed in boosting that game, in my judgment.

Governor Lowden of Illinois was the next patriot to conclude to send the militia from Springfield to Chicago on a sunny Sunday afternoon, the second day of September, to break up a peaceable meeting of citizens, and the best thought in my judgment of this nation has rebelled at the idea of the suppression, both by the Governor of Minnesota and the Governor of Illinois, of this peaceable gathering of American citizens who have a right to convene and discuss matters of interest to themselves and issues of general welfare to the public. If you are endorsing these things as patriotism I ask you to draw the line. I ask you to differentiate. It was one Sunday, September 2nd, that Governor Lowden of Illinois entrained his militia to Chicago and broke up a peaceable meeting, and it so happened there was to be a Polish wedding in the hall that evening and the Peoples' Council had to get out at 7 o'clock, and the militia came strutting in at 9:30 in the evening to break up a Polish wedding, one of the bridesmaids snipping a gold band off one of the official's hats. That was the result of a raid on a peaceful meeting in Chicago.

Governor Lowden had whetted his appetite at suppression and could not stop on that Sunday, but in the interim there was a strike in Springfield, an absolutely justifiable strike of the street car men against the street car octopus of that vicinity, and it had been going on for weeks and weeks. It brought forth the sympathy and support of all of organized labor in the city of Springfield. On the next Sunday the workers there organized in a unit, said that the street car men ought to have their support, and they organized a parade in sympathy with the striking car men.

Governor Lowden, who had tied his hands on the Peace Council in Chicago by entraining the militia, then sent the militia to Springfield to break up the trade union parade on the following Sunday. He was getting along some, wasn't he? If that is patriotism you can count me

out; I am not a patriot. But it seems to me that the Alliance or its officials considered that patriotism, because they invited as the first speaker at their convention in Minneapolis the governor who denied free speech first in America by proclamation, and then the representative, the chairman of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, was billed to speak on the following Friday night in Chicago in the Coliseum and he asked the Security League, with Mr. Root, and the gentleman who was invited to preside at that meeting was the same honorable Governor of Illinois, who had broken up the peaceful parade of the unionists in Springfield on September 9th. If that is patriotism, I don't want any of it.

You are going to endorse in indefinite terms all the patriotic purposes of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. I would rather we would have some specification. Besides that, what is this American Alliance for Labor and Democracy? Do you know how it was created, how brought about? About the 30th day of June the President of this organization came to New York and denounced certain movements and said that we must Americanize the labor movement of America—Americanize the labor movement of America! This was a high and worthy purpose, and he said at that time that "there is a People's Council and a Workmen's Council which are pre-empting the prerogatives of the American Federation of Labor in that they are sending communications to the different organizations, which is the business of the American Federation of Labor." At the same time Ralph M. Easley of the National Civic Federation was circularizing the unions, but there was no word of condemnation for Ralph Easley putting impertinent questions to the labor union officials and members.

And the President announced in the papers that there was no need for any dual organizations in the United States—the American Federation of Labor alone could take care of the labor issues during the war. Well, there is a good long story as to how well they have taken care of it, which my time won't now admit of my going into—probably some other opportunity. He said there was no need or call or excuse for any dual organization. Three weeks later Mr. Gompers and a few other persons in New York established a dual organization against the Workmen's Council called the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, to Americanize the labor movement—a dual organization. I ask you to vote down this report of the committee because you are going to endorse without specifications a lot of things that will admit of interpretation that I am quite confident your rank and file members do not approve of, but absolutely repudiate.

Delegate McKillop: I don't think this convention here has been called to discuss a question of patriotism at this time, and I don't think it is important for this convention to discuss what is patriotism. I believe this convention is called to try to better the conditions of the working men and women throughout this country, and I move you that this matter be laid on the table.

The motion was seconded and lost on being put to vote.

Delegate Fisher (Jas. H.): In voting on this motion would I be endorsing the declaration or going against the declaration of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, do I endorse their principles? I would like something clearer. The mind is a peculiar mechanism and it is not open to receive such ambiguous phrases. I would like something more concrete than simply to endorse the patriotic sentiment of this declaration. Do I endorse the concrete, material basis of it, or do I just go on record as supporting your patriotism? The reason I ask the question, Mr. President, is because patriotism is a very, very broad subject, and it were better that I knew exactly whether I was voting on a set of principles or voting for that member's patriotism or this member's patriotism, or that section's patriotism or this section's patriotism.

I notice it is being used to cover all kinds of most tyrannical actions. I have four brothers in this war. I come from the country of those two fraternal delegates, and I was very interested and am particularly interested, but that is beside the question. I may endorse a given system of patriotism, but if it is the system of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy I shall not do so. I would like the question answered so that I may know how to vote. If it is dealing with those questions I shall have to know how I am going to vote on giving Jerusalem back to the Jews. I presume that was discussed at some length at Minneapolis.

Delegate DeNedrey: I would like that question answered, because it is of in-

terest to me. I don't know how to vote if I just vote on the spirit of patriotism. Do we endorse or do we not endorse the declaration of principles laid down by the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy?

President Gompers: What is there in that declaration so offensive to you?

Delegate Fisher: I shall find the good qualifications and otherwise, to my opinion, in the declaration, but until I know what I am voting on I prefer to retain my criticism or otherwise.

President Gompers: The delegate will then have to retain his criticism.

Delegate Fisher: It is the same thing all over and over again. You are placed in a peculiar position by the introduction of ambiguous motions, meaningless in their statements. Words can be used to designate something and designate nothing if it is possible for the mind to consider it. You state that I can retain my criticism. In the principles there is a reference to the abuse of the rights of free speech and free assemblage. This can be taken to a limit in which the rights of free speech and free assemblage can be abolished. Provided my opinions differ from my neighbor's and I have the right to suppress my neighbor's opinion, then I will immediately state to my neighbor: "You are not exercising the freedom of State, but the right of license." And insofar as I do that I immediately stop my neighbor's right of free assemblage and free speech.

This is being taken to a point where it is now broadcast throughout the land. Papers are being suppressed, speech is being suppressed, and vigilantes are being built up to a point where, as in Montana, that dastardly hanging of Little will never be forgotten. Then there is the Arizona affair, and that in Everett. Irrespective of the difference of opinion as regards the developments of the war, at least we give the right to the minority to express their opinion under any circumstances.

That is where the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy was born, in a most peculiar time. Why this democracy at this time? Why this great burst of patriotism when the People's Council was about to meet? Not that I am talking for the People's Council; it was the most puerile affair I ever saw in my life. But why this Alliance at this time? Why did they parade up the street with a party of sixty to meet those people? Russell, in my opinion, expresses more or less the opinions of the Minneapolis convention, and he has since gone with Root and others by asking that those who disagree with him and his type be shot.

My brother, eighteen years old, went into Flanders and was shot before six months. The mother who gave birth to six of us has lost four; in the great maelstrom of history they have gone down. Though that be true, it must be remembered that as long as war exists no man, no set of men, no nation can destroy the idea of peace. In that convention of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy it became completely obliterated And I am not jingoistic, either. I am no jingoist. But that wasn't so much a declaration of the feeling of patriotism as it was a declaration of those who particularly analyzed the war and the peculiar conditions surrounding it. The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy is an opposition movement more than it is an expression of the will of the great majority of the working class of this country.

Your statement that I can retain my criticism is one thing; you may destroy the chance of the tongue to give expression; you may stop the conference speaking; you may stop the hand from writing, but no man at no time can stop the mind from thinking. The people of this world today are thinking more than they ever thought in all their lives.

Delegate Brown (J. G.): It occurs to me that a great effort is being made to conceal something. For instance, it seems to me that about every man in this country who is keenly interested in profiteering is an intense patriot, and every man who wants to obstruct the Government and every man who wants to boost the I. W. W. is an intense advocate and defender of free speech. It strikes me that a great deal more headway would be made if matters were considered entirely upon their merits. I see no reason for the objections to the committee's report that have been made by the speakers who have addressed this convention. The committee's report on a subject previously dealt with specifically stated that all those who were denied the right of free speech, that that should be done through a process of jury trial, and should only be done through the findings of a jury, indicating that those who had abused the right of free speech should be punished by due process of law and trial by jury. It seems to me that that is sufficient, and clearly indicates the

position of the committee, that they are without qualification opposed to any suppression of free speech. I feel that we ought to emphasize our position in defense of the right of free speech and free press as emphatically as possible. I feel also that we ought to try to unmask the false patriots who are interested in profiteering under the name and behind the mask of patriotism by the same token. I believe that those who are undertaking to hamper the Government at this time and those who are secretly trying to promote the interests of organizations which have no other purpose than to pull us down ought also to be unmasked and the atmosphere clarified. Then, perhaps, it might be possible to view this matter free from prejudice and purely upon its merits.

May I call your attention to a circumstance that happened in Seattle. I believe that in Seattle particularly there is as good a labor movement as in any other place—better than in many places. When a proposition for the organization of a branch of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy was proposed to the central body the matter was referred to a committee. The committee brought back a report stating that they felt the central body was sufficiently able to care for the needs of organized labor, and they, therefore, discouraged the organization of a branch of the Alliance. But the other fellow didn't think the central body was enough. Immediately they began circularizing, holding meetings and trying to use the central body to promote their opposition organization, and it was felt that it was necessary either to see the regular central body dissolved or else organize a branch of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

It just so happens that I know something about the situation that the brother referred to up in Everett. I want to say that the action of the authorities up there deserves the whole-hearted condemnation of every decent citizen. I say that without any qualification, and I say also that the men who came in there and were not satisfied until they had got the whole country up in arms against them, came in there for the purpose of destroying the labor movement. They "horned in" at a place where they were not wanted; they were not asked to come, they were asked to stay away, but they came uninvited and unsolicited. I recognize they had the right to come, but I want to tell you that if there was ever an extreme provocation—we might just as well acknowledge the facts—if there was ever insult, abuse and vilification heaped upon public officials and legitimate labor organizations it was done by the men who were the victims of the Everett tragedy.

So that I say, for my part, I believe we should adopt the committee's report, and I believe that their report on a previous subject sufficiently indicates their attitude, and by the adoption of that report indicates the attitude of this convention. I believe we might very properly face more facts and undertake less concealment. I am not casting any reflection upon any delegate who disagrees with me. I can very easily understand that delegates may disagree with me and do so honestly, but I do submit that every man in the country who is trying to hamper the American Federation of Labor and about every man in the country who is trying to embarrass the Government is doing so under the cloak of free speech. Every man who is further trying to exploit the workers and further rob the farmers is doing so under the guise of patriotism. I therefore say to you that I am in favor of the report of the committee at this time.

Delegate Walker (John H.), Mine Workers: I attended the meeting of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy held in Minneapolis and was a member of that convention. When the convention was called I was sent a notification; I don't recall just who the secretary was, but President Gompers' name was mentioned in the communication, and before starting to that conference, I wired President Gompers asking if, as President of the American Federation of Labor, he favored the calling of that meeting. His answer was that he favored that meeting. Because men who pose as union men and under another guise as pacifists being opposed to war, in my judgment they have been paid by the German government for preaching sedition and weakening our government in the war, I felt that it was almost necessary to take some steps to counteract the effects of those traitors posing as trade unionists and as pacifists, and because of that feeling I went to that convention.

I think one of the first things that convention did was to go on record in opposition to the action of the Governor of that State and of the Governor of Illinois in preventing the Peace Council from meeting, and declaring emphatically in favor of free speech. The records will show that, and

the understanding reached by the delegates was clear and unmistakable, and to the effect that we favored free speech, and that at the same time we believed where men preached sedition or treason they should be called to account for the things they had said and done, and that they should be penalized as traitors for preaching sedition and treason.

There were no restrictions on free speech advocated by the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy; the only thing they did take a decided position against was the preaching of treason and sedition. That seems to have been very unfavorably received by a good many people. It seems to me we clearly understood what we were doing when we took that position. Personally, I agreed with that position, and insofar as I am concerned when a man or woman preaches sedition against our government at this time I am in favor as a minimum penalty of interning them. And if that is not sufficient to eliminate their influence in the interests of the Prussian autocrat I am in favor of taking what other steps are necessary to absolutely put a stop to it. There is no use of disguising the facts in the case. There are men and women in our country who because they have trade union cards are posing as pacifists and in reality going as far as they think they dare go without having to pay the penalty for preaching sedition. This war isn't child's play. In my judgment the issues involved mean more to the men and women of the labor movement, the only ones on earth who really want civilization and real democracy for the human race, than to any other element.

As far as I am concerned I do not want to injure any man. I am not going to consciously do any one an injustice, but at the same time I repeat there isn't anything that I can do, no matter what anybody thinks, no matter what the consequences may be, that I won't do to further the cause of our government in this war.

With reference to the attitude of Governor Lowden in the Springfield strike the records are clear so far as I am concerned in that matter. Before his election, because of his past and present actions with the Pullman Car Company, I did everything I could to oppose his election. I don't think Delegate Barnes could make it any stronger than I did over my own signature. Since being elected governor I may say to you that he has been about as reasonable as any employer can be who fills that position. I don't expect an employer to join our union and fight whole-heartedly for the things we are fighting for, but in comparison with the other governors who have filled the chair he has been about as reasonable as any one I know of.

Under the law in Illinois, when a sheriff calls for troops the only function the governor can perform is to either furnish them or not furnish them, and if the evidence is sufficient to justify him in believing that the situation is beyond the control of the sheriff then it becomes his duty to send the militia there. When they are sent there the sheriff is in control of them.

Delegate Barnes (interrupting): May I ask the gentleman a question? I have in my room papers showing on Monday, the 10th of September, that all of the papers accredited Governor Lowden with having used the troops against the parade of the union men. On Thursday of that week I had papers from Chicago showing that the governor said that the sheriff had asked for troops on Monday; he took full credit for it. Was it the sheriff or the governor? Since when does the sheriff control the troops against the governor's wish?

Delegate Walker: If I were going by newspaper reports for my information I expect I would have made the same mistake Delegate Barnes has. I happened to be on the job in Springfield in connection with this strike and on that account I have other sources for my information. If Brother Barnes will look up the law in Illinois he will find it is just as I have stated, that when troops are requested the only function the governor has is to decide whether or not he shall send them.

The night before the troops were given to the sheriff I personally protested to the chief of police, the sheriff, the mayor and the general in command at that time. I told them I believed the sheriff would handle the situation properly if he was on the square. And I believe that after I had taken the matter up with the three first named gentlemen, and I could not get any satisfaction from them and had taken it up with him, he asked me what I thought ought to be done, and I said: "If you will take the sheriff, the mayor and the chief of police over to the Illinois river and keep them there until the strike is over you won't have any trouble. If

you have the militia on the job in the morning my own convictions are, from the knowledge of human nature, that you will create more trouble than by pursuing any other course."

This company, with its headquarters in Philadelphia, had imported a number of gunmen, and they had done the same things they do everywhere. If there wasn't any trouble they created some in order to hold their jobs, because most of them are degenerates and their inclinations run in that direction anyhow. As a result of this trouble the governor said: "I am put in this position: If I let the sheriff have the militia, people who do not know the facts will blame me, and if I don't let them have the militia I may be blamed anyhow, if anything happens, so what am I to do?" I told him he had better not let the militia come and he said: "Will you agree that there won't be any trouble?" I said I would agree there would be no trouble if he would take the gunmen out of Springfield. He could not agree to this and I said I would not agree that there would be no trouble. On the following Thursday, the committee representing the strikers, and among them was an advisory committee from our own organization, went to see the governor and they said they were going to have a parade next Sunday. He said: "All right, if you want to have a parade next Sunday you can have it. You can have a parade tonight if you want it or any other time, but I am not going to make the mistake this coming Sunday of giving the sheriff any troops. If I send in troops over there it will have to be to suppress the gunmen and sheriff's deputies."

The result was that they held their parade, and I might say in connection with that matter that the committee that called on the governor said they had been treated with every courtesy, and that he had acted squarely with them and given them every consideration. I am not making that report myself—Delegate Barnes is smiling—if he will send to my office in Springfield he will get a copy of the report as submitted by these men themselves. I wouldn't have said anything in connection with this matter if it hadn't been for the mention of the situation in Springfield in which I was involved. We hope we will be able finally to get an agreement with that company. Let me say to you that so far as I know no single member of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy in any way, shape or form, encouraged the sending of those troops and no single member of the Alliance did anything to prevent those men from winning that strike. There wasn't anything I could think of or do that I didn't do to help them win.

With reference to the situation in Arizona—I don't know of the other cases, but I did have a little experience in Arizona recently that gave me an opportunity to get the direct positive evidence from the men involved in that situation themselves. That strike was called by the I. W. W.'s in face of the charter of the local union of the metalliferous miners having been revoked for their permitting themselves to be used by and acting in conjunction with the I. W. W.'s in Bisbee. There is no secret about their intention. They published part of their program, they proclaimed publicly the other portions of their program. Their first program was six dollars for six hours. They said as soon as they got that (they would not make any agreement) they were going to have eight dollars for four hours, and then they were going to have ten dollars for two hours and then twenty dollars for one hour. They said they were going to stop every copper mine producing copper in the United States. They expected to destroy the wheat and destroy the cotton. This may seem an exaggeration to you, but this is the statement given to us as part of the record by union men who haven't any sympathy whatever with the mine owners in that particular situation.

We reached an agreement in settlement of that dispute that permitted every man to go back to work who was willing to recognize the obligation of the contract, or who wasn't guilty of sedition or disloyal utterances toward our government at this time. On the Sunday before the settlement was reached the National President of that union, with an organizer, organized a local union of that organization, and for the first time in their history they have the unrestricted right to elect their own committee in whatever manner and at whatever time they see fit to take up any question, no matter what it is—wages, conditions, discrimination, or anything else—and the company agreed to meet with them and treat with them, and in the event they failed to reach a settlement, then, for the first time in their history, the final termination of the question passes out of the hands of the mine

owners and is vested in an arbitrator agreed to by both sides, represented by the United States Government, whose decision is final and binding.

I want to repeat again that so far as my convictions and my feelings in connection with the men who work for a living and the things they are entitled to are concerned, they are not changed one iota from the past. I wouldn't do anything consciously to restrict the right we have, to injure a man or a woman that is struggling to make things better for themselves, but when men and women openly assassinate the labor movement, which has cost so much and taken so much time to build up, when they jeopardize everything we have, when either consciously or unconsciously they do the only thing in our country that they can do to assist the Kaiser in defeating our nation in this war, I say to you again I feel that there is so much at stake that I am going to give myself the benefit of the doubt rather than the gentleman I consider a traitor. There isn't anything I know of that I won't do to squelch him and to assist our government at this time.

Delegate Sarah Shapiro: Many things were said here today which are the truth. Now, we want to fight for democracy, for labor and democracy. I, first of all, would like to know under what term you interpret democracy when it takes away the right from the people to express their opinions for or against. Now, when we say that we are going to have free press, and I heard those gentlemen expressing their opinion very much on the question of free press or speech and what it means to others, I wonder if we can expect democracy from Mr. Shontz, who claims to be a patriot, and that he gave so many people to defend his country, and that they have contributed so many dollars to defend democracy. I would like to know if any of you know the facts in the strike last year; what Mr. Shontz and his associates did for labor at that time.

Those who are fighting for real labor and democracy are suppressed; they are seditionists. I believe that every union man and woman who is fighting in this battle of democracy for the betterment of the workers cannot understand and feel that Mr. Shontz is going to bring us democracy. We believe that all who oppress labor are not patriots at all. They are patriots for their pockets, but they don't mean democracy for the workers as a whole. There are many of Mr. Shontz's character who claim to be democratic, and now they come to labor and say, "Come now and be with us; we have only one struggle." Yes. I would join Mr. Shontz to fight the Kaiser, providing I can pay the profits for the people and put them in my pocket. If he believes in bettering the conditions of the workers, why should any of those gentlemen into whose pockets the profits of this war go, not give up their wealth as well as they take the lives of the workers?

We come today and are asked to endorse this line of democracy, which means only to democratize their rights and to justify their rights and robs them under the name of patriotism. They come out today and a few days ago and they appeal to the workers to save the necessities of life, to save the bread and other needs in order to help out this war. What do we see? If we should only have a few more cents of pay we can get these needs. I am sure the members associated with this Alliance have the money to pay for the necessities. Yes, to be a patriot is very good, to fight against despotism is very good. I feel if I would be able to improve the conditions of the workers of this country I would be willing to join in this Alliance, but I know what it means. It means to take away the rights of the workers and to give them into the hands of the few who claim to be patriots, and for such a democracy I would not blame any one not to be a member of it. It is very well for some of you to come out and say, if we are not going to endorse this democracy it will mean that we are against this government. We can help this government and this country in many respects without giving up our labor rights, without associating with those who rob us and who now are trying to become partners in our business. They say they want to go with us in partnership and our interests are the same as theirs, but when it comes to the time of profit we are not shareholders in their business at all. They make the profits out of this war; they may be patriots, because the millions of dollars that will accumulate from the lives of the workers pays them to be patriots. I believe any one who refuses to endorse this Alliance, it is not because they are against this government, it is not because they are for the Kaiser, but they are against the conditions that prevail today and unless the capitalists will give up their rights, we will not try to assimilate with them.

But to join with them as long as they keep on making profits, we will have nothing to do with them and we cannot align with them.

Delegate Florence Etheridge: A great part of the issue which has come before us this afternoon seems to be on the question of free speech. Free speech, I think, is something that we must all stand for and the question is, whether by endorsing this resolution we shall be binding ourselves as against free speech or not. The matter has been brought up of a constitutional guarantee of free speech, but it seems to me we must not forget that the Constitution which guarantees and defines free speech also defines treason. I think we must all admit—I think we all want to look at this question thoroughly—we must all admit that the workers have been exploited in the name of patriotism; we must admit that to some extent free speech has been unwarrantedly suppressed. If a resolution were before this convention this afternoon which would protest against placing in the hands of the Postmaster General the right of deciding what was and what was not seditious, I would be very much in favor of such a resolution, but the fact that we must condemn a certain minor incident in this great question does not give us the right to condemn an organization which, on the whole, has stood for free speech and has stood for patriotism for our people.

At a time like this some sacrifices must be made. We must stand by our rights as working people, but in the time of war we must stand by the nation first, and I think we can do this without denying our rights and by standing for our rights to the very last degree in high places and in low places, but first of all we must be Americans.

Delegate Frey: The thought has been expressed from the floor that the committee had failed to do its full duty in not stating what it meant by the use of the term patriotism. The committee was of the opinion that every healthy-minded, clean-thinking, clear-thinking American workman would know exactly what the committee meant when it used that term. The discussion has taken a wide range. The committee's report deals with but one thing: Endorsing the patriotic work which has been done by the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. Apparently some of the delegates are not familiar with what was done by that conference. It may clarify the discussion and give them a clearer idea of what was involved in the use of the term patriotism if I read a few of the declarations adopted at that conference:

"We declare that a sturdy defense of the interests of labor is wholly compatible with supreme loyalty to the government. We fully recognize the many proofs given by the President and the administration chiefs to the principle that the war shall not be made an excuse for lowering any of the standards which have been established by labor in its long struggle. We declare, however, that predatory influences are at work at all times—and particularly in time of war—to lower these standards. These efforts, wherever made, must be resisted. Not only must all present standards be maintained, but there must be no curtailment of any of the present agencies which make for the betterment of the conditions of labor. Our loyalty to the government is the loyalty of free men who will not acquiesce in any surrender of principle.

"This war, which on our part is waged for the preservation of democracy, has already set in motion base forces for the furtherance and extension of democracy. Revolutionary changes have been made—changes which reveal the power and determination of a democratic people to control their own economic life for the common good. We declare that peace shall not be another name for reaction, but that the gains thus far made for labor should be maintained in perpetuity.

"We declare that a condition which demands the conscription of men likewise demands the conscription of wealth, and that incomes, excess profits and land values should be taxed to the fullest needs of the government.

"We declare that industrial enterprises should be the servants and not the masters of the people; and that in cases where differences between owners and workers threaten a discontinuance of production necessary for the war, the government should assume complete control of such industries and operate them for the exclusive benefit of the people. . . .

"Fully realizing that the perpetuity of the democratic institutions is involved in freedom of speech, of the press and of assemblage we declare that these essen-

tial rights must be guarded with zealous care lest all other rights be lost. We declare, however, that where expressions are used which are obstructive to the government in its conduct of the war, or are clearly capable of giving aid and comfort to the nation's foes the offenders should be repressed by the constituted authorities in accordance with established law."

Your committee believes that these declarations of principle made it clearly evident what the purposes of this Alliance were, and for that reason we find it absolutely unnecessary further to define patriotism. Let me read you the pledge:

"The undersigned hereby affirms that it is the duty of all the people of the United States, without regard to class, nationality, politics or religion, faithfully and loyally to support the government of the United States in carrying on the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion and gives this pledge to uphold every honorable effort for the accomplishment of that purpose, and to support the A. F. of L. as well as the declaration of organized labor's representatives made March 12, 1917, at Washington, D. C., as to 'Labor's Position in Peace or in War,' and agrees that this pledge shall be his right to membership in this conference of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy."

Your committee believes that its report should be adopted.

Delegate Burke (John P.): Why have we been asked to endorse the patriotic work of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy? If the members of the Alliance have performed a patriotic work and patriotic acts, why is it necessary for the American Federation of Labor to endorse this work and their acts? If there are patriotic individuals in the Alliance I would suggest that they do their patriotic work quietly and modestly. The real patriot, when he performs a patriotic deed or act, does not parade his patriotism in the newspapers. There are plenty of people in this country who are doing patriotic work and performing patriotic deeds, for instance, the boys in the various training camps. I know a lot of these soldier boys and I find the most of them very modest. I have several relatives, nephews and cousins, in the army at the present time, and in a few weeks or months they will be in France. They are not swaggering around; they are not parading their patriotism; they don't want the American Federation of Labor to endorse their patriotic work; they are not trying to get their names in the newspapers.

Now it seems funny to me that when this committee came in and wanted us to endorse the patriotic acts and work of the Alliance they didn't specify the patriotic acts that have been performed by its members. What patriotic work have you done? How many of your members are in the trenches over in France? I would like to have the committee specify clearly the patriotic deeds and acts that have been performed by the Alliance. We know they went to Minneapolis on a red, white and blue special and they drew up sets of resolutions and so on, and they got the American Federation of Labor to go on record and endorse their acts, and had a big parade in Minneapolis. That is great patriotic work to get their names in the newspapers about.

I don't see why we should endorse the patriotic work of this Alliance any more than we should endorse the patriotic work of any other organization—the Women's Sewing Circle or some other organization. My advice is that these individuals who make up the Alliance, if they are doing a patriotic work, all well and good; keep it up, but do it quietly and modestly, and don't come before the American Federation of Labor to get our endorsement so you will get your names in the newspapers that you are such great patriotic citizens.

Delegate Greenstein: I want to ask the President to define the meaning of conscription of property for the benefit of this convention.

President Gompers: Among the duties prescribed for the President of the American Federation of Labor are not included definitions of terms.

Delegate Greenstein: We live in an exceptional time when human life is conscripted. There is nothing more precious for human society than human life. Labor assembled in this convention must take a definite stand through resolutions with regard to conscription of property. So much has been said and written about it that it would certainly interest us in this time when we need billions, when we need the means of transportation, when we need the mines, when we need the air and everything that is in the ground. What does labor mean when it speaks of conscription of property?

Considering the President as the au-

thority of this organization, I would naturally ask him for a definition. I know the President's views. The organization that I represent has discussed the question of conscription of wealth and property. It would be beneficial for the entire labor movement of this country if an opinion on this question would be brought out from the convention of the entire labor movement, and it would be a patriotic act on the part of the Federation.

Delegate Hevey: I need not tell you what Canada and the labor movement of Canada has done in this war. Each and every one of you know that in the Dominion we have sent over 400,000 men to the trenches, and a great many of you know that we have over 100,000 casualties; that is, over one in every four men we have sent is back home or in the hospital in England or in France. I think I am justified in getting in on this argument when I tell you that I am one of those in Canada who have been rejected. We have thousands of our men who have been rejected; our physical system was wrong, but our backbone was right, and I want to say that I am heartily in accord with extending to the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor.

There isn't too much that we can do for any society, for any organization that is doing something at the present time to assist the great nation in the fight for democracy. Many of you, or rather some of the speakers who have preceded me, have spoken on what is free speech and what is democracy. Some of you say free speech is one thing and some say it is another. On the other hand, the government of the country, of whatever country we may live in, is the people, and the government says what shall be free speech and what shall not be free speech. They say that what shall not be free speech is treason. If you say anything detrimental to the fundamental principles of the government that is treason.

Gentlemen, if you are good enough to live in the country, or if the country is good enough to live in, it is good enough to fight for, and I believe that every true American, every true labor man who is a believer in democracy will at this time put his shoulder to the wheel and do everything possible for the winning of the war. I just want to let you know that we in Canada will stand behind you and with you "until the cows come home," as the saying goes.

Delegate Cannon (Jos. D.): I don't think this convention should be interested to that extent in the work of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy to undertake to condemn or approve its activities. If a body of men and women are so interested in a particular object they have an absolute right to organize and further the object in which they are so much interested. I may not agree with them in that purpose, in fact I may possibly disagree strongly with them, but, nevertheless, regardless of what my position may be, or the position of any other individual or set of individuals may be, it is their right to organize and further that purpose so long as they keep themselves within the legal means of so doing.

As to the activities of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, I am not very familiar with their work, for the reason that for the greater part of the summer and fall I was out of touch with what was doing in the eastern portion of our country. But let those activities be what they will, I think they should stand or fall on their own merits and that this convention should not be asked to take any action upon them. If there are certain principles of loyalty, of patriotism, of fealty or fidelity that this convention thinks it should express, let this convention take the matter up as the property of this organization and express it independently of any other organization. I think that the American Federation of Labor is big enough and powerful enough to stand on its own feet, and while I don't doubt for a moment that there will be some resolutions passed at this convention with which I will not agree, and others with which I will be in hearty accord, the fact remains that it is not our business either to endorse or condemn the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

The question at issue is one which will give this labor movement a better opportunity in the future by leaving the Labor Council or the Alliance entirely alone. If it is not big enough to stand on its own action, to live by its own deeds, then we have got no business helping to carry it along, and if it is big enough it doesn't need our assistance. We are not called upon to finance that organization. What it does or does not do is none of our business so long as it does not interfere with the prerogatives of this organization.

XUM

If I will be permitted I would like to amend the report of the committee in this way:

"That it is the sense of this convention that the activities of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, so long as they do not interfere with the work or the purposes of the American Federation of Labor, are no concern of this body and are not matters meriting either the approval or disapproval of this body, and that no action be taken on the matter."

The amendment was seconded.

Delegate DeNedrey: I arise to a point of order. The delegate offered his amendment after he had discussed the question.

President Gompers: The point of order is not well taken.

Delegate Woll: I am opposed to the amendment offered and I favor the committee's report. I am rather surprised at the species of reasoning and logic of those opposed to the committee's report. Brother Walker has well answered the statements of Comrade Barnes, as well as indicated that the objections that he has entered against the committee's report are not germane to the subject and have nothing whatever to do with the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy or its work.

As for the delegate on my right, who with his eloquent but subtle logic I think inadvertently expressed the entire truth of the matter when he referred to the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy as an opposition movement to the People's Council, I agree with him to this extent, that if the motive were in opposition to the work of the People's Peace Council, and the work of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy is patriotism as expressed throughout its existence and its declarations, then the work of the People's Council by that same eloquence is the work of disloyalty and traitorism. If the issue is that then I can't see where any American citizen can quibble as to where his position ought to be.

Something has been said about stopping the meetings of the People's Peace Council in Minneapolis and in Chicago. May I speak just this thought on that question? I was present at the New York State Federation of Labor convention held in Jamestown, N. Y., and Mr. Gompers was in attendance to address that convention. On the morning it was flashed over the wires that the Governor of Minnesota had denied the People's Peace Council the right to meet. President Gompers asked permission of that convention to rise and enter his protest against the action of the Governor of Minnesota, against the denial of free speech and the right to associate and to meet to those people of the Peace Council. And so when we speak of motives let us deal fairly and honestly with the subject matter.

The committee's report is very clear to me. It says that we shall endorse the good patriotic work of the Alliance. As I understand that report, it means the endorsement of the principles declared for and the work in promulgating those principles among our people. I understand it not to be actually in support of the association itself, but I know that the President of this Federation is also the President of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, and a refusal to endorse the good work of that Alliance means to place the President of this Federation in a most unenviable and embarrassing light and situation before our people and the public generally.

As to the Alliance itself I realize that the American Federation of Labor, by its rules and requirements, cannot admit into its membership only such of the public as are members of affiliated organizations, and that therefore in undertaking such a great national question and such a great world problem it is essential to attract to ourselves and to secure for ourselves the support of those who are not members of organized labor. Hence the necessity of such an organization, which can bring in all of the elements within our society in one group to promulgate and to further the principles declared for by that Alliance. As for the principles themselves, let me say to you that those principles were drafted practically by three men, two of whom were trade unionists and one a Socialist. To be specific, the committee that drafted that declaration consisted of Brothers Grant Hamilton, W. J. Ghent of Los Angeles and the speaker, and I ask every one of you if, after careful analysis of these principles, there can be the slightest hesitancy on the part of any man or woman understanding the economic situation and the struggles of the workers who will not acquiesce in those principles. Just briefly to review: The first is a declaration of unswerving adherence to democracy—government of

the people, by the people and for the people in its fullest sense.

In the second paragraph we declare "that the one overshadowing issue is the preservation of democracy, that either democracy will endure and men will be free or autocracy will triumph, and the race will be enslaved. We declare that the great war must be fought to a decisive result; that until autocracy is defeated there can be no hope of an honorable peace, and that to compromise the issue is only to sow the seed for bloodier and more devastating wars in the future."

Is there any one in this hall who entertains the slightest doubt that if the military government of Germany is successful over all the nations combined now fighting them that we will maintain our ideals of democracy and that we will not be compelled to establish a world-wide militarism, a thing we have denounced for many years?

And in the third paragraph we say: "We declare our abhorrence of war and our devotion to the cause of peace." Yes, we love peace too, but we say there are some things that are dearer to mankind than even peace. Do you realize that this nation was only constructed and built up by the loss of blood, and not by the advocacy of peace? But we say, "This war, so relentlessly forced upon us, must now be made the means of insuring a world-wide and permanent peace."

In this crisis the only fundamental need is unity of action. Yes, we need that, and hence the necessity of these declarations of this organization and of every organization having that purpose in mind. In the next paragraph we denounce the words and actions of those enemies of the Republic who, falsely assuming to speak in the name of labor and democracy, are now ceaselessly striving to obstruct the operations of the government. Does that hurt any one in this convention? If it does, let him wear that shoe; he deserves it.

We say: "We declare that a sturdy defense of the interests of labor is wholly compatible with supreme loyalty to the government." Apply that to Springfield to find that the Alliance does not condemn loyalty of the labor movement to its organization and its aspirations, but holds that they are entirely compatible one with the other.

In the next paragraph we say: "This war, which on our part is waged for the preservation of democracy, has already set in motion base forces for the furtherance and extension of democracy. Revolutionary changes have been made—changes which reveal the power and determination of a democratic people to control its own economic life for the common good. We declare that peace shall not be another name for reaction, but that the gains thus far made for labor should be maintained in perpetuity."

That is true, because this rule of democracy, this ideal of the rule of the people is receiving a new thought, is developing a new conception. Everywhere the world over we hear it applied to industrial as well as political life, and so the rule of democracy is developing and extending rapidly, more rapidly than even the most advanced thinkers thought possible.

We declare for conscription of wealth. The delegate on my right demands a definition of conscription of wealth. I will read the description and the definition of what this principle means:

"We declare that a condition which demands the conscription of men likewise demands the conscription of wealth, and that income, excess profits and land values should be taxed to the fullest needs of the government."

That is one method of conscription. Further on we speak of the necessities of life. We declare that, "the government should take prompt action with regard to the speculative interests which especially during the war have done so much to enhance prices of the necessaries of life. To increase the food supply and to lower prices, the government should commandeer all land necessary for public purposes and should tax idle land in private possession on its full rental value." It means, if necessary, that the government shall take all lands, and all lands means likewise all appurtenances to land, and if we need any more comprehensive description then I am indeed sorry for the operation of the minds of some.

Then we go on and we declare: "That the right of the wage earners to collective action is the fundamental condition which gives opportunity for economic freedom and makes possible the betterment of the workers' conditions." Again, trade unionism and the ideal of collective bargaining expressed in these definitions, and so throughout its principle the ideals of American labor have been emphatic-

ally and clearly, and not as the getleman on my right says, ambiguously expressed.

There is also a declaration in here endorsing the declarations of the American Federation of Labor at its meeting held before the war, wherein it expressed its loyalty to the nation and has laid down certain conditions it demanded for its patriotic service. And so throughout this document and its work there can be no division in any clear-thinking mind and in any true American soul as to where his position lies on this declaration. To me this reasoning against the committee's report, this evading of the true purpose of the objection is clear. To me the issue before us at this time is this: Are you loyal to the nation, are you a true American, are you going to give the best within you to see that this war comes to an early and successful conclusion, and that the ideals of democracy and justice and freedom will spread and extend throughout the universe?

That is the sole issue involved, no matter how you may clothe your thoughts, no matter how you may disguise your motives. To say that we should not express our viewpoint on that now is equal to a condemnation, and let him who wants to take that position stand up and be counted. Let him who is disloyal to the government take the full consequences of such an act. Let us be fair, let us be honorable, let us be upright, let us be honest with ourselves first, with our fellow-citizens and honest with the people of our nation and our government.

Delegate Bowen: I ask that when the vote is taken on this proposition the roll be called:

Delegate Voigt: The last speaker has said something about those of us that are willing to stand up and be counted. On certain questions I am one of them, and if I stood in this hall alone on a certain position I would have the nerve to tell you just where I stood.

We have heard a good deal about democracy and patriotism, and we have heard some declarations read from the platform. And they very carefully read four or five of them and then skip a couple of them and then read another. I propose to read to you one that is in between those that have been read. It is on page 83:

"We declare our full accord with the declarations agreed upon by the conference of American trade unionists called by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. held in Washington, D. C., March 12, 1917, in which the representatives of affiliated national and international trade unions and the railroad brotherhoods participated."

I want to tell you brothers that I have been sent here from the Pacific Coast for one purpose, and that is to fight the kind of democracy that is spreading through the labor movement as it has been spreading through our government. There are two kinds of democracy, apparently, and the one kind that I stand for is the oldest kind, that depends upon the will of the rank and file as expressed by a referendum or any other expression. We are tired of our international officers signing agreements for us without our consent and making scabs of us. I want to tell you just how this thing worked out.

We had a ship-building controversy on the Pacific Coast and I am a member of the Electrical Workers. Our marine local at that time was affiliated and is still affiliated with the Iron Trades Council and we were forbidden to go out on strike. Why? Because of that agreement entered into in our name without our consent—that's democracy! The effect of that was that we were ordered to scab upon our fellow-workers. We didn't do it, and no matter what position you may take in this convention you will never make me scab on a fellow-worker.

Delegate Duncan (James A.): I arise to concur in what the brother from San Francisco said. The union from which I come repudiates any action taken illegally by our international officers, and we through our Constitution say when we shall and when we shall not strike. All we ask is our international sanction or lack of sanction. So much for that.

With regard to other matters which have been discussed this afternoon I want to say, and I believe you will all agree with me, that almost to a man we are for peace and we are opposed to this war. However, conditions are radically changing, and no matter how much we may have been opposed to war and for peace we are forced by force of circumstances to change our attitude somewhat. The greatest force of circumstances is simply this: That a little while ago when we were talking the loudest none of our members were across the water. Today many holding union cards have gone into the trenches, have been forced into the

trenches against their will and against the will of the American Federation of Labor as expressed over and over again. However, we are confronted with the fact that those thousands of our fellow trades unionists are today in the trenches and they are calling upon us for munitions and supplies in order to defend their lives.

So I say today conditions have radically changed. We have a very bitter pill to swallow. Seattle was picked out and much maligned for its attitude with regard to the war. We knew where we stood with regard to peace and war. We in Seattle knew that what the fraternal delegates said the other day was true, that the war was the result of family quarrel between royalists, and we could not enthuse the people, and it has taken an awful lot to make us enthuse over this damnable question of war. But we are confronted with a different position. I am very glad to see the freedom of discussion allowed this afternoon, and I hope nobody will move the previous question until every one has an opportunity to get off his chest what he has on it, so we will all feel much better and go back and tell our constituents just what happened.

With regard to what has been said about certain elements of workers I want to say that I penned a resolution which showed where the Seattle Labor Council stood with regard to the I. W. W.'s and President Gompers agreed with it. It set forth in no uncertain terms what we thought of them. Those men who went up to Everett were called there by members of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Brown (J. G.): I would like to ask if they were called there by officials of the Federation?

Delegate Duncan: They were called there by representatives of the Timber Workers' organization and the matter was stated on the witness stand.

Delegate Brown: I deny that; they were not.

Delegate Duncan: Brother Bob Mills is the man who admits that he took down the receiver and said: "Come on up." With regard to the attitude of the council in the city of Seattle, there are no more patriotic citizens anywhere in the United States than that group of delegates who meet every Wednesday night in the labor temple. They have certain definitions of patriotism and I say to you that practically every man and mother's son in the American labor movement demonstrated their patriotism long before the declaration of war, and there is no need of questioning their patriotism today. They will be there when they are called. They are standing by the President and they are going to continue to stand by him, but every once in a while, harking back to the time when our President spoke things that were not true and indicated ignorance of the labor movement, they are going to take the liberty to offer a little advice when they think they know more about the labor situation than our President does.

So far as this organization endorsing the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy and the patriotic acts of the Alliance are concerned, that is a different thing. I am willing to endorse every patriotic act of every mother's son that does a patriotic act. I am willing now, taking this report and reading it literally, I am in hearty accord with it.

The Central Labor Council of Seattle is not yet ready to endorse it. Many of our laboring men were approached by the Post-Intelligencer, the most stand-pat newspaper in Seattle, when the call for the Alliance was made. They approached me and I said I would not give them a verbal statement, but that I would write one down. I also said something like this: "That so far as the People's Council and the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy are concerned I have examined both calls and see much of merit in each of them. The call in each case was sent by men, many of whom are among the best citizens and most patriotic citizens that our American continent ever knew. However, I question the wisdom of the Alliance calling a convention and meeting at the same time and place as the People's Council, but I hope that much good will come of it. In going over the two programs I see in the Alliance program a section which reads: "We are for democracy in industry." And I said at that time, in that interview, that if the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy succeeded in democratizing the industries of this nation it would have earned the undying appreciation of the workers of America, and the People's Council, which brought the Alliance into existence, would not have been born in vain.

And so I say today, as our labor movement has said all of the time, that the American Federation of Labor is big enough and broad enough through which

we can and will express ourselves, and if there are any other workers who are on the outside and want to come in and give expression, our doors are wide open, ready to accept the other 20,000,000 workers who ought to be in our movement. We say there is no need for any other organization through which to express ourselves.

Delegate Brown (J. G.): Do you know of your own knowledge that Mr. Mills ever directly communicated with you to send men up there?

Delegate Duncan: He didn't communicate with me.

Delegate Berry: The question as to the advisability of the consideration of this important subject of the endorsement of the principles of this association is doubtful in my mind. I believe that the committee should have brought in a clear-cut and clean position upon this subject. It is possible that they will later make reference to this very important matter, but we are placed now in a position, Mr. Chairman, of either endorsing the position of our government, because the patriotic principles which have been recommended to this convention by the committee embody all of the subject matter which has to do with this present war.

As a delegate to this convention I cannot for one second hesitate in rising at this time to give my endorsement unqualifiedly to the position of our government in this great war. We might as well cut off the fringes in this matter and not attempt to stampede ourselves or disregard the situation we are confronted with. If there is any delegate in this convention or any member of the American labor movement who thinks for one minute that we are attempting a pink tea party in this world conflict he is sadly mistaken, and it is important, Mr. Chairman, that we bring ourselves to the true realization of the condition that confronts the working men and women of the world.

No delegates in this convention nor no member of the labor movement of this country or any other country wants war. We are all opposed to war, but in this situation we are confronted with a condition something like the fire that occurs in the mountains, the forest fires, if you please. There is abroad in the world a great fire, and as a practical fireman I know how to put the fire out, and the only way to put it out and save our institutions, save our homes and to save our independence and liberties is to backfire on this fire, and that is what the American labor movement has to do in this situation.

England and France and their colonies have set out with the first fire to stop the flame of militarism, and they haven't succeeded. It becomes the great duty of the American nation to join with them in putting out the second back-fire in order that this flame might be stopped and the free institutions of their government and our government might be fully protected as a result of our joint action.

The principles that have been offered by this committee embrace an unqualified endorsement of the government's position in this war. It goes to the point and meets with my full and complete approval wherein it emphasizes the necessity and the need, if it comes to that point, of conscripting the wealth of this country in order to bring about a successful conclusion of this war. I join in this situation, I give my voice and efforts to this, not because I believe in militarism, but because I oppose militarism, and I believe the time has arrived in the history of the world where free men can eliminate from the face of the earth militarism if we will stand together and support the great cause as exemplified by the American Government.

Moreover, I am enthusiastic in this proposition because I believe that in Washington we have a man at the head of our government who is more opposed to war or as much opposed to war as any delegate seated upon this convention floor --opposed to war, but preparing for it. Why? In order to insure this country of its freedom from militarism as exemplified by the German Government.

You say to yourselves, some of you, why should we be in this conflict? There was no apparent intention upon the part of the German Government to invade America. I say to you that there is more than one way to "skin a cat." It might be possible that there was no intention to land troops in America, but, my friends, if the German Government had succeeded in defeating England, France and their allies what would have been the automatic condition brought about on the face of the earth? The master of the sea, the master of the ships, the master of commerce and the master of the gold of the earth—the German Kaiser, and who

is it that wants to bow to that kind of a situation?

But you say, "We have suspicioned for some time that this is a commercial war. When you speak of the German Government becoming master of the ports, the seas and the gold it brings us back to the point of its being a commercial war. What is the situation? We know that our means of existence depend upon our medium of exchange. We know that if we are forced to the whims and fancies of the German Government that our economic conditions in this country will not be regulated by our American Federation of Labor or by our government, but by the Kaiser in Berlin. Who is it in the American labor movement that wants to surrender that position?

I say to you that we should endorse unanimously the recommendation of this committee, and every man here should go back to his city, to his local union and to his international union and put his shoulder to the wheel to assist this government in the prosecution of the war in order that it might be brought to an early and successful conclusion. Labor in America is going to play the most important part in this situation. It is not only up to us very largely in supplying the men, but it is up to us to supply the food and munitions for the men in our armies, and we cannot afford to place ourselves in a position of abridging this work that means the salvation of our homes, our free institutions and our lives. We must not permit of this subject being misconstrued. If the amendment offered by Delegate Cannon is adopted it would go abroad in this and other countries that we had turned down the government. A resolution that you might offer tomorrow endorsing the government's position would not undo the damage caused by the endorsing of this amendment.

It is time we should stand up and be counted, in the words of Delegate Woll of the Photo-Engravers, and I join in the opinion as expressed by Delegate Walker that if we have a traitor in our movement I am one prepared to join in his elimination through any means whatsoever in the interest of our government. The labor movement today occupies a position in this country unequaled in the history of the world, and we cannot take any half-way measures upon this subject. We must go to the bat and bring this war to an early conclusion and show that we stand for the kind of democracy that we have been preaching in this country for the last thirty-seven years.

Delegate McNulty: As one of the International officers referred to by a previous speaker, I want to let this convention know just what those international officers did. I happened to be one of those representatives of labor who met in Washington on May 12, 1916, and I, as a party to the declaration set forth by that conference, have nothing to feel ashamed of for taking part in that conference. I hazard the opinion that if that conference was not comprised wholly of true Americans perhaps some other kind of a declaration might have been set forth. But our country was dragged into this war, and as citizens of this country, it was our duty to allow our fellow-citizens to know where the labor movement stood upon the question, and the part that the labor movement intended to take in bringing the war to a successful conclusion.

It was well said by some of the previous speakers that men within our own ranks, hiding behind the trade union card that they carry in their pockets, are working day and night to impede the progress of our Brotherhood, trying to put forth not what is good for the government of ourselves, but what is good for the Kaiser, and I hazard the opinion some of them are being well paid for it, because the evidence was brought forth to my satisfaction on a visit to the West, to the Rocky Mountain States, last summer.

One of the delegates stated that the international officers signed an agreement without the consent of the respective local unions. The Constitution that I hold in my hand of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers states clearly that disputes between our members and their employers shall be settled by arbitration if possible when conciliation fails, and when the opportunity was presented to the international officers I as one took this view of it: If we are going to submit our differences with private employers to arbitration is it not fair, is it not right that we should do the same thing when our government asks us in such a crisis as confronts us at this time? I authorized President Gompers to put my signature to that agreement the brother refers to, and if he asks me again tomorrow, I will do the same thing over again.

Every opportunity that we have given our government to settle the differences

that have arisen between the workers and the government in its various departments has been settled, sometimes not to our entire satisfaction, but those settlements are not positive. What I mean by that is, they can be re-opened if they are not satisfactory to us. The strike the brother refers to where our international brotherhood did not sanction it—I want to say that we were not asked to sanction it until the strike occurred, and when my signature through President Gompers, by my authority, had been placed upon that agreement I intended to do everything to carry out the provisions of that agreement to the end.

I say that at this time it is the duty of the American labor movement, regardless of the snakes that have crawled in among us like they do in the grass and can't be seen, and who are trying to overturn every effort that we put forth in defense of the government, trying to stop the production that is necessary for us to supply our blood relations—I dare say there isn't a man or woman in this convention who hasn't some blood relation either in France or in the cantonments in this country ready to go to fight the battles for democracy—I say that those men should be rooted out wherever they are found, and I join with Brother Berry and Brother Woll in anything that I can do. I don't care what it may mean, I am willing to go the limit with them or other trade unionists to rid the movement of them, because they are a detriment to us and they are no good to us and I hope that they have manhood enough to get up and express themselves if they are in our midst, as they really feel. No, they veil their expressions; they hide behind the real facts and try to prevent our movement from setting forth to the people of this great country where we really stand toward the people of the government in this war.

Vice-President Duncan: As chairman of the committee I did not intend to rise to debate the subject. As far as my individual views are concerned they have been spoken by others, and my own would therefore be but a repetition. I can speak for every member of the Committee on Resolutions in that statement.

I arise, however, to correct a thought which was expressed by the delegate from California and corroborated by Delegate James A. Duncan from Seattle. The delegate from California said that the paragraphs on page 83 that suited the purpose of the committee had been read, but that a little one in the middle of the page had not been read. The fact of the matter is that when the subject was being discussed by Delegate Woll he not only referred to the paragraph in question but he read it and explained. My opinion is this: That the delegate from California, in referring to this paragraph about the meeting held in Washington March 12, 1917, is entirely in error. This action was taken before the war occurred. It had nothing to do with striking, neither asking them to strike or not to strike. It was the subsequent document. That to which Delegate McNulty has just referred is what he had in his mind, but is not in that report.

Delegate Hayes (Max): The discussion has taken a wide range. We have covered everything between here and Berlin and back again so far as it relates to the war in one sense or another in discussing the report of the committee relative to the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy.

I am not a member of the Labor Alliance nor the People's or Workmen's Council—so-called—because I was not clear in my own mind as to what either or both of these organizations could accomplish that could not be accomplished as well or perhaps better by the American Federation of Labor and the state and city central bodies as well as the local unions. It so happens within my travels I come in contact largely with the laboring men and women in the smaller towns in the section of the continent on further west. And naturally in these travels I have been asked my opinion respecting one or the other of these organizations. In turn I inquired what the sentiment was in that particular community, and I found universally that there was no great excitement about it, that there was practically little interest displayed, there was no organization in existence because the laboring people believe if action were required it would come along in the natural and usual way through their organization machinery. So, like perhaps a great many delegates here on this floor—and I know thousands and perhaps hundreds of thousands of union men of the country—I did not join either one of these bodies because I considered that sooner or later there would be some overlapping or some contention or friction pass between this so-called Labor Alliance and the People's Council, and the Lord knows we have had plenty of them in the labor movement up to this

juncture and it is not necessary to go out and hunt more trouble still.

I have no objections to any body of citizens, union men or non-union, forming some sort of an organization that they believe is going to be helpful along the line of improving general conditions for the people as a whole. If that is the purpose of giving endorsement to the patriotic effort or to the Alliance itself it is certainly not objectionable to me. I see nothing in the platform or the manifesto that was formulated at the Minneapolis convention that should be objectionable to any person who takes or tries to take a progressive position in our society.

Some of the delegates who attended that convention and who I have heard upon this floor have characterized as radical and extreme, impossible and impracticable and God knows what not, some of the very sentiments included in the Minneapolis platform. You speak about democratizing industry. Do you know what that means? How many times in the last dozen or more years have some of us been upon this floor advocating that very principle, only to be ridiculed and condemned and denounced as a bunch of "red-buttoned fanatics," or something of that kind. Now, you want to endorse an organization that has gone on record in favor of not only democratizing industry, but of conscripting wealth. Ye gods and little fishes! You want to go out and confiscate the wealth that has been so honestly accumulated by Morgan and Rockefeller and that is now being scooped up by the barrels by the same war profiteers. I have never stood upon this floor and heard the wildest of the wild Socialists ever advocate confiscating wealth, and you are going now to endorse an organization that favors that. Well, more power to you! I bid God speed to that Alliance if it can bring about or if it can democratize industry, conscript wealth, socialize the war industries particularly, and then I think we will be making pretty good progress. It will be quite satisfactory to me for the time being at least.

The war industry, as I interpret it, has become so interlocked that it is difficult to put your finger on any particular industry that is not engaged in producing something, in furnishing some supplies or another to carry on this conflict abroad.

A delegate (interposing): How about the jewelry?

Delegate Hayes: Well, listen here. The profiteers are the ones who are getting the jewelry, and if you conscript wealth you conscript jewelry.

I happen to be a member of the coal committee appointed by our state dictator over in Ohio, and I had occasion to make a little investigation along with other members of that committee of the gentlemen who tried to freeze the people of the State of Ohio to death unless they would come across with all the way from eight to fifteen dollars for a ton of coal. We discovered that whereas they were not satisfied with a profit of 25 cents a ton at the mines, they now want three or four dollars or even more profit on a ton of coal. Although a price of $2.15 was placed on coal at the mines, based on the President's proclamation, they wanted to lay it down in our bins at from eight to ten dollars at the very least, and we are still face to face with that problem.

Where goes the difference between the wages that are received by the mine workers, and even conceding a fair profit to the operators, and the difference that we must pay as consumers? Small wonder, then, that any one who would interfere with this sort of profiteering is immediately denounced as a slacker and a traitor. We have heard it often on this floor. Any one who objects to the sand-bagging tactics that have been waged in this country during the past three years becomes thereupon an object of suspicion. He is interfering with the war; he is controlled by the push of militarism. Isn't it a peculiar thing that after all these charges have been paraded in the daily newspapers, in reading articles and in daily editorial columns, yet they have not been applied, at least I have not heard where a single individual has been pinned down and exposed to the country as being a paid hireling of the Kaiser. For one, as an American citizen, I would like to see some of these exposures that are continually threatened and with which the workers for the most part have been continually charged.

There is hardly a strike called in our section of the country but you read upon the conclusion or even at the opening sentence that German agents are probably at work to shut down this plant or that plant. That is paraded for a few days and then it is usually forgotten. I don't know of any important strike that the charge hasn't been raised that it was influenced

by agents of the Kaiser. That is the situation we are face to face with and I say that it comes with mighty poor grace from delegates to mouth that old charge, that infamous statement upon the floor of this convention simply because some member does not agree with him upon the interpretation of this or any other question. Let the plutocrats do that, but keep it out of our own ranks. If there is anything more disgusting to me than anything else in the world it is this everlasting farcical, hypocritical, "holier-than-thou" attitude assumed by some people to show that they are better citizens than some of the rest of us.

I do not believe in my own heart that there are any considerable number of American citizens traitors to this country. I don't believe one-tenth of 100 per cent. of working men would knowingly do a single thing that would encourage Prussian militarism as against American democracy. For that reason I repudiate these assertions that are continually made, not only by the plutocratic press, but even mimicked by some men in the labor movement who ought to know better. Our duty is plain; let us keep our eyes on the main goal.

I fought with all the power that I possess to try to prevent this country being plunged into this conflagration. When President Wilson and Congress declared war, my duty as an American citizen of the third generation, who was born in this country and knows no other, prefers it above all others, my duty was plain and that was to stand up as an American citizen and fight this war out, no matter how long it takes. That's our position. I know, Mr. President, I feel that since we have gone into the war we are making history not only so far as it concerns the battlefield, but we are making economic history; we are making more progress perhaps than we realize when such men as Lloyd George and others in Europe and some of our ablest thinkers in this country had stated that this old world cannot go back to the conditions that existed before the war. They spoke a great truth.

You take about socialism as we have discussed it in former conventions and may discuss it at this convention. In Europe, as in America, those who believe in the principles of collectivism, as I have stated before, were radical, and yet what do we find now? Is there one government in Europe today that isn't compelled to fly to collectivism in order to put forth its best efforts over the enemy country? In Germany, we read, in Austria, in Great Britain and in France huge industries have been taken over in whole or in part or are controlled by their several governments. They realized that the old individualistic idea of capitalism, everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost, does not work out in war. Hence they were compelled to take refuge in seizing control of the industry and likewise in conscripting wealth.

Now, then, the road has been paved for us by those other countries and we are gradually going to do precisely what they have done. We have our food dictator, our coal dictator, our railway dictator, and how far would we get? You pick up every daily newspaper and you read that Hoover and Garfield have announced that So-and-So established a price on this or that commodity. You know that when you make the purchase you are hampered in just precisely the same way as before this edict came out of Washington. Why? Because of the fact that those who are in control of the retail and manufacturing institutions are in business, not because of their great patriotism and love for country of which they boast, but to make greater dividends. This morning I read that the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, controlled by that pious old fellow townsman of ours, John D. Rockefeller, Sr., that their dividends this year will be 95 per cent. And John's a patriot, he is a Simon-pure, dyed-in-the-wool patriot, to hear him tell it. He will buy bonds and pile thousands up and collect eventually 4 per cent. interest.

Now with all of this the government is confronted with the refusal of the employers of the country, and particularly those engaged in the manufacture of war material, to prove their patriotism, to cease gouging the people of this country in the manner they have. We are confronted by the proposition of financing this war while imposing still more bondage. We are already in debt, or we will be shortly, twenty thousand millions of dollars. The war debt in Europe is one hundred billion dollars at this juncture. We are going to add about twenty billion dollars in Washington in the first year, then we are going to continue the war two or three years and additional billions will be piled on. Who is going to pay? Who is going to pay the freight? You know the Civil War debt is not paid off yet, and when that

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war was ended there was a debt of slightly over two billion dollars, and in many a political campaign you heard this debt discussed from the platform, and the party in power was charged with negligence in the matter of paying it off. We have put up twenty billion dollars for the first year, a hundred billions stacked up in Europe. Well, there is only one way in which you produce wealth and that is through labor applied to land, and labor must carry that entire burden unless you conscript the wealth that is now controlled by the captains of industry and conscript the industries themselves and set aside a certain profit each year or a certain income each year to pay off that war debt.

That is the situation, gentlemen and ladies, brothers and sisters. It is a very important one because it comes home to every man and woman in this hall as well as in this country. It will come home to your sons, to your children and to your children's children. The best and quickest way out of it is, now that we are in the war, we will have to go to a finish, we will have to either defeat Prussion imperialism, or we will have to pay the freight that Kaiser William thinks he ought to have from the American people. We are in it and we have got to go through with it, and after the war we will then consider the matter perhaps as to how this unparalleled debt is going to be liquidated. I can see only one way, Mr. Chairman, and that is as I indicated before, that the government take over the industries entirely, the railways, the mines, the steel plants, etc., and operate them, not in the interests of the gentlemen who pile up twenty billion dollars in a year in surplus profits that belong to labor, but convert them into the United States treasury.

Delegate Clarke of the Flint Glass Workers' International Union in the chair.

President Gompers: I was much gratified that one of the delegates in discussing this question complimented the convention upon the free and open discussion of the subject, and said that all that the men had upon their chests was thrown before the convention. Presiding during the entire discussion until this moment, I felt that, because of the wide discussion, not by the newspapers friendly to our movement, but by those who seemed or did place themselves in the position of dissenting upon every question practically of an important character upon which the American Federation of Labor may take action or its officers in the interim of conventions, it was not necessary to speak on the subject. But in the case of some of those who have opposed the report and the recommenadtion of the committee, my name was not mentioned, but the position which I occupy was mentioned, and there is no difference between the two.

For instance, I may recall, because the discussion has taken such a wide scope that very likely you have forgotten, as you had a right to forget, the insinuations which were made of my hobnobbing with the enemies of labor. I have always said this: That I will go anywhere into the camp of the enemy to bring the message of hope of labor. If there is any one who can bring one utterance of mine made anywhere that was not in defense and in advocacy of the rights of the working people, produce it if you dare. I dare you! I challenge you!

Thoughts drive themselves to my mind faster than I can give them utterance. The insinuation that the men composing this American Alliance for Labor and Democracy ought to be modest, if they are patriotic, and by indirection accusing my associates and me of the desire to be blatant and to wear our activities upon our coat sleeves—I didn't know that the Committee on Resolutions would bring in a recommendation to this committee upon the subject, but what I had in mind was to urge my colleagues of the Executive Council—and they agreed with me—that the activities of the members of the Executive Council, myself included, should be before this convention and should be known to the world for such criticism as may desire to be made. That the committee has seen fit to regard it as proper to recommend the endorsement of that Alliance by this convention is quite pleasing to me, and it is quite strange that some delegates, particularly our friend, Mr. Barnes, and our friend, Mr. Cannon, should balk at the idea that this convention of the American Federation of Labor should endorse something.

It was not always thus. They were very ready in insisting that the American Federation of Labor should endorse something they favored and to which the trade unionists were opposed. But as soon as there is a question before the Federation of endorsing something, some institution that has declared its loyalty to the American Federation of Labor, they balk at that.

I hope I am not boastful; I am proud, but not vain. I have done something, or

at least I have tried to do something, and this pledge of membership was written with a pencil by me while others were discussing the question of what the American Aliance for Labor and Democracy should do. It pledges the support and loyalty to the government of our country in this struggle, and then pledges itself to support the American Federation of Labor, as well as the declaration of organized labor's representatives made March 12, 1917, at Washington, D. C., as to "Labor's Position in Peace or in War." The applicant for membership must sign this card and this pledge and say that this pledge shall be his right to membership in the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. Any deviation on the part of the applicant from that pledge in itself severs his membership from the Alliance. That is the pledge. Is there anything so very injurious to the American Federation of Labor and to the American trade union movement in that? Is there any point in the declaration adopted at the Minneapolis conference and convention to which any trade unionist can take exception?

When the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was formed, while Mr. Barnes was an active member of that party, he was quite busy in helping the establishment of local alliances, and during that period delivered an address attacking the organization of which he was a member, the Cigarmakers' International Union, and designating the union label of that organization as a dirty rag. That he has not denounced the organization itself in these last few years is not because of his good will toward it.

He asks the question: "Why weren't the circular letters issued by Mr. Ralph M. Easley denounced by me or some other member of the Aliance, some officer of the Alliance?" If Mr. Barnes can show me anything in any one of these letters issued by Mr. Easley that can be considered an attack upon the American trade union movement, I will promise you publicly I will never speak to the man again.

Now, I think you ought to know how it came that the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy was brought into existence. There was lots of agitation, most of it artificial, some of it criminal, against the government. The Socialist Party held its convention and declared itself against the war, against conscription, and declared to the world its unalterable opposition upon that subject of the war. A number of members of that political party, in sheer disgust and contempt for that political party, resigned from it. I don't know that I ought to—and yes, why not? Charles E. Russell, an honored member of the Socialist Party, nominated for high office by that party, when the President of the United States sent a mission to the people and the government of Russia to convey a word of greeting and good fellowship and earnest hope for the success of the revolution, and among other envoys our own Jim Duncan—Charles Edward Russell was on that mission, and while he was on that mission he was expelled from the Socialist Party. I said that a number of Socialists, who were always regarded as the real brains and spokesmen of that party in America, Stokes, Spargo, Walling, Gaylord, Mrs. Fuller, A. M. Simons, Mrs. Slowbody and numerous others whose names just don't occur to me, left that party and because they left the party on account of the unpatriotic action of the Socialist Party—I am willing to bear the consequences of my own language—because of the treasonable conduct of that party when these men left that party on that issue and on that issue alone, then they were scalawags, then they were untrustworthy. I had seen in the Socialist press that conferences were being held on East Broadway in the office of "The Forward," the leading Socialist paper published in Yiddish in New York City. In the "New York Call" and the "New York Volkszeitung," and I can read "The Call" and the "Volkszeitung," and I know what they publish—they were going to bring about immediate peace. Morris Hilquitt, in his campaign, promised and declared to the people that if he were elected mayor of New York City it would mean immediate conferences for immediate peace. I saw, too, through those papers that a call had been issued for a conference of the workers in New York City and vicinity to take place on June 30th and July 1st for the purpose of organizing the People's Council, with the object in view of bringing about immediate peace. In that call there was a statement that I had sold out the working people of America, not only to the government, but to the capitalistic class, and that I had forbidden the men to strike, that they could not strike, that I declared that the standards of wages and hours and conditions of labor might become worse and worse and worse, and that

I was tying the hands and feet of the workers of America.

You heard the statement of the little girl, Miss Shapiro, in her address to the convention this afternoon, and I may say this: that when she concluded and Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, read the declarations of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, showing the demands which we made, her co-delegates who are circling around her at the table just nudged her and looked at her, and she at them, and she laughed as they laughed, and the remark was made—because my hearing is fairly keen—"Why, it contains all that you have criticised; it contains all that you have demanded."

But do you think for a moment that the reading of those portions of the declaration, do you think that those declarations printed in the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor, do you think for a moment that anything that John Frey, or Matthew Woll, or George Berry or I can say, that that is going to change the utterances of those who have criticised, denounced and attacked my associates and myself? Not for a moment. If you think it worth while I will send you some of the publications after the close of this convention to show you there would not be any change in their utterances. You will find that they still will say that Gompers and his reactionary associates, the standpatters, have tied the hands and feet of labor.

When I learned that that conference was called I received a circular or several of them inquiring of me what it all meant. The names on that circular were the United Hebrew Trades, the Socialist Party, the Workmen's Circle, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the International Union of Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. It so happened that the evening previous, that is on Friday evening, June 29th, I had business connected with our movement in New York City for that day and I had invited some of the labor men in the New York labor movement to meet me in conference and they asked me whether I would not go to the meeting of the Central Federated Union that evening, I said: "Yes, I will gladly go, because I have something to say which I think is of great importance." I went to that meeting and I made an address to the delegates—I think it lasted about an hour and forty minutes. My friend, Delegate Barnes, always says so flatteringly of me that I talk long. After I had concluded, rather the crux of my statement to the Central Federated Union that evening, which was that they had by their inactivity failed to take cognizance of the dangerous situation which existed in that city, I called their attention to the circular they were about to issue—probably if I hadn't gone there it would have gone on. On the following Monday night I was officially informed the executive committee of the Central Federated Union met and took cognizance of my address and my warning and adopted a resolution which they recommended to the next meeting of the Central Federated Union, and the Central Federated Union adopted the resolution, which in effect was that it was the duty of the Central Federated Union to establish unity among not only the unorganized, but the organized, and that they would begin an active campaign for a more thorough organization and for the Americanization of the labor movement of New York City and vicinity. They adopted a further resolution to appoint a committee to co-operate with me in the effort to carry that resolution and its purpose into effect. When they apprised me of that, believe me I did not permit any grass to grow under my feet. I had no idea that there would be such a hearty, ready and prompt response, and that it would take on the breadth and character it did, and I came on to New York where we conferred and discussed the situation. I ought to have said that in the meantime that conference was held—things are crowding upon me so fast—on the Saturday morning following the evening I addressed the Central Federated Union, I had a conference with President Schlesinger of the International Lady Garment Workers' Union and with Mr. Zaritsky, the assistant secretary of the Cloth, Hat and Cap Makers, because Mr. Zuckerman, the secretary, was out of the city on important work. And I asked them how it came that they would allow the use of the names of their organization to call that conference. They informed me that they were never consulted about it and never gave their consent to the use of the names of their organizations for that conference. I am told that there were about 170 organizations represented in that conference and I haven't the slightest doubt that if the names of the Ladies' Garment Work-

ers and of the Hat and Cap Makers hadn't been on there, there wouldn't have been a corporal's guard at the conference. It was a false pretense, the use of the names of bona-fide organizations that were not there.

However, to return to the subject. After the first conference with the delegates and officers and committee of the Central Federated Union we devised the idea that we ought to meet with others who were in accord with the policies of the American labor movement and who were loyal to the government of the United States, and we extended the number. We had several conferences and each time the number was increased. The Socialists who are now not good enough to associate with Mr. Barnes were with us and they declared for the first time in the history of anything like a group of Socialists their pledge of loyalty to the American trade union movement and the American Federation of Labor. I don't care so far as I am concerned; you can play your own political game if you want to, but when you want to play the game of the American trade union movement fair you can't go out on the outside and stab us in the back.

If the Socialist Party will call a special convention to undo the great wrong that it has done to the government of the United States and pledge its loyalty and support to the government, and in addition pledge its loyal support to the American trade union movement as expressed by the American Federation of Labor, I will have a different story to tell you.

The conference grew larger and larger in proportion, and in the first conference the first paragraph or the first sentence as to loyalty to the government was passed. It was extended later. We then learned that there was a propaganda by this so-called People's Council to organize local councils in the cities, and I have some knowledge of how they were formed. Some one picked up somewhere and placed in a room or an office room, given a desk and establish themselves there, and that was the People's Council of that city. That was the fact in Washington, and it was the same thing in many other places. The statement went further in their press, in the Call, in the Volkzeitung and in the Forward that they were going to hold a meeting, a national meeting at Minneapolis, September 1st, and that their organizers were going around the country to organize local alliances, and that they would have 2,000,000 members before September 1st; further that they would organize the labor movement that was progressive and radical and that would protect the working people against the lowering of the standards.

We had decided that we were going to hold a national convention or conference. I am free to tell you that some of my associates wanted to call a conference at Chicago, and I said: "Nothing doing. I am responsible. I must bear the entire responsibility for the holding of that conference at Minneapolis." I wasn't going to run away. I was going to be there where they were. The psychology of the time and situation demanded that there should be a clean-cut distinction between what the People's Council represented and what the American trade unionists represented, and because the mind of the people of the United States was focused upon Minneapolis we decided the conference should be held there. While Chicago may be a larger city, so far as the importance of the conference was concerned, Minneapolis was the place.

Delegate Woll mentioned the fact of the Jamestown convention of the New York State Federation of Labor. There wasn't a delegate who knew anything about Governor Bernquist's order. I had the message over long distance telephone just as I was about leaving the hotel after taking lunch. I had the information, but it had not been published. It was not known to an individual in Jamestown and though I had made my address and was ready to go in order to get to Erie to deliver the Labor Day address there, I went to the convention for the purpose of publicly entering my protest against that procedure. Yes, I did see a reference to it in the New York Call, but it was such a left-handed compliment that you would have imagined I had sided with the order of the Governor.

Now I heard a number of delegates—I want to refer to them—Delegate Barnes, Delegate Cannon and Delegate Hayes—speaking of the great American Federation of Labor and its wonderful influence. It wasn't always thus. Yes, we were stigmatized as political and legislative beggars, crawling on our hands and feet to the powers that be instead of demanding "all, all!" Well, you have an exhibition in Russia of the Maximalists and the Bolsheviki. They are demanding all, and their demand has brought that great people to their knees, and once they get into the mental condition to be in consonance and to know

that revolutions occur, but that it is by voluntary progress of the human race that progress is made, they will realize that the world can't be overturned in a day, that men cannot be made over in a day, that it takes time and more time and more time. But we in the United States, in this great democracy of ours, there is enough for us to find fault with in the affairs of our country. Is there any man more insistent upon the rights of labor, is there any one who has taken a longer chance than I have? Talk about free speech and free press! Didn't I have the distinction and the honor of being sentenced twice to a year imprisonment because I dared insist upon the right of free speech and free press?

The fact of the matter is that the Socialist Labor and the Socialist Party has since the first Detroit convention, when it failed to break into that convention, ever since then it has made war upon the American Federation of Labor. It started the American Labor Union; it started the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and it started the Industrial Workers of the World. And it started the so-called People's Council. In the one instance it was in rivalry to the American trade union movement and, in addition, hostile to the Republic of the United States.

I would not have attempted at this time to make an address probably covering so much, but there has been a wide range and I have been the chief target of attack. I don't know whether I smiled under it all, but I tried like the mischief.

I have heard the attack and the criticism in regard to Arizona. I will just finish what I was about to say. I say we find much to criticise in our government, much shortcoming, but it is only by the criticism and by the practical action we take that we are enabled to get somewhere. Now, I think the criticism in regard to the situation in Arizona as it was, was perfectly justified, but what has the Socialist Party done; what has the People's Council done about it? Shouted at each other, exploited as a vote-getting scheme, but what has it done to clear up the situation? Not a thing, except to shout and to exploit it as a vote-getting device. Let me say this to you, friends. There are some things which it is impossible to disclose in open convention and I would not want to go into executive session for anything. But here is the fact: When that information came to me I went to the President and I called his attention to those outrageous conditions; I told him that if we expected the people to give their whole-hearted support to this world-wide movement for freedom and democracy, they must not be deprived of their normal constitutional rights while they are in the United States. The President took the entire subject under advisement.

At the meeting of the Council of National Defense I brought up the matter and the Council represented to the President the creation of a commission for the purpose of going out to Arizona and New Mexico, to Washington, Idaho, Montana, California or anywhere for the purpose of crowding the thought into the minds of the officials of those states and municipalities and of all others who were in league in the effort to suppress or deny the rights of the workers, that the rights of the men and the masses of the people must be maintained. And the President asked me to suggest some names for that commission and I suggested respectively the names of John Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and Mr. E. P. Marsh, of the Washington State Federation of Labor, and the President did me the honor of appointing them and Secretary Wilson as chairman of the committee and two employers. I did not shout that off the hilltops, and that is the character of the work that the men in the bona-fide labor movement perform. There are more achievements—you know it as well as I do, if you would only just put on your thinking cap—it quite often happens that trade union representatives in conference with employers secure results that, for the sake of a better understanding with employers generally, the conditions are not made public. It is impossible for the trade unionist to fully and publicly proclaim all the achievements in the interests of the labor movement.

Now, I don't know how any of you feel; you may feel just as you please about it. If I am going to be President of the American Federation of Labor it will be with your approval, your votes, and I want to say this to you: that with all the exalted notion or opinion I have of the great office of the American Federation of Labor, for I feel I can be of some service to you, my fellows, but first of all I must retain my own self-respect. I

have got to be on good terms with myself. I am sure I cannot threaten you because you can vote against me quite easily, and you will have that chance.

I am not neutral in this war. Pacifist, as I have been all my life, going as far as any man living to try to make that pacifism real, when I find that there is a marauder or a band of marauders about and I would not defend my wife and my children and my neighbor's children from the attacks of such a monster, I would not be a pacifist, I would be a poltroon and a coward. The President of the United States, a life-long pacifist; the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, a life long pacifist; the Secretary of the Navy, a life-long pacifist; the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Labor—I don't know of a militarist or an advocate of militarism that is in the Cabinet of the President of the United States. And now they are fighting men, and I as a life-long pacifist publicly here declare that I am a fighting man and I will fight to help my country; the country of my adoption; the country to which I owe all that I am except birth; the country in which my sacred dead lie buried; the country in which those I love are; the country to which my hopes and aspirations go out, and I propose to do whatever I can to do a whole man's full duty in helping to make this the last war of the world. An immediate peace would simply mean that the imperial militaristic government of Germany has won the war. She has conquered a part of France; she is the conquerer and invader of Belgium and Serbia; she has outraged as well as murdered innocent people; she has sent to an untimely grave thousands of innocent men, women and children without having the commonest attributes of humanity. When the people of Germany shall, of their own volition, throw over Kaiserism and establish at least some degree of freedom and democracy in that country, and for themselves, unless Kaiserism surrenders to the democracies of the world, whatever energy there is left in me, every ounce of it, is going to be laid at the feet of the men of America and the men of the allied countries to compel the crushing of Kaiserism and the establishment even of a democracy in Germany. There is so much in this subject that one can hardly deal with it comprehensively. At any rate I feel that I ought to have said what I have. During the entire convention I have sat here and listened to the discussions and the debate, and much as it would have been my desire to participate in many of them, I refrained, but in this case, inasmuch as I was the object of attack, I felt it was due you that you should know of what I am guilty.

President Gompers in the chair.

The previous question was called for and the request supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

Delegate Barnes: I arise to a question of personal privilege, having been attacked in the last address.

President Gompers: The rules provide as to adjournment, but we are now about to take a vote. I shall hear you and recognize you tomorrow morning so that you may state the grounds upon which you ask a question of personal privilege.

The vote was taken on the amendment offered by Delegate Cannon and was lost.

The roll was called on the proposition of adopting the report of the committee on that part of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "The American Alliance for Labor and Democracy." The following is the result:

Roll Call.

Ayes—Mullaney, Myrup, Schneider (R. C.), Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Feider, Wilds, Kline, Kramer, McGrath, Franklin, Scott (Chas. F.), McKillop, MacGowan, Sovey, Reddick, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Brown (Walter), Gillen, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Bowen (Wm. J.), Preece, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Jones, Price, McClory, Morrin, Tobin (S. P.), Butterworth, Ryan (M. F.), Hyland, Shoemaker, Thompson (Theodore), Beuloin, Hutcheson, Duffy, (Frank), Woodbury, Hemsell, VanDuyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), MacPherson, Perkins, Gompers, Campbell, Sexton, Johnson (J. L.), Yates, Baker, Conway (H. J.), Coulter, Doyle (Jas. J.), Meyer, McNulty, King (Geo. C.), Fisher (Frank), McAndrews (James), Bugniazet, Feeney, Snellings, Hannahan, Comerford, Edgerton, Woll, Brady, Etheridge, Junker, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan (W. J.), Bechtold, Rickert, Larger, Altman, Manning (J. J.), Daley, Voll, Clifton, Eames, Clarke (Wm. P.), O'Brien (John B.), Kennedy (J. F.), Duncan (James), Russell, Will, Zuckerman, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, Marshall, Broening, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Greenstein, McSorley, Duty, O'Leary, Bryan (W. E.), Gainor, Duffy (Chas. D.), Swartz, Mugavin, Bock, Benson, O'Connor, Vaccarrelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Johnston (Wm. H.), Wharton, O'Connell, Savage, Taylor (James A.), Fry (Chas.), Hogan, Hart, Lane, Kennedy (John), Hynes, Redding, Ryan (James J.),

Frayne, Moyer, Davidson, Rankin, White (John P.), Hayes (Frank J.), Mitchell, Green (William), Walker, Farrington, Moore (John), Lewis, Valentine, Frey (John P.), Curran, Baumgartner, Loder, Weber (Jos. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Weaver, Hedrick, Skemp, Guerin, McKeon, Lynch, Mooney, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (Geo. J.), Wilson (James), Forrest (J. S.), Bergstrom, McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Flaherty, Menge, Owen, Lyons, Deviny, Berry, Orr, Herman, Scherm, Leonard, Suitor, Mahon, Quinlan, Sheehan, Cahill, Hurley, Furuseth, Flynn, Brown (G. H.), Gartledge, Conway (Thos.), Fleming, Shay, Dolliver, Barry, Suarez, Welsh (W. M.), Freel, Sumner, Griggs, Short, Heberling, Welch (W. R.), Connors, Sweeney, Lennon, Silinsky, Stillman, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie, Decker, Perham, Ross (L. J.), Bode, Gorman, Golden, Conboy, White (Geo. H.), McMahon, Powers, Williams (Thos. J.), Evans, Curtis, Scott (M. G.), Hayes (M. S.), Morrison, Stevenson, Hays (J. W.), Hatch, Brown, King (B. W.), Sullivan (D. D.), Anderson (J. L.), Villeneuve, Fitchie, Sebree, Conley, Jennings, Hall, Murphy (D. J.), Donoghue, Burgess, Holland, Kennedy (Thos.), Ogletree, Spencer, Bentley, Sheck, Caraway, Rahele, Banz, Bowen (L.), McGrady, Hayward, Crickmore, Robinson, Nelson, Rist, Vargas, McAndrew, McManus, O'Brien, Hartman, McSpadden, Smith (J. T.), Johnson (J. L.), Hevey, Stremlau, Blakely, Quinn, Sellons, McKinnon, Brindell, McAndrew, Repsher, Henry, Kelly (John B.), Grace, Martindale, Baird, James, Newman, Hoefgen, Murphy (D. C.), McDonald (Steve), Duncan (James A.), Hannum, Lemke, McIntyre, Sondemann, Hester, McGovern, Casey, Oden, Moore (B. E.), McNally, Teitelbaum, Bohm, Kenny, Quesse, Mulkern, Ellicott, Hanrahan, Burt, representing 21,602 votes.

Nays—Foley, Barnes, Kaufman, Silberstein, Margolis, Cannon, Burke (John P.), LaBelle, Forrest (W. L.), Voigt, Eberly, Halonen, Fisher (James H.), Buchbinder, Differding, representing 402 votes.

Not Voting—Goldstone, Boyer, Logan, Kuhlmann, Schlesinger, Shapiro, Deutsch, Heller, Gorenstein, Rosenberg, Zaritsky, Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, Strain, Hannah, Dold, Roth, Gavlak, Helt, Funder Burk, Konenkamp, Agethen, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, O'Hara, Shea, McHenry, Taylor (C. O.), Jarrett, Boyle (James), Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald, Coughlin, Malloy, Doyle (F. E.), Harlin, Malley, Bryan (Frank L.), Haugh, Hagberg, Williams (Harold), McDonald (J. A.), Hines, O'Dell, Brislin, Gorman, Foster, Hodges, Draper, Burch, Clark (E. A.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison, Wilkinson, Traglio, Nevin, Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Wrenn, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Black, DeNedrey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Hogan (Anne), Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Tillman, Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Burk (Hugh), Wilkie, Green (Walter), Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Weinstock, Eson, Thompson (E. D.), Fitts, Miller (Fred M.), Battle, Juhl, Rincker, Hollis, Pollock, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines, Hill and Hayday, representing 1,305 votes.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Supplementary Report of Executive Council.

Buffalo, N. Y., November 19, 1917.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

We desire to submit to this convention a report made to us by the special committee appointed by President Gompers as authorized by the Baltimore, 1916, convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The following were appointed upon the committee to make an investigation, report and recommendations upon the subject of co-operation: G. W. Perkins, J. H. Walker, W. D. Mahon, A. E. Holder and J. W. Sullivan.

We make the report part of this.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President.

JAMES DUNCAN,
First Vice-President.

JAMES O'CONNELL,
Second Vice-President.

JOS. F. VALENTINE,
Third Vice-President.

JOHN R. ALPINE,
Fourth Vice-President.

H. B. PERHAM,
Fifth Vice-President.

FRANK DUFFY,
Sixth Vice-President.

WILLIAM GREEN,
Seventh Vice-President.

W. D. MAHON,
Eighth Vice-President.

JOHN B. LENNON,
Treasurer.

FRANK MORRISON,
Secretary.

Executive Council, American Federation of

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION.

Buffalo, N. Y., November 17, 1917.

To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

Your "Committee on Co-operation," appointed by President Samuel Gompers, in accordance with Resolution No. 86, adopted by the Baltimore Convention, November, 1916, presents the following as its report:

Reversing the usual order of reports, the committee submits at the outset its recommendations. They are as follows:

1. That a qualified trade unionist co-operator be appointed by the President of

the American Federation of Labor to serve one year as lecturer and adviser on the practical work of Rochdale co-operation.

2. That this appointee shall have office room in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, which shall be the center of information by correspondence and otherwise on the subject.

3. That he shall visit localities in which co-operative societies are in process of formation or have already been formed, and give practical information to the officers and members of such societies, making out routes of travel for this purpose so as to conserve his time and perform the work at a minimum of expense.

4. That it shall be understood that central labor unions and local trade unions as such shall not form co-operative societies, but shall appoint committees from their membership to act in co-operation with other citizens who are in sympathy with the trade union movement in assisting in the upbuilding of a general co-operative movement.

5. That every local trade union under the jurisdiction of the American Federation of Labor be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar ($1.00) in order to establish successfully the Federation bureau for promoting and advancing the cause of true co-operation in the United States and Canada.

Your committee believes the submission of this practical program to be of more value to the trade unionists of the country than an extensive survey of the co-operative movements of the world or any exhaustive dissertation on the principles of co-operation, which might be made the subject matter of a report, except to say that we have found that protests, denunciations, condemnations and investigations are alike without power to influence employers to pay the rate of wages they should pay; provide safe and healthful conditions of employment, or establish the relationship that should obtain between the employers and the workers or the reasonable hours that should constitute a day's work.

The only way we have been able to assure these conditions has been through the establishment of the trade union movement, a powerful organization of workers to enforce labor's just demands.

This is just as true of the merchants and business men as it is of other employers. Protests, denunciations, condemnations and investigations will not enable us to obtain permanently the best articles which we use in every day life for just prices.

There is nothing that will accomplish this purpose except organization, and the co-operative movement is the organization that is designed to protect the workers in their relations with the merchants and the business men in the same sense that the trade union movement protects them from the employers. The two movements are twin remedies.

If we had a thorough co-operative movement throughout America, comprising in its membership the workers thereof, there would be less need for official governmental food control agencies.

And without that kind of organization established permanently to deal with this question there is no guarantee to the workers that the cost of living for them and their families will be permanently placed on the basis that should obtain, and it is for that reason that we believe that the American Federation of Labor should assist in establishing, building up and strengthening in every way possible a legitimate organization of bona fide workers in our country and Canada as part of the great world's co-operative movement; so that after the trade union movement has secured for the workers the wages that they are entitled to for the labor they perform, they may be assured in spending those wages that they will get for them their full value.

We hold that it is just as essential that a working man should get ten dollars' worth of actual value for his wages when he spends them as it is that he should get the ten dollars that he is entitled to for the labor that he performs.

We would also recommend that the United States government be requested by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to take up the question of the co-operative movement in connection with its activities relative to the high cost of living, with a view to utilizing as far as possible, the existing co-operative organizations for immediate purposes and encouraging the creation of additional co-operative organizations where they are needed and conditions are suitable.

There has been assembled in the offices of the American Federation of Labor a considerable body of literature on the subject, among which are the standard works, reports from various countries, and lists of recent publications.

Your committee has excluded from its consideration all forms of associated work which do not fall within the strict limits of the Rochdale co-operative system.

The simple principles of this system are:

1. A democratic organization.
2. One vote for each member with equality in share ownership.
3. Cash returns quarterly to members of the difference between the total amount they have paid for their purchases and the lesser total cost of these purchases to the co-operative society; including among the costs depreciation and a reasonable amount for a reserve fund to meet emergencies and extend the business.
4. Rejection of the principle of profits.
5. Current interest on loan capital.
6. Sales where possible preferably to members only.
7. Distributive co-operation to precede productive.
8. A sufficient number of retail stores to be established to assure a market before a wholesale department is created.
9. Observance of methods recommended by the International Co-operative Alliance.

All the members of your committee have made the subject of co-operation the study of many years, have had personal experience in conducting or investigating co-operative societies and are acquainted with co-operation as a great world movement. In their judgment the co-operative principle and the trade union principle give rise to no hurtful interference with each other, but are mutually helpful, and each is in a

degree beyond measure a factor in the economic, social, political and educational development of the wage-working masses.

(Signed) G. W. PERKINS,
Chairman.
J. H. WALKER,
W. D. MAHON,
A. E. HOLDER,
J. W. SULLIVAN.

President Gompers: The report just read will be referred to the Committee on Report of Executive Council.

At 6:50 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 a. m., Tuesday, November 20th.

EIGHTH DAY---Tuesday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 20, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Tuesday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Franklin, Scott (Chas. F.), Sovey, Baine (C. T.), Brown (Walter), Bowen (Wm. J.), Shaughnessy, Price (Walter), Boyer (Will R.), Hutcheson, Hemsell, Van Duyn, White (Bob), MacPherson, Yates, McAndrews (Jas.), Feeney, Junker, Brennan (Wm. J.), Altman, Rosenberg, Will, Zaritsky, Margolis, Greenstein, McSorley, Duty, O'Leary, Bryan (W. E.), Harrison (Thomas), Johnston (Wm. H.), Savage, Fry, Strain, Lane, Hynes (J. J.), Ryan (J. J.), White (J. B.), Hayes (F. J.), Mitchell (John), Weaver, Hedrick, Lynch (J. J.), Morney, Schneider, Dold, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Owen, Roth, Berry, Orr, Leonard, Mahon (W. D.), Sheehan (D. F.), Flynn (Patrick), Helt, Freel, Heberling, Lennon (J. B.), Sillinsky, Stillman, Perham, Ross (B. J.), Konenkamp, Conboy, White (Geo. H.), Williams (Thos.), Agethen, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal (John M.), Shea (Wm. J.), McHenry (V. J.), Taylor (C.), Jarrett, Ogletree, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Rahele, Harlin, Malley, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, Foster (J. T.), Sellons, Brindell, Hodges, Henry (C. J.), Burch, Kelly (William J.), Cathrall, Rander (William), Young, Bennett, Bower, Davidson (E. C.), Wilkinson (Adam), Traglio, McDonald (S.), Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Hannum, DeNedrey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris (Mary), Tillman, McNally, Da Costa, Pennywitt, Langley, Wilkie, Green (Walt), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Buchbinder, Weinstock, Eson, Fitts, Miller (F. M.), Juhl, Rincker, Hollis (H. H.), Pollock, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Telegrams were read by Secretary Morrison from the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union and the Garment Workers' Union of Cincinnati, requesting that the 1918 convention be held in that city.

Secretary Morrison also read the following telegrams:

Houston, Texas, November 18, 1917.

Frank Morrison, Convention Headquarters, American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Houston Typographical Union No. 87 urgently requests that you endeavor to have American Federation of Labor convention take some action regarding the attitude of Dr. Sydney J. Smith, chairman Exemption Board, Southern District of Texas, toward organized labor. Harry L. Spencer, delegate from Texas, has all data in matter. Your assistance will be greatly appreciated by this union and all organized labor in Houston.

D. C. KEATING,
President.

Savannah, Ga., November 19, 1917.

Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:

To the American Federation in convention assembled, greeting: The Savannah Trades and Labor assembly wishes to bring to your attention and asks for an investigation of the Terry shipbuilding contract in regard to the nine-hour system and the open shop conditions they are using on government contracts, also that you send a competent official to investigate these conditions and if you deem necessary a government inspector. There is no shortage of skilled mechanics here, but the conditions are such that the men will not work. Hoping this request will be complied with.

Respectfully,
SAVANNAH TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY,
B. S. PHILLIPS,
Secretary.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Your Committee on Credentials begs to report that it has received credential for Herman Johnson, as delegate from Federal Labor Union No. 15321, and recommends that he be seated with 2 votes.

We also advise that the name of Frank Doyle be substituted for that of John Manning of the United Garment Workers, the latter being required to leave the city.

Respectfully submitted,

E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman;
T. P. HYLAND,
WM. P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

The report of the Committee was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, for the committee, reported as follows:

Workmen's Compensation.

Upon that part of the report of the Ex-

ecutive Council under the above caption (p. 116), your committee notes with satisfaction the extension of this law to the workers engaged in loading vessels and work of similar nature.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Old Age Pensions for Government Employes.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 116-117), your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its activities in the interests of old age pensions for government employes.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Civil Rights Bill.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 118), your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the enactment of Civil Rights Bill H. R. 6361.

The convention concurred in the recommendation of the committee.

Food Control Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above heading (p. 118), your committee expresses its approval of the enactment of this law.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Food Survey Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above heading (p. 119), your committee expresses its approval of the enactment of this measure.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Espionage Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 119-120), your committee deplores the enactment of that portion of the bill which threatens to unduly restrict the right to free speech and a free press, and it heartily approves of the efforts which were made by the Executive Council to prevent the incorporation of those features in the bill.

The report of the committee was adopted.

High Price of Print Paper.

On that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (pp. 121-122), your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to give its active assistance in support of the measures which will operate to prevent a continuance of the exorbitant prices which have been placed upon paper by manufacturers whose obligations as citizens have been submerged by their greed for profits.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Burke (John P.) discussed the matter at some length and said that the men whom he represented would insist on the wage rate being increased in proportion to the cost of living.

The matter was further discussed by Delegates Hoefgen, Woll, Secretary Morrison, Delegate Carey, Frey, Hayes (Max) and Vice-President Duncan.

Delegate Max Hayes offered an amendment to the committee's report that the Executive Council be instructed to prepare a circular letter to be sent to the affiliated international unions, state and city central bodies and local unions, requesting that they do all in their power in the matter of adopting resolutions and petitions to be forwarded to Congress in behalf of the passage of the pending Raker bill. (Seconded and carried.)

The report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Compulsory Arbitration Laws.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 123), your committee expresses its full approval of the efforts which were made to assist in securing the repeal of the Colorado law, and further approves of the steps which were taken to gather the data and knowledge which is now at the disposal of those who are studying the problem of this arbitrary method applied to industrial disputes and endeavoring to solve it.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Reconstruction Proposals.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 136-141), your committee recommends the endorsement of the recommendations contained in this portion of the report and advises that they should be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to lend its assistance in securing their incorporation in necessary

measures which will be enacted to provide for the reconstruction period.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor's War Agreements and Representation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 82-88), your committee recommends that the agreements which were entered into and incorporated in this portion of the report be endorsed, and that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its good offices in establishing agreements through governmental co-operation to cover the production of war materials in other industries.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Furuseth made a lengthy statement in which he said that while he did not oppose the report of the committee he wished to make certain corrections in the interest of historical truth. In other words, he wanted the record to show that the agreements entered into by the organized seamen had preceded those entered into by the Longshoremen's International Association. He criticised the Lake Carriers' Association of the great lakes, which he said was dominated by the Steel Trust and was practically the only agency standing in the way of getting men to bring ships and soldiers to the other side of the Atlantic. He further took exception to the action of certain exemption boards in forcing qualified seamen to go into active land service and filling their places with men less qualified. This action, if continued, he believed, would result in appalling disaster.

Vice-President Duncan, speaking on the technical objection raised by Delegate Furuseth, offered the following amendment to the committee's report: That the two subjects referred to by Delegate Furuseth be transferred in the final proceedings so that the subjects will appear in chronological order with the proper dates attached. (Amendment seconded.)

Delegate Taylor (Jas. A.) said that if the decisions of the adjustment boards in disputes arising on a question of wages, hours and conditions of labor in the shipbuilding plants were final and binding and the men must abide by those decisions and have no other recourse, he would oppose the report of the committee.

Secretary Frey, for the committee, stated that a special report bearing upon the principles which should be embodied in all of these agreements would be brought in by the committee later. The explanation made by Secretary Frey was supplemented by Chairman Duncan of the committee, who expressed the hope that some word of approval be given of the fact that it was possible to get even one man representing organized labor appointed on these boards.

The question was further discussed by Delegates James A. Duncan and G. H. Brown of the Seamen's Union, the latter corroborating what Delegate Furuseth had said in reference to skilled seamen being sent to the trenches and the unskilled men of the Naval Reserve being placed aboard the vessels plying between this country and Europe.

It was moved by Delegate Voigt that the entire subject matter lay over until the Committee on Resolutions has before the convention its report on the special subject mentioned by the chairman and secretary. The amendment was seconded but was lost on being put to vote.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Barnes: I arise to a question of personal privilege as mentioned last night in connection with a personal attack during the address of the last speaker last evening.

President Gompers: I shall leave it to the convention rather than to decide whether the delegate may have the opportunity of a question of personal privilege.

The convention granted the request.

Delegate Barnes: I am pleased to note that the hysteria and mob spirit of last night has been allayed. That is not altogether new to me because twice in the recent past I have been a victim of mob attack. But recently in New York a friend who was with me was laid out cold in such an attack and I got some, too.

The other day the President of the United States stood on that platform and he said he liked to get away from Washington occasionally because there are so many people down there who know things that are not true. And I, consorting with truth tellers the year around find it a diversion to come to this convention to hear some people say a lot of things that are not true. If what was challenged to me personally, and the name mentioned and the finger pointed, if that were true

XUM

I feel that I would not be worthy to sit in this convention. You most probably have been led to believe that this insignificant individual is the Socialist Party of America. It is not true; I deny it. I am just a rank and file member of that party. Yet all the sins or alleged crimes of that party were heaped on my devoted head; I was guilty of all separately and collectively. It is the annual escape valve that was in operation yesterday. After the storm comes a calm; however, nothing can recall the abuse and the misrepresentation that has gone abroad over this country through the newspapers of this land regarding Yours Truly. No word of mine can follow the misrepresentation and the distorted statements, not alone that were made here but that will be put on the wires around this nation. I have no redress, but I have nothing to complain of either. In the course of time these distortions will be rubbed out.

The finger was pointed at me about the different dual organizations of labor that have been formed in America—the Western labor movement, the American labor movement, the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the I. W. W.'s. As a matter of correct history let me inform you candidly and also truthfully and with emphasis that I have never been a member of any one of these organizations and I have fought them all. I am more hated among that coterie than is the person who assailed me last night; moreover, though I am not the Socialist Party, I want to say to you also as a matter of fact and history that the Socialist Party never endorsed the Western labor movement, never endorsed the American labor movement, never endorsed the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, never endorsed the I. W. W.'s, and I was never a member of any of them, never spoke for them, but always fought against them.

The one labor organization that I have belonged to and of which I am proud of my membership in its continuity is the International Union of Cigar Makers, which I joined thirty years ago on the 22d day of last month. I have that same card yet and I am proud of it.

In the discussion yesterday we had the wonderful exhibition of a gentleman getting on the floor and saying that he had taken a pen or pencil and a couple of other fellows looked over his shoulder as he wrote a declaration of principles, and that anybody who was opposed to that declaration was a traitor. I have written some things, but I don't think any one is a traitor who doesn't agree with them. These specious crimes intermixed by other delegates with "snake," "pro-Kaiser," "pro-German" and intimations of getting money—no, the working people of this country know that these things do not affect Barnes; they know that he is patriotic, that he believes in America for the working class and not for the profiteering class.

It was, I submit to you, friends and fellow delegates, an imposition to put that question in the manner that it was put—the endorsement of all that the Alliance has done as a patriotic service. In other words you put it up to us that we had to vote for the whole Alliance program, whatever that might be, or else we voted against patriotism. That was unfair, but after the abuse that was heaped on those gentlemen who had the right to disagree on matters of this kind, I should have voted with both hands if I had the opportunity, though it is carried the length and breadth of this country that there are fifteen willful people in the American Federation of Labor who have voted against patriotism. That is not an issue and you in your sober senses this morning know that it is not the issue, yet that is the representation that goes about the world. For my part all the energy that I have shall be expended from first to last, regardless of consequences, in the interests of the working class, that they may come to better estate and to final freedom, and here I take my stand with Dudley Field Malone, who spoke the other night in Elmwood Music Hall, when he said: "In war times and in peace times all are excellent times to fight for free speech, free press and free assemblage, the fundamental rights of American citizenship."

There was one particular charge made that I overlooked and that is this: It is reported here in the paper this morning that Mr. Gompers declared that Mr. Barnes, when the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was formed, was quite busy during that period in attacking the very organization of which he was a member, the Cigar Makers' International Union, and called the label a dirty rag, and that he has not denounced the Federation itself in the last few years was not because of his good will toward it. Those two specific charges—I have boosted forever the Cigar Makers' Union since

I first became a member of it and I have never spoken in public without advocating the label if there was an opportunity to do so, and if worthy President Gompers got that report he got it from an untruthful and malignant source, because it is an infamous lie that I have called the label of the Cigar Makers a dirty rag.

President Gompers: May I assume that I have the privilege of the convention to make some response to this statement made by Delegate Barnes? I think that the delegates to this convention will appreciate in full the very handsome compliment paid to you when he described our meeting yesterday afternoon and last evening as typifying the mob spirit; simply the mob spirit. After this question had been discussed from about 2:30 o'clock until very nearly seven o'clock, nearly four and one-quarter hours, and coming to a vote, that is in the truthful mind of Delegate Barnes a mob spirit. Of course every one must sympathize with any man who was physically attacked or came near being physically attacked.

I have heard it said that there are some men to whom the shafts of slander and bitter, malicious misrepresentation come more nearly to the heart than does a physical attack. He said, too, that if that which had been said of him had been true it would make him unworthy of a seat in this convention—and I concur entirely in that statement. If the opportunity for a full and open discussion of Delegate Barnes would be in order or possible there might be an opportunity for a full and free expression of the convention. You will have noticed how very adroit has been Mr. Barnes this morning when he refers to the Socialist Party not being part of the movement to create the Western Labor Union, the American Labor Union, the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance and the Industrial Workers of the World. It was the adroitness of a pettifogging lawyer. The minds of men being engaged in real affairs of life and struggle are not apt to remember the distinction of names. What I said was that the Socialist Labor Party did those things which I charged to the Socialist Party and Mr. Barnes was a member of the Socialist Labor Party at that time when that party called these movements into existence and supported them by every means within his power. I don't know that I said yesterday that any man who did not subscribe to anything I wrote was a traitor. I took a little comfort in the statement that I drafted this pledge.

Delegate Barnes (interrupting): I had reference to Matthew Woll.

President Gompers (continuing): I drafted this pledge and there are a number of gentlemen in this room who will bear me out in that statement. I did help in the formation of our Federation. I hold that it having been adopted my contribution toward it among other things formed part of the basic principle of the Federation. I hold that any man who will not subscribe to the fundamental principles of the American Federation of Labor is untrue to it and I have been informed quite authoritatively—and I shall be willing to take in this instance Mr. Barnes' word if he denies it—that when the Minneapolis conference was called and a card of a similar import, identical to the one I am holding in my hand and which was read yesterday, was presented to him he refused to sign it. He therefore could not participate in the proceedings of the conference and was there as a spectator.

Delegate Barnes: You will take my word on that? No such card was presented to me nor was I requested by anybody to sign that card.

President Gompers: Well, let that go. I want to call your attention to this fact—and it ought to be read again so that you may have it impressed indelibly upon your mind: "The undersigned hereby affirms that it is the duty of all the people of the United States, without regard to class, nationality, politics or religion, faithfully and loyally to support the Government of the United States in carrying on the present war for justice, freedom and democracy to a triumphant conclusion, and gives this pledge to uphold every honorable effort for the accomplishment of that purpose, and to support the A. F. of L. as well as the declaration of organized labor's representatives made March 12, 1917, at Washington, D. C., as to 'Labor's Position in Peace or in War,' and agrees that this pledge shall be his right to membership in this conference of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. Any deviation on my part from the above pledge shall in itself sever my membership in the Alliance."

I hold that any man within the confines of the United States who will not sign the first part of that declaration or agree to it writes himself down as treasonable to the Government of the United States.

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I hold that any man who will not either sign or agree to the last part of that declaration of his loyalty to the American Federation of Labor is disloyal to the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Barnes made reference to the newspaper report of our proceedings and that which has been carried on the wires. For either or both of these I am not responsible. The fact of the matter is that the importance given to the action of the convention yesterday was due to the speeches made by Mr. Barnes and those who agreed with him, and because of his and their attitude and the language they employed, the insinuations they made, that made it the test this convention and the public gave to it. It understood not only that which was declared but also that which it implied.

For an old-timer to be as thin-skinned as Delegate Barnes manifests himself to be this morning it is rather a riddle to me, for if you will remember how very insidiously he attacked the conduct of the President of the American Federation of Labor, the President of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, the insinuations of hobnobbing and shaking hands and meeting with men such as—— well, I don't want to carry their names into further publicity—you remember that I took immediate cognizance of it, not by making any plea for protection or any plea that my feelings had been outraged. I merely stated that I was going to bring the message of labor wherever I could. Now, after a four hours' discussion on this question yesterday in which a delegate siding with the view of Delegate Barnes declared that he was happy in the conscience and the knowledge that there had been such a full and free discussion of this subject and that every man had thrown from his chest that which was upon it in order that all might hear—no; whatever credit, whatever honor or whatever odium attaches to the conduct of Delegate Barnes yesterday time alone will tell and he must bear the one or the other.

At a meeting—I believe it was in New Haven when Delegate Barnes was a member of the Socialist Labor Party before the Socialist Party broke away from the Socialist Labor Party—he secured the attendance at the Detroit convention of the American Federation of Labor of the then existing leader of the Socialist Labor Party of America, the late Daniel De Leon, and Daniel De Leon came there for the purpose of challenging the Cigar Makers' International Union into a public debate as to whether or not that organization could continue in existence. That challenge was issued to me, not to the president of the Cigar Makers, but to me, because I was the first vice-president, and non-member of the Socialist Labor Party. Of course, I treated challenges of that character with the same contempt that I treated the letter of Maurer of Pennsylvania. But that didn't stop Mr. Barnes' idol from in a public meeting declaring that the Cigar Makers' International Union of America would go out of existence within two years. The same Mr. Daniel De Leon, who in the paper of his party, "The People," published editorial after editorial scientifically with all the science of the Socialist Labor Party, falsifying the Cigar Makers' International Union and proving it by figures that it could not last more than three or four years. I have yet to hear one word of criticism of Mr. DeLeon's course from Mr. Barnes, the course he pursued in the organization of which he is so proud.

Delegate Barnes (interrupting): Everybody else heard my denunciation of DeLeon.

President Gompers: I suppose that was quite modest on the part of Mr. Barnes to interject that remark at this time and remind me of the fact that there was a congressman in the House of Representatives and his name appeared in every speech of every member of the House of Representatives. If he only asked a question, if he only made some remark, it was there, and I think you will see the identical situation now.

I am here as a delegate from the Cigar Makers' International Union with my associates and among my associates is the president of the Cigar Makers' International Union, and I shall be glad to have him testify to the Detroit incident, whether I have made a statement exaggerating or falsely stating the situation as I have presented it to you just now. I ask President Perkins to state whether my remarks upon this matter of Detroit with Mr. De Leon were right or wrong.

Delegate Perkins: There is only one mistake and that is one of omission. That is that these people made the motion in our convention that Mr. De Leon

be given a hearing before that convention; otherwise your statements are absolutely correct.

President Gompers: That had slipped my memory. The friend of the Cigar Makers' International Union, the member of it who is so proud of his membership, brought De Leon to Detroit, the challenge by De Leon was given and ignored, and then the delegate moved from the floor of the convention that De Leon, the man who predicted and wished—because the wish was father to the thought—that the Cigar Makers' International Union would go out of existence, should be given the privilege and the honor of that international union. The Cigar Makers' International Union has been in existence for about twenty-three years since, and has larger membership and larger achievements to its credit now than ever in the history of the organization.

Now, so far as the New Haven incident is concerned, I think Mr. Barnes will have to revise his memory or revise his understanding of accuracy or truth when he said that he did not make the statement which I made yesterday and repeat now—that he delivered an address attacking trade unionism, attacking the Cigar Makers' International Union and the labels as dirty rags, absolutely insignificant and of no worth. I may say this: That somewhere in my office among my papers at the Federation of Labor in Washington there is a stenographic report of Mr. Barnes' speech in which that appears. Be that as it may, I don't know why, after all, this subject matter has been opened up for a full discussion of it—give and take, stand upon your merits, stand by what you say if you believe or know it to be true and take your medicine; take your medicine. Believe me, you have tried to administer some bitter doses to your humble servant. You never heard me cry out for any of you to let up; I have never asked for your commiseration. Go on; I know it won't make any difference. I said yesterday that in spite of all the documentary evidence as to what has been achieved by labor as a result of this war and the trade union activities, that is not going to make any difference. To those who have been utilizing the scheme and opportunity to attack the Federation and to attack its officers and using falsely malicious, manufactured-out-of-the-whole-cloth statements, it is not going to make any difference. They are going away from this convention to repeat the charges and false accusations. Character, honesty, fealty, faithfulness and loyalty to our movement—it is not going to count for anything. If you can only undermine the character of a man among those with whom you associate you will do it. Character assassination seems to be one of the first provisos in the Socialist Party platform.

I made a statement in Boston regarding the reporter of the New York Volkzeitung, the Socialist paper, in which I said he had made a misrepresentation of a statement attributed to me. He said: "Oh, you know it don't make any difference; I am a Socialist." Less than a month ago the New York Call wanted a man in Washington to be its correspondent, and the only condition was that he was to berate and attack me. I will tell you the man's name—Mr. Julian Pierce. He declined and said: "No, I know Mr. Gompers and I am not going to write purely to attack him." I seldom see the man, but that is what he did. But they offered the job to another man and upon the same conditions, and he accepted the position on that term and he proceeded immediately to carry out the job; proceeded immediately to make good and he did. After attacking me in the most miserable, contemptible way he came to me at my office and I told him it wasn't necessary for him to come to me for any information whatsoever, that he had his instructions to attack me and he could do it without my assistance.

I am afraid that the question of personal privilege was hardly one which comes properly under that parliamentary understanding. I regret very much that the question has been opened up, but for the love of Mike don't open it up further, for then I may have something to say.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey continued the report of the committee, as follows:

Department of Labor Appropriation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 118), your committee desires to express its profound regret that Congress failed to provide the appropriation of $750,000 asked for by the Department of Labor so that the Secretary of Labor

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could have an adequate sum at the disposal of his Department during the present national emergency.

Those who realize the necessities of the hour and the important position which the Department of Labor should occupy, must unite with us in disapproving of the action taken by Congress when it appropriated but $250,000 subject to the Department of Labor's disposal.

The Department of Labor was created so that it might be an effective branch of the government. It is called upon to deal with some of the nation's greatest problems and should have at its disposal adequate finances.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council should use every honorable means at its disposal to secure, through Congress, an adequate appropriation for the Department of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Labor and the War.

In connection with that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 67-81), your committee considered also Resolution No. 150:

Resolution No. 150—By Delegate G. W. Perkins of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At no time in the history of the labor movement have conditions been more fraught with dangerous situations than at present, this because of our entrance into the world's war; and

WHEREAS, The slightest misstep or mistake in commission or omission, or an error in judgment would have placed organized labor in a position that it would take years to overcome. The situation not of our seeking led to conditions over which we had no control, and required strong, clear-sighted and courageous leadership; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council proved equal to the occasion, and proved their loyalty to the trade union movement, to labor in general, and to our country as well; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention in regular session assembled fully endorse and concur in the course pursued by President Gompers and the Executive Council in calling a conference of the National and International officers on March 12th, nearly one month before war was declared, and concur in the action taken at that conference at which the representatives of labor declared their unswerving loyalty and fidelity to the labor movement and to our common country in peace or in war, and while asserting that insofar as lies within its power labor would suffer none of the successes achieved as a result of years of sacrifice and struggle to be taken away from labor on any pretext, and while hoping for an honorable peace, they declared that if our country were drawn into the maelstrom we would stand squarely behind the administration and our country, and urged that all members of organized labor do likewise. Moreover, we unreservedly endorse the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council in all of their actions in connection with the war and all other labor men in accepting positions of trust upon boards, commissions and committees, and declare that in their so doing the best interests of organized labor have been advanced, safeguarded and protected.

Your committee has given most careful consideration to all of the matter contained under the caption "Labor and the War." The incorporation of the President's address to Congress was an advisable addition to the official records of this convention. It was, also, most appropriate to incorporate "American Labor's Position in Peace or in War,' adopted in Washington, D. C., March 12, 1917.

Your committee desires to express its well-considered approval of the soldiers and sailors' compensation legislation. With the assistance of the Executive Council, protective insurance was established for our soldiers and sailors and their dependents; more thoroughgoing in its provisions and more protective of the interests of those who are going to bear the heat of battle than has been enacted in any other country.

Through the Executive Council's efforts and under its guidance, a governmental insurance feature has been established upon a fundamentally sound basis, and in harmony with the position of the American trade union movement relative to the protection of those whose labor and whose lives contribute to the welfare and defense of our nation.

Your committee desires to congratulate the Executive Council upon the marked progress which it made in securing labor representation upon the several governmental commissions and committees created in connection with the nation's participation in the war.

Although we have just begun to take up the industrial problems created by the war, the labor representatives have, to a marked degree, proved not only the necessity for their participation, but the added efficiency which they have contributed. Their intimate knowledge of the human factors which had to be considered and applied, and their practical acquaintance with the problems existing in industry proved of the greatest value in

contributing to the solution of many grave problems which have already been adjusted.

Many grave industrial situations, with their threatening aspect to the nation's welfare, have been solved through their efforts.

It has become apparent that the nation's resources must be called upon to the utmost degree for the nation's protection, and that a steadily increasing demand for the production of war materials must exist for some time, calling upon the greatest effort which the manpower and genius of our country can put forth.

The burdens devolving upon the government's commissions and committees must continue to grow, their responsibilities to increase and their activities to become more far-reaching.

It is essential that as these governmental activities increase, there should be an adequate representation of responsible members of the trade union movement to assist and advise and assume a full share of the duties and the responsibilities which devolve upon those who are to have the directing authority.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to present to the President of the United States the urgent necessity for the appointment of additional representatives of the trade union movement upon the existing commissions and committees, and upon those which may be appointed in the future, so that the trade union movement can give its fullest degree of cooperation to the government in the successful prosecution of the activities required to win the great cause in which we are now involved.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

After the usual announcements relative to committee meetings, the convention adjourned at 12:30 o'colck to reconvene at 2 o'clock.

EIGHTH DAY---Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Tuesday, November 20th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Noschang, Feider, Baine (C. L.), Bowen (Wm. J.), Shaughnessy, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Yates, Kuhlman, Meyer, McNulty, McAndrews, Feeney, Comerford (P. J.), Brennan (W. J.), Manning, Heller, Rosenberg, Eames, McSorley, O'Connell, O'Leary, Taylor, Strain, Lane, Moyer, White (John P.), Mitchell, Farrington, Curran, Corey (D. A.), Weaver (C. A.), Hedrick, Lynch, Schneider, Dold, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Roth, Orr, Mahon, Sheehan (P. F.), Helt, Freel, Sumner, Sillinsky, Gorman, Konenkamp, Agethen, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal (John), McHenry, Jennings Taylor (C. O.), Jarrett, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (Thos.), Raheie, Coughlin (J. P.), Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, O'Dell, Foster (J. T.), Sellons, McAndrew (A.), Henry (Ed. J.), Burch, Clark (E. A.), Cathrall, Randel, Bennett, Young, Bower, Davison (E. C.), Traglio, Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren (H. F.), Iglesias, Reinhard (L. V.), Depp, Spellacy, Allison, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Moore (B. E.), Morris (Mary), Tillman, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Wilkie, Green (Walter), Cuesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Eson, Hanrahan (Wm.), Fitts, Miller (Fred), Juhl, Rincker, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm.

Delegate Hatch, of the Upholsterers' International Union, asked unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution. Consent was granted and the resolution, numbered 171, is as follows:

Resolution No. 171—By Delegate Jas. H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Two hundred members of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, employed by John Wanamaker, Gimbel Brothers, Strawbridge & Clothier, and N. Snellenberg & Co., located in Philadelphia, Pa., have been on strike for ten weeks; and

WHEREAS, We believe through the influence of the American Federation of Labor, a meeting can be arranged between the representatives of the union and the firms involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee, who shall endeavor to arrange a meeting between the representatives of the union and the firms involved, during the week following the adjournment of this convention, with the object of settling the strike and thereby establishing the rate of wages and working conditions that the

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members, of our organization are justly entitled to.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

President Gompers: An invitation was extended to a representative of the Federal Board of Farm Organizations of America: a man who occupies that position, who has given some of his best service for conservation in the history of our country; a man whose name is a household word in doing a great work of constructive thought. A special order has been set for this time, but with the consent of Vice-President Duncan, an opportunity for an address of ten minutes has been given, and I therefore take the pleasure of presenting to you Mr. Gifford Pinchot.

ADDRESS OF MR. PINCHOT.

Mr. Gompers and Delegates: I have wanted to come before you with my colleague, Mr. Cresey, former head of the State Grange of Pennsylvania, as representing the Federal Board of Farm Organizations, with a membership almost as large as your own, a membership of something over two million organized farmers, and what we expect to be in the near future, a membership of two and a half million. This organization was brought together particularly for the purpose of throwing the organized farmers of the country behind the government and the President in the conduct of the war, particularly to do for the farmer what your own organization has done for the man who works off the farm. You will pardon us farmers if we believe that we come nearer to the earth than any other body of men. It is the earth that supplies the essential things for the welfare and life of our children—food, clothing, shelter, industry, manufacturing, transportation and commerce. All these things that make man better than the beast come straight from the earth. But the earth gives all these things to man, not directly, but through the hand of the farmer, for it is the farmer who is her agent in distributing her most valuable benefits. Now the farmer reaching to fundamental things, like all fundamental things, is apt to be overlooked. No other body of equal number in the United States has had so little attention from the government; no other body of men has asked so little and received even less, so much as the farmer, and the farmer, the wage-worker who produces food, sends me here to speak to you as the wage worker who consumes food.

The farmer is not a capitalist, and I want to make that point very strong with you. The farmer is a wage-earner: his average wages may be said to be two or three hundred dollars in products from his farm and three or four hundred dollars that he sells for cash, but what he gets is not the product of his capital but the product of his labor. What he gets is just as much the product of his labor as the work the carpenter does with his tools or the work the plumber does with his tools. The fundamental interests of the farmer are the interests of the wage worker and not the interests of the capitalist, and that is why I am here today.

At first sight it might seem that the interests of the men who are primarily food consumers and the men who are farmers might clash. The more we look behind the apparent figures, the more we study the facts in the background, the more certain we become that the fundamental interests of both are one, and in the long run what is to your advantage is also to the advantage of the farmer; that you get much benefit by the same things and stand very much on the same platform as the farmer does. You and he belong to the great body of American citizens. You and he belong to the great body of American citizens who believe that the government of this country exists mainly for the happiness and welfare of the people and not mainly for the profit of a few of the people. You and the farmer are part of the great majority who earn their living with their hands; who stand outside the privileged class; who believe that special privilege is the central enemy and, above all, who believe that the essential thing to do in these United States is to take political power out of the dollar and put it into the hands of man. The scale of living of the two is about the same and the reserve that the prosperous farmer has in his farm is equivalent to the reserve that the prosperous worker has in his bank. You have long been working together in a nation-wide organization, but the farmer is only just beginning for, from the time since there have been farms there has never been until now one single organization which could bring together all the organized farmers, and all the power of the

organized farmers, and put that power behind the things for which the farmer stands.

The Department of Labor, the Child Labor Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Safety, the Employers' Liability Act, the Workers' Compensation Act, and many other things you have done, and the farmers on their side, acting by little isolated groups, have produced the Parcel Post Law, the Department of Agriculture, the Bureau of Markets, and in nearly every state laws which have been good both for you and for him.

If these things I have said are true, if the essential interests of the wage earner and the farmer are the same, then why is it that these two great bodies of men, two million and a half on your side and two million on his side, should be working with practically the same point of view, and not having the intimate action which would give us, instead of two isolated bodies, one body united for mutual purposes of five million men?

I want to mention just one subject as an illustration of what it means, of what it would mean, what it could mean if these two bodies were working together. I sat here on this platform this morning and listened to a discussion of the paper question, knowing that behind that question lies the question of the control of water power, as one of the delegates mentioned. For nearly ten years, in session after session of the Congress of the United States, the effort has been made to fasten upon the citizens of the United States the greatest of all possible monopolies, the monopoly in water power. The conservation of natural resources means conservation of the raw material of power—coal, oil, natural gas and water power—for the reason that the man who controls power controls everything else. Mechanical power is the key to modern civilization and nations are judged in the scale of that civilization on the basis of how much power they control. Year after year the effort has been made, and has been defeated until now, to put the largest remaining asset that there is in the hands of the people of the nation—to put that also in the hands of the water power monopolies. The farmers have been fighting it and I am here to ask, among other things, your help in the coming session of Congress to see to it that when that effort is renewed, there may be standing beside the farmers, who are fighting the fight of the people, organized labor, whose interests are precisely the same in this matter.

That is only one illustration out of hundreds of how the farmer and the wage-earner, standing together for the same things which mean good citizenship, a fairer distribution of the profits of toil, clean politics, good government and, above all, the use of the natural resources of this country, not mainly to make money for the few but for the profit of all the people. I am not here to tell you how in detail this can be done, but I am willing to say to you on behalf of the organized farmers of America, that we extend to you the hand or brotherhood; that we look to you to help us in the things that are good for us and that we stand willing to help you in the things that are good for you. And remember this—if any man tries to tell you that the farmer is responsible for the high cost of living, that the farmer is a monopolist, that the farmer is grinding the face of the man who must face fact, remember that the farmer is in exactly the same situation you are; remember that where the things the farmer sells has risen 100 per cent., the things the farmer must buy have risen 200 per cent., and more; that it is not the farmer who gets the price you pay for food, mainly, but that at least one-half of that price, and some official figures show 35 per cent. of that price goes to the middle man, and the unfair middle man is the enemy of the farmer just exactly as he is the enemy of the consumer. The interests of the two stand together.

Now, as I said to you, the Federal Board of Farm Organizations came into existence particularly to help us in this war. The best blood of your young men and the best blood of our young men is going out into the trenches to make this fight. The food, the ships, the munitions and, above all, the unconquerable will to carry this thing through to a victorious conclusion rests with the farmers and the laboring men. Together these two great bodies hold the fate of this war in their hands just exactly as they hold the prosperity and the welfare of the country in their hands. We come to you at this time, in this great crisis in the country and the world, saying to you that if there are—and I do not say there are—that if there are subjects in which we must differ, let us frankly differ and let

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it go at that, but that in the vast majority of questions affecting you and affecting us, our interests and your interests are the same. Then, with the will to get together, all that is needed is the simplest machinery, for, if we have been beaten over and over again, as the farmers and you have been beaten over and over again in spite of your magnificent achievements, what power is there in this country that can stand against the just demands of the men and women who produce the raw material and the men and women who make up the finished product? One-third of all the people of the United States are farmers; at least one-third are wage-earners. One-third and one-third make two-thirds of the people of the United States. Banded together is there any power under heaven that can stand against the just demands which this two-thirds unite upon?

President Gompers: Mr. Pinchot, who has just now so eloquently and forcefully addressed us, has asked whether some constructive action may result from his suggestions, and the question of the selection of a committee or the authorization of the Executive Council to meet with like committees or councils of the farmers' organizations might occur for the purpose of formulating some general policy to carry out to a successful conclusion the work and the hopes and the aspirations of both the farmers and the industrial workers. I am placing the matter before the convention and if it be agreeable I will act on the suggestion made by Vice-President Duncan that the matter be referred to the Committee on Organization with the request that they report to this convention before its final adjournment.

Delegate Koveleski moved that the matter be referred to the Committee on Organization, they to report to this convention before its final adjournment. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

President Gompers presented to the convention First Vice-President James Duncan, Special Envoy of the President of the United States to Russia.

REPORT OF VICE-PRESIDENT DUNCAN AS A MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSION TO RUSSIA.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, May 5, 1917.

My Dear Mr. Duncan:

You may have seen in the papers that we are thinking of sending a commission to Russia. I am very anxious that the commission should be really representative of what we are and of what we are thinking and I am writing to ask if it will not be possible for you to be a member of the commission. I hope most sincerely that it will be, for I believe that your co-operation will be of the highest value.

The plan would be for the commission to start as soon as its members could get ready for the journey and to take a government vessel at some port on the Pacific Coast and proceed directly to Vladivostok.

This route has been adopted not merely because it is the safer route, but also because it is thought that the impression made in Russia would be all the deeper if the commission crossed Siberia, where the most dramatic effects of the recent revolution have been witnessed.

The object of the commission is, primarily, to show our interest and sympathy at this critical juncture in Russian affairs and, secondly, to associate ourselves in counsel and in all friendly services with the present government of Russia. It is the opinion of those best acquainted with Russia that the time is most opportune for a visit of this sort from commissioners of the United States and that the effect of it will be in every way helpful and stimulating.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
(Signed) WOODROW WILSON.

Mr. JAMES DUNCAN,
Quincy, Massachusetts.

May 7, 1917.

THE PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. President:

Your kind letter of May 5th received. In it, and in language which in any event would dispel any vestige of lack of co-operation, you ask if it would be possible for me to be a member of the commission you propose to send to Russia.

I realize the intensity of interest in this great and fraternal undertaking with all of its hopes and responsibilities, but when I read in your letter that you believe my co-operation would be of the highest value, and being desirous of helping to express the interest and show the sympathy of our great country toward the Russian people at this critical time in their industrial and political development, I readily agreed to conform to your request that I should be a member of the commission.

I will endeavor to arrange my affairs so that I can be in readiness to travel at the time appointed after receiving the essential information to connect me with others of the commission.

In accepting your kind offer I have in mind the stated object of the commission, namely,—primarily to show our interest and sympathy in this critical juncture in Russian affairs, and to associate ourselves in counsel and in friendly service with the present government of Russia.

I am in hearty accord with this great purpose, and am very hopeful that the recent humanitarian upheaval in Russia will not only insure a great democratic governmental system representing a new and extensive republic, but that the inspiring and logical change may have wholesome influ-

ence upon some other countries in Europe now unhappily also at war.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,
(Signed) JAMES DUNCAN.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE GRANITE CUTTERS' INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA,
Quincy, Mass., May 12, 1917.

This Bears Witness That:—At a meeting of the International Executive Council of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, held at headquarters, Hancock Building, Quincy, Mass., May 13, 1917, and in accordance with the previous information given to this Council by our International President, James Duncan, that President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America had invited him to be one of a commission to visit Russia and the provisional government of that country, bearing a message of good will from the government and people of the United States to the people and provisional government of Russia, on their great revolution which occurred March 12, 1917, freeing the people of that great country from Tsarism and autocracy, and establishing instead a democratic republic, we, the members constituting the Executive Council, advised our International President to go, approved of the invitation that he should do so, and officially authorized him to make the essential arrangements and to proceed with other members of the commission for the purpose designated by President Wilson.

Respectfully and fraternally,
MICHAEL F. TREACY,
HERBERT LUND,
ALEX. PHILLIPS,
WALTER MURRAY,
JOHN KEAST,
ANGUS KERR, Secretary.

Attest:—JAMES DUNCAN,
International President.

WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America.
To all who shall see these Presents, Greeting:

KNOW YE, That reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity, prudence and ability of James Duncan, of Massachusetts, I do hereby designate and appoint him Envoy Extraordinary of the United States of America on Special Mission to Russia, and do authorize and empower him to execute and fulfill the duties of this commission with all the privileges and authorities thereunto of right appertaining.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

Great Seal of The United States

Given under my hand at the City of Washington, this eleventh day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and seventeen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-first.

(Signed)
WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:
(Signed) ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

THE SECRETARY OF LABOR,
Washington, May 14, 1917.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This will introduce to you Mr. James Duncan, who has been selected by the President of the United States as a member of the commission to convey the greetings and good will of the American Government and people to the Government and people of Russia.

Mr. Duncan has been for twenty-two years the International President and Chief Executive Officer of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America, and during most of that time has also been the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor. He is a man well informed upon the economic problems not only of the United States, but of all the industrial countries of the world, and is recognized here as one of the biggest men in the labor movement.

Any courtesies you may extend to him will be highly appreciated by me and by the Department of Labor of this Government, over which I have the honor to preside.

(Signed) W. B. WILSON,
Secretary.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR,
Washington, D. C., May 14, 1917.

TO THE WORKERS—THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA, *Greeting*:

This is to certify that the bearer, Mr. James Duncan, is First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America.

Mr. Duncan has been selected as the representative of the labor movement of America. He is authorized to represent the American Federation of Labor in any conference of workers whether of Russia alone or in a conference of representatives of the workers of the allied countries now at war with the imperial government of Germany. Mr. Duncan is also selected by the government of the democratic republic of the United States of America to bear the message of greeting, good will and fraternity of the American people as a whole to the workers and all the people of Russia.

All the workers—all the people of the allied countries—must stand united in the struggle for the dethronement of Kaiserism with all that it typifies and for all time, so that the peoples of all countries may live their own lives, work out their own problems and determine their own destinies under the benign influences of labor, justice, freedom, democracy and humanity.

Fraternally yours,
(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President,
American Federation of Labor.

By authority of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Address of James Duncan, President of the Granite Cutters' International Association and Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, on allied activities on a diplomatic mission appointed by President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America, to the Russian people and to

their provisional government following the great revolution against Tzarism, autocracy and for Russian democracy, and in favor of a democratic republic.

To the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention, Buffalo, N. Y., November, 1917:

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates and Friends:

In credential or authoritative form the preceding statements to this address to that extent demonstrate my authority or warrant for visiting Russia last summer. It will be perceived the initiative was with the President of the United States through the Department of State.

Taking advantage of the purpose of the visit of the commission to Russia, I received a credential from my colleagues on the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor with reference to direct affairs of organized labor in the United States and in Russia.

With the return of the commission to Washington, D. C., a general report was made to the President through the Secretary of State, and accompanying it there were some detailed statements of the activities in Russia of the individual members of the commission. As such a report was prepared and submitted in diplomatic form, this message is presented at this time in accordance with the credential I had the honor to carry with me to Russia from the American Federation of Labor, and is to that exent an expression primarily but not entirely dealing wih labor affairs and for which other members of the mission are not responsible.

I take this opportunity of putting into record my appreciation of the worthy purpose of President Wilson in forming and sending the friendly mission to Russia and of the honor conferred upon me, a member of organized labor, to be one of the party.

Labor interests, and especially workmen's councils in Russia, had so much to do with the subtle line of procedure which eventually brought about the great and successful Russian revolution, it was justly fitting that on a general commission, representative of the people of this country, organized labor should be represented.

Prior to leaving Washington, D. C., on the exceedingly interesting voyage, we had an earnest and inspiring session and consideration of the subject with President Wilson; and who in choice language expressive of truly democratic impulse and friendship, explained to us the purpose for which the commission had been appointed, and what was in his mind that we collectively and individually should do and say while in Russia. This comprehended conveying to the new democratic republic that the people of the United States of America were principally interested in the foundation and permanency of true democratic principles in their new government, and pledging the fullest support, consistent with the diplomatic and the financial welfare of our great country, to the young democracy of new Russia.

Inspired by the eloquent advice of the President, and each being in harmony with the other, the commission proceeded on its way, each day in conference a proportion of the time considering, discussing, planning how best the duties thus confided could be attended to and the expected result brought about, and permitting a constructive and satisfactory report to be made on the return to Washington.

We left Washington May 15, arrived in Seattle about 2 a. m. Sunday, May 20, were more speedily than could well be imagined transferred from the train to the U. S. S. Buffalo, lying off some distance in the bay, and at 4:05 a. m. the cruiser's bow was turned in a westerly course for far eastern Siberia.

We sailed across the Pacific Ocean—and which was not very pacific—to the southern portion of the peninsula of Alaska and through Unimak Pass into the Behring Sea. This northerly course was followed by Captain Hinds and his excellent navigator, F. H. Kelly, in an effort to keep clear of the dense fog, which in summer occurs in those parts by the cold winds from the north meeting the warm air from the Japan stream. Having sailed north of the Aleutian Islands and at about midnight Saturday, May 26, where the Behring Sea and the Pacific Ocean have but an imaginary line, we crossed the great International Date Line 180 degrees east and west of Greenwich, by which one-half minute after 12 p. m. on that date we were one-half minute into Monday a. m., May 28. This flirtation with cause and effect, while prohibiting opportunity for the customary Sunday devotions, did not seem to upset the mission et al, as it did the jackies aboard, who thereby were cut out of their Sunday release from duty, for following ship routine on the Saturday they had to start the following morning with the duty of Monday. This, however, was balanced later on.

May 30, Decoration Day, found us on the Pacific, south of Petropavlovsk, with a heavy sea, much fog, and some snow. In time we emerged through Amphitrite Strait, south of Kamchatka. The mere name of that portion of Siberia brought happy school days to my mind when in studying the maps and other pedagogic difficulties, Kamchatka, the North Pole Star and Heaven all seemed to be equally remote. We were then in the Sea of Okhotsk, which placed us also north of the Kurile Islands. This stretch of water was calm with considerable fog. Ice floes were encountered sufficiently impressive for Captain Hinds not to argufy with them, for the further we went the greater the obstacles, if not dangers, became. He turned the ship around and, in the language of Shakespeare, "beat it" for a few miles, then took a more southerly course, and outwitted this danger of summertime in northern seas. We passed through La Perouse Strait at the south of Sakhalin Island, into the Gulf of Tartary, thence across the Japan Sea, and up Peter the Great Bay to Vladivostok, Siberia.

On the shore the first official group we met was the Council of Workmen, which constituted a part of the local government. This city, like others in Siberia and Russia at the time, was governed by four councils, each having their subdivision of municipal

authority and such responsibility as could in that way be assumed. Naturally because of essential human activities, the Workmen's Councils were of much importance. I conveyed to this council my first message of friendship, fraternity and democracy from our own country to theirs. The proffer was feelingly accepted, with some display of interest and friendship on the part of our Siberian friends, the first human evidence we had of the aspiring democracy of the Russian dominions.

A word may be in order about the criticism applied outside of Russia to the formation of those councils, constituting municipal government. Although there were four councils, each attended to its sub-division of authority and all four met at stated times in effort to conjointly make municipal government representative and successful. The critics of this quadruple method adopted by those honest but simple-minded men should have instead given some thought to past history. The change had come so quickly in its final and successful stages, the revolutionists had not time nor opportunity to prepare new plans for municipal government.

A study of history would show those critics that the course these people followed was practically what was done during the long parliament when Cromwell and the round-heads were dominant in England. They too formed workmen's and soldiers' councils, civic and financial groups, and tried to practice idealistic municipal government, but the course pursued at that time, although important, had not the magnitude, the scope, nor the influence of the successful and unparalleled revolution of the Russias in 1917.

Nor is this the only historical process to which our Russian friends had recourse, for they adopted methods of procedure such as followed the French revolution and which appealed to them, the more so as every group of musicians from Vladivostok to the Baltic did not seem to tire of playing "The Marseillaise." The late "subjects" of the Tsar were now "citizens" of Russia, just the same as the French revolution produced its "citizens."

Our landing day was Sunday, June 3d, and that afternoon we boarded an excellent train furnished to us by the Russian government, and started on the long voyage—Vladivostok to Petrograd. We were now guests of the Russian Provisional Government, and the train provided with interpreters, both American and Russian, was under charge of a Russia railway official, M. Gorbatenko, who not only could speak both languages, but knew the employments of the populace at the many cities on the long trip, and prearranged meetings at railway stations.

The short route took us through Manchuria. We stopped for several hours at Harbin, the principal city of the north and a railroad center, were met by the mayor and city officials and shown many courtesies and the interesting city, for it had been largely made up in its present form since the Russo-Japan war. The people were principally Manchurian, but with a number of Mongolians, Jews and Russians.

Manchuria, like southern Siberia, although we were perhaps seeing them in the best time of the year, did not convey to us the miserable spectacle so often told of being desolate and almost impossible of cultivation or profitable use. There is safely sufficient excellent soil in Siberia alone, which with transportation and cultivation would raise and distribute sufficient to feed the whole world if it were as thickly populated as China. Manchurians are more indolent than Mongolians. Much migration has been going from Mongolia to Manchuria, especially for farming purposes, and wherever the Mongolian has set up in business he has turned uncultivated lands into flourishing and luxuriant farms. Their modes of living are Mongolian and Manchurian, but their land and their crops are the same as ours, or of any other country, and with opportunity and liberal laws fairly administered, they will make that portion of Asia if not a garden spot, at least equal to our own fertile plains and to the section of Europe often named as its granary.

In Manchuria and in Siberia the chef of the train's commissary department was plentifully offered fresh eggs by the hundred at the rate of $1.50 for two hundred eggs, including the basket holding them, yet for lack of plentiful transportation eggs were selling in Petrograd at ten cents apiece.

Late in the evening of June 6th a great demonstration was tendered us at Chita. Transbaikalia, workmen and soldiers greatly predominating. Suitable addresses were made and a forceful and fraternal response was made by a civilian representing the workmen, and by a leader of the soldiers. In all of the meetings the women from girlhood to old age also plentifully attended and were equally demonstrative in their appreciation of the purposes which had taken us across the Pacific Ocean.

Beautiful Lake Baikal greeted us early on June 7th. Accustomed to magnificent distances, lakes, plateaus and mountain ranges in the United States, we were now being introduced to those in the interior of this undeveloped country which made some of our own extremes in lake, river, and plain more commonplace than our minds had been wont to conceive.

It was a charming morning, clear, cool air, a few breaths of which added to the morning appetite. Interpreters were tardy at reaching the breakfast table on the train, and waiters "did not understand," but with sign language led by genial General Scott, with the few remaining fingers on his hands which the Filipinos had evidently missed, and assisted in the effort by the resourceful Admiral Glennon, we by and by fared fairly well. The signs General Scott made to get boiled eggs cannot of course be described in words, but the gallant admiral arose to the occasion in an effort to get a shake of pepper in his by imitating somewhat violent sneezing, until his abundant frame shook, then smiling complacently to prove the effort was not original; the Russian waiters caught the

spark, and the eggs and pepper were forthcoming.

Lake Baikal is noted for its purity. One can easily see one hundred and fifty feet where bottom is that distance. In places the lake is one mile deep, is surrounded by rocky cliffs and snow-capped mountains. In winter it freezes from the bottom upward, so in June we had no difficulty in yet seeing ice at the bottom near the shore. Baikal is the third largest lake in the world, two in Africa being larger, and as we have some chains of lakes in our own country, the fact that the Great Lakes about equal Baikal gives some opinion of its size and importance.

The manners and life of the people as we got into the interior of this vast country were not only historic, but very interesting. The peasants were poor indeed, yet the men were big, strong, healthy, with perhaps a smattering of indolence which might be excused, because where returns or wages for labor performed are meagre, ambition to earn is not keenly in evidence.

The peasant women are agile, docile, perhaps underfed, poorly clothed, and often had regret or despair so evident in their soft blue eyes and in their somewhat untidy attire, one could, without hearing a lecture upon the subject, divine the oppression and misery they and their people had suffered in the dark past. Yet, it is peculiarly interesting that even under such adverse circumstances stout-hearted and virile men and gifted women are born. It is in one way or another from this portion of the population of greater Russia that the wonderful minds in surgery, poetry, astronomy, literature, science and music have come.

An outlet at the southwestern end of the lake forms a tributary of the great Yenisei River, and which 3,200 miles away opens into the Kara Sea in the Arctic Circle. This was an interesting geographical location. The tributaries of the Lena River form on both sides of Lake Baikal and empty into the Nordenskiold Sea, 2,800 miles away, also in the Arctic Circle. To the west and south of this locality are found the tributaries of the River Ob, which by way of the Gulf of Ob 3,200 miles away, enters the Kara Sea, comparatively speaking but a short distance from the mouth of the Yenisei River. The Amur River has its source nearly on the east shores of Lake Baikal and empties into the Sea of Okhotsk, 2,700 miles away. The area of basins of those four rivers in the aggregate represents 6,270,000 square miles. This river space, added to the fact that Siberia extends from 48 degrees east longitude to 170 degrees west longitude, and from nearly 35 degrees north latitude, with a climate and temperature equal to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, to 76 degrees north latitude in the Arctic Circle, in irregular lines, of course, these being the extremes, gives some idea of the land and water spaces of this yet somewhat unknown country with its almost limitless agricultural, mineral and commercial resources.

In Russia itself four rivers, the Volga, emptying into the Caspian Sea; the Dneiper into the Black Sea, the Don into the Sea of Asov, and the Dvina into the White Sea, have a collective basin area equalling 1,660,000 square miles.

Great as these gems of nature are found to be, they but bring into comparison the magnitude of river space in Siberia. The soil and topography of southern Siberia resembled well-known portions of our own country. Shaggy woodland (but not fruit laden) and gravelly soil resembled Maryland. On the higher ground rugged forests, very green, resembled Vermont. Plateau land was passed resembling Nebraska, and occasionally we rode over country closely resembling South Dakota.

One of the most interesting of cities in Siberia is Irkutsk, just west of Lake Baikal. We had lengthy stops there, both going and returning, met very intelligent Russian men and women, a goodly number of whom conversed with us in our own language, thereby showing their adaptability to international concourse, which discounted our party unless with the assistance of interpreters. A number of interesting Americans were also met, and while all of the latter had a kind word to say for Irkutsk and its people, they invariably mustered the essential wish that they would soon be back in America. This suggestion on their part aroused feelings of interest among some of our Russian friends who, encouraged and inspired thereby, also wished they might return with us. We met many of the citizens on the large, commodious train platform, and through our interpreters groups were formed and the purposes of our mission in their country explained and evidently highly appreciated.

On Saturday, June 9th, we reached Novo Nikolaievsk, a large industrial center, and which might be named the Chicago of South Siberia. I had opportunity here to address a large body of workmen at the station who, I was told through the interpreter, desired most to hear from the representative of American workmen. I took occasion, in addition to delivering a message of good will, to refer to their new opportunities, and in the time at my disposal told them briefly of some of our accomplishments in America, and tendered them any service we might be able to give, including sending them such literature as might be of service, especially with reference to the development of the labor movement in America.

I also urged the necessity of strongly supporting their provisional government, and with other countries to stand true and firm for the ascendency of democracy and the corresponding decline of monarchical and militaristic governments.

The following day, Sunday, June 10th, I delivered a similar address to a large meeting of workmen at the railroad stations of two large cities, Tremen and Kamvschlov, evidently with good effect, for the reception given and the demonstration at the end indicated their high appreciation of American friendship.

Several similar demonstrations and short talks were made, and we crossed the Ural Mountains into Russia proper. After leaving beautiful Ekaterinberg and reaching Viatka, I was introduced to Alex. Samroff, deputy of the Workmen's District Council of the Northwestern Railroad of Russia, who represented 40,000 machinists and

metal workers of Petrograd, and adjoining cities and towns, where machinists and kindred workers were employed. Through him I connected with his union in Petrograd, addressed them through an interpreter, and received an excellent acknowledgment from them for the helpfulness, earnestness and friendship of organized labor in North America.

Our own Government had given us an excellent train with good care, also a naval cruiser with its regularity and discipline, denoting courage and usefulness, and the Provisional Government of Russia supplied for our use an excellent train well equipped in every particular; in fact, it was the train the erstwhile Tsar had used and occupied for his entourage, and on which the little fellow eventually found it convenient to write his abdication bidding farewell forever to autocratic dictatorship. Evidences of his comfort and pleasure were still upon the train, including games he evidently played, among them the royal game of cribbage.

Knowing something of this game, and with such an atmosphere and environment, and having mentally before me a vision of the Tsar abdicating to the people, I could not resist the temptation to challenge the military men on board to try out by this game on the table which the Tsar had used, including his cribbage board, pegs and cards, to settle for all time whether now that democracy was in the ascendency, any form of militarism or the benign influences of industrialism were to be paramount. The military men on the train, rounded up by General Scott, selected from their number a man of many parts, with a constructive and calculating mind, in the person of Colonel Judson, U. S. Engineer, well and favorably known in our own country, especially in Washington, D. C.

There is no need to prolong details. I won; militarism also had to abdicate, and as industrialism was thus in the ascendency, my victorious whoop of joy might have been heard in the Prussian trenches.

On the afternoon of June 13th our train reached Petrograd. Thus in a calendar month we had entirely crossed the two largest countries and the largest ocean, not for the purpose of conquest, or demoralization of peoples, or of their civilization, but with the highest and most kindly feelings begotten of humanitarian and democratic purposes. Changing conditions, climatic and otherwise, in no way abridged or mitigated our ardor, our hopefulness of accomplishment, and our efforts at the spread and uplift of human betterment.

With the same appearance of appreciation which the government had indicated in the excellent train service, we were promptly taken to and domiciled in the famous Winter Palace, Dvortsovy Square, in the center of Petrograd. As far as we have been able to ascertain, we were the first civic commission from a foreign country which had been assigned to compartments in that historic building.

Following a conference between our Mission and Foreign Secretary Terestchenko, I met Minister Thomas of the French Cabinet, who had been for some time in Moscow and Petrograd. In the French Cabinet he represented the workingmen's party, so there was a bond of unity between us. The opportunity was fully utilized in earnest discussion of affairs of mutual interest, the more so as he left for France the following morning.

Weather was very pleasant. Plenty of sunshine with long twilight. Petrograd is fully 60 degrees north latitude, and we were enjoying daylight until midnight. We could read a newspaper outdoors at the bewitching hour, and by 1:15 the rays of the rising sun were visible, and I could tell the time on a nearby clock tower from my room window at 2:00 a. m.

By appointment we met the full Cabinet in session on June 15th at 10 p. m. On behalf of our Mission collectively Ambassador Root made the following statement:

"Mr. President and Members of the Council of Ministers:

"The Mission for which I have the honor to speak is charged by the Government and the people of the United States of America with a mesage to the Government and the people of Russia.

"The Mission comes from a democratic Republic. Its members are commissioned and instructed by a President who holds his high office as Chief Executive of more than one hundred million free people, by virtue of a popular election in which more than eighteen million votes were freely cast and fairly counted, pursuant to law, by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.

"For one hundred and forty years our people have been struggling with the hard problems of self-government. With many shortcomings, many mistakes, many imperfections, we have still maintained order and respect for law, individual freedom and national independence.

"Under the security of our own laws we have grown in strength and prosperity, but we value our freedom more than our wealth. We love liberty, and we cherish above all our possessions the ideals for which our fathers fought and suffered and sacrificed, that America might be free. We believe in the competence and power of democracy, and in our heart of hearts abides a faith in the coming of a better world, in which the humble and oppressed in all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity.

"The news of Russia's new found freedom brought to America universal satisfaction and joy. From all the land sympathy and hope went out toward the new sister in the circle of democracies; and this Mission is sent to express that feeling. The American democracy sends to the democracy of Russia, greetings, sympathy, friendship, brotherhood and God-speed.

"Distant America knows little of the special conditions of Russian life which must give form to the government and to the laws which you are about to create. As we have developed our institutions to serve the needs of our national character and life, so we assume that you will develop your institutions to serve the needs of Russian character and life. As we look across the sea we distinguish no party and no class. We see great Russia as a whole; as the one mighty striving and aspiring democracy. We know the self-control, the essential kindliness, the strong common sense, the courage and the noble idealism of Russian character. We have faith in you all. We pray for

God's blessings upon you all. We believe that you will solve your problems; that you will maintain your liberty, and that our two great nations will march side by side in the triumphant progress of democracy until the old order has everywhere passed and the world is free.

"One fearful danger threatens the liberty of both nations. The armed forces of military autocracy are at the gates of Russia and of her Allies. The triumph of German arms will mean the death of liberty in Russia. No enemy is at the gates of America, but America has come to realize that the triumph of German arms means the death of liberty in the world; that we who love liberty and would keep it must fight for it, and fight now when the free democracies of the world may be strong in union and not delay until they may be beaten down separately in succession.

"So American sends another message to Russia; that we are going to fight, and have already begun to fight, for your freedom equally with our own, and we ask you to fight for our freedom equally with yours. We would make your cause ours, and our cause yours, and with common purpose and the mutual helpfulness of firm alliance, make sure the victory over our common foe.

"You will recognize your own sentiments and purposes in the words of President Wilson to the American Congress, when, on the second of April last, he advised the declaration of war against Germany. He said:

" 'We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government (the German government), following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretentions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.'

"And you will see the feeling toward Russia with which America has entered the great war in another clause of the same address:

"President Wilson further said:

" 'Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.'

"That partnership of honor in the great struggle for human freedom the oldest of the great democracies now seeks in fraternal union with the youngest.

"The practical and specific methods and possibilities of our allied co-operation, the members of the Mission would be glad to discuss with the members of the Government of Russia."

Foreign Minister Terestchenko made the official reply, using the language of this country, his vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation indicating his wide range of knowledge and his scholarly ability. His temperament was that of the statesman and his earnestness and keen observance easily indicated he felt and desired to show the dignity and importance of his official position. In part he said:

"It is a great honor for me to have the pleasure of receiving this High Commission which is sent by the American people and their President to freed Russia, and to express the feelings of deep sympathy which the provisional Government representing the people of Russia have toward your country.

"The event of the great revolution which we have achieved makes allies of the oldest and the newest Republic in the world. Our revolution was based on the same wonderful words which first were expressed in that memorable document in which the American people in 1776 declared their independence. Just as the American people then declared:

> "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such govern-

ment and to provide new guards for their future security."

"The Russian people, who for centuries have been enslaved by a government which was not that which the feeling of the nation wished or wanted, have so declared and shaken off the fetters which bound them; and as the wind blows away the leaves in autumn, so the government which has bound us for centuries has fallen and nothing is left but the free government of the people.

"So the Russian people now stand before the world, conscious of their strength and astonished at the ease with which that revolution happened. And the first days of our freedom indeed brought surprise to us as well as to the rest of the world. But the day which brought the revolution was not only a day which brought freedom, for it brought us face to face with two enormous problems, which now stand before the Russian people, and these problems are the creation of a strong democratic force in the interior of Russia and a fight with the common foe without, with that foe which is fighting you as well as us, and which is now the last fort and last strength of autocracy. And it was with a feeling of gladness that we found you on the side of the allies, and that after our revolution there was no autocracy among those with whom we found ourselves fighting. We found with joy that in the high, lofty motives which have impelled your great republic to enter this conflict there is no strain of autocracy or spirit of conquest—and our free people shall be guided by those same high, lofty motives and principles.

"Now, let us stand together, for we pursue the same endeavor in the war and in the peace which is to follow. We representatives of the Russian nation, who have been placed at its head to lead the Russian nation through its hardships on its way to freedom, following those principles which have always brought a nation from slavery into freedom, are confident we shall find the way which will lead us side by side, not only the Russian people but its allies, along that way which will bring us to future happiness.

"The revolution of Russia was not only a change in the interior situation of the government. It is a moral factor which shows the will of the Russian people in its endeavor to secure liberty and justice; and these elements the Russian people show, and wish to show, not only in their internal affairs, which we ourselves have to lead, and in which we wish to be guided by these principles, but also in our international relations and in our international policy.

"This war, which was brought upon us three years ago, and which the Russian revolution found when it entered the struggle of free nations, left but one door for us to enter and by that door we have entered, and we shall continue in that path. The Russian people strive to the end of militarism and to a durable peace, which would exclude every violence from whatever side it may come and all imperialistic schemes whatever their form may be. The Russian people have no wish of conquest or domination and are opposed to those ideas in others, and first of all they will not allow any of those imperialistic desires which our enemy has formed, manifest or hidden, to come to good in whatever sphere he may have planned them, political, financial or economic. This constitutes the firm will of what Russia has to guard herself against.

"There is also a second great thought which was expressed by that memorable document by which the nation of the United States and its people at the day of their independence declared their desires and wishes, and which says that nations should have a right to show themselves the way they wished to go and to decide for their future; and this high principle the Russian people have accepted and consider that it must guide their politics, and they consider also that all nations, however, small or great, have the right to decide what their future will be, and that no territory and no people can be transferred from one country to another without their consent, like things. Human beings have the right to say for themselves what they shall do and whose subjects they shall become.

"I am happy to see you and happy to say that there is no idea or factor of a moral or material kind to divide us or to prevent us from being hand in hand across the Pacific. These two great peoples, the free people of Russia and the free people of America—the great people of the United States who are the oldest, strongest and purest democracy—hand in hand, will show the way that human happiness will take in the future.

"Allow me, therefore, to greet you, to welcome you in the name of my colleagues and of our government, which represents our people, and to say how happy we are to see you here."

I met Arthur Henderson, of the British Cabinet, who was then in Petrograd, principally on a war mission to Russia, but because he was a good standing member of the British Iron Molders' Union, a working man member of parliament, and a working colleague with Premier Lloyd George, the conferences and discussions in which I had the honor to participate with him, mostly dealt with the interests and purposes of organized labor, their activities and their possibilities. This naturally, because of the circumstances, also included war affairs, for if anything is sufficiently good to desire and to have, it is worth fighting for, and what could be of greater importance and interest than a defense of the democracies of the world?

With such a stake, the closer the workers of the world could get together in common interest, the more far reaching and inspiring was the work. The more is the pity, that in practice and fulfilment the great labor interests of the several countries involved, on the one hand found themselves perforce in part fighting against certain portions of organized labor on the other hand, and that too when it had been expected through international organized labor intercourse, that the workers would join together in all countries against the brutality and horror of war. This was the more deplorable because representatives of organized labor in Central Europe but a few years previously had pledged them-

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selves as matters of right and honor to stand firmly and unitedly against the ravages of war, especially when brought about by monarchical and militaristic intrigue. At the first opportunity they not only abandoned this truly meritorious and humane position, but joining with other militarists boldly crossed their own frontier to lay waste a sister and unoffending country, permitting destruction of its institutions and desecration of its women, plus going so far as to invite workers of sunny Italy to join them in the onslaught on democratic France.

No country was suffering more at the time I had the honor to discuss these things with Mr. Henderson than distracted Russia, whose working people's ideals had been torn asunder by vicious and malicious propaganda to influence them against the manly democratic defense of their new and dearly bought liberty.

Across their western border, in the country from which the most of this ill-advised propaganda emanated, we found a condition which, as far as the desired advancement of the common interests of the public was concerned, might be termed the greatest socialized state, now, practically speaking, without a militant Socialist in it, excepting Dr. Liebnecht, and he was in jail. Incarcerated therein too, if not with the consent of those who should have supported him in his great contention against Prussian militarism and absolutism in government, at least with their quintessent knowledge, and without sufficient protest on their part against the militaristic and monarchical deviltry which had placed good old Liebnecht behind prison bars as if he were a common criminal. Instead he could well have been recognized as a liberator, prepared to suffer for his principles rather than to be swerved from his humanitarian purposes to serve a kult which meant government by the sword, absolutism as the method, and sacrifice of millions of producers of wealth to gratify the war mad intrigue of monarchical and militaristic tyranny which from the dawn of civilization had subjugated and oppressed developing democracy.

I met and held many important conferences with Minister Skobelev of the Department of Labor. Discussion was through interpreters. Happily his first assistant could speak the language of this country, and which was of much assistance. Minister Skobelev was greatly interested in the purpose of our visit to Russia, but especially with what good might result from what I had to say to him about organized workers' activities in America and the assistance he expected we could be to the working people in Russia, and especially to those now forming unions.

He was desirous of knowing about the development of our federal eight-hour law, and how our munition and other workers were affected by it during the stress of war. There was more than appears on the surface involved in his interesting inquiry, for with the revolution had practically come an eight-hour workday, great advances in wages, frequently 100 per cent, but with the new conditions extremes were resorted to. Workers where supplies for the Russian soldiers were badly needed, having grievances in workshops, and who in the new concept of economic conditions thought that discussion of shop grievances should be charged up to the industry, would call a shop meeting of a thousand or more employes on the work. If it took two hours to discuss the subject they sent the conclusion they arrived at to the company's office, with instructions that it be carried out, and on pay day demanded pay for the two hours, because the discussion was upon an industrial condition and was, therefore, chargeable to it.

This abnormal situation not only seriously interfered with the financial prospect of having enough money from the output to pay the new wage rate, but it also seriously interefered with the volume of the output.

I applied myself as carefully and as properly as the circumstances would permit to show that contentions of the kind should not be discussed within the newly established workday, but should occur at meetings in the evenings, and that adjustment processes between the workers and the employer should be introduced whereby fair and logical methods might be applied to a settlement.

Minister Skobelev inquired what our Department of Labor did in connection with contentions of the kind. I explained. He desired to know about our legislation on compensation to workers for trade injuries and for loss of life. I answered him and promised to have printed documents from our Federal and State Governments and from our trade unions sent to his department so that our activities and methods should be at their disposal. This would help to carry out the purposes of President Wilson in sending me to Russia.

I went into further details on this subject with three of Minister Skobelev's assistants, two of whom also spoke the language of this country. Thus I began to be not only representative, but helpful.

Matthew Ivanovich Skobelev was born in 1885 in Baku. He went through the course of studies at the Baku High School, after which he studied at the University of Vienna. He began to work in the Social Democratic party in 1903. In 1912 he was appointed one of the electors of Baku, and later was chosen deputy to the Fourth Estate Duma by the Russian population of the Trans-Caucasus. In the Duma, in the very beginning of the war, together with N. S. Tcheidze, he led the fight against jingo dispositions. The revolution brought him to the first rank, and in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies, which was rapidly formed, he became vice-president, and besides concerned himself with the Division of International Relations. In the Coalition Ministry Skobelev takes the post of Minister of Labor.

Alexander Federovitch Kerensky is a young man comparatively, being 37 years old. He was born in Simbirsk, where his father was director of a high school, and received his first instruction in Tashkent, where he completed the high school course, after which he went to the law school of the University of Petrograd. His studies there concluded, he spent the appointed period as assistant to a commissioner for oaths, after which he be-

came one himself. He subsequently occupied himself prominently with matters relating to political trials. Elected to the fourth Duma from the Government of Saratoff, Kerensky joined the Labor party, very often defending the rights of the laboring classes in impassioned speeches. For his last speech the government of the old regime proposed to try him under section 102 of the penal code, and the order therefor had already been prepared when the revolution occurred.

At the request of, and in company with a number of workmen and soldiers' representatives I visited the meeting place of the Duma. The body was not then in session. They placed me in the chair of faithful and intellectual Rodzianko, president, who but a few weeks previous had declared the motion carried to notify the Tsar that even at his command this Duma would not disband.

I was escorted to the tribune. By this time quite an audience had gathered, principally of soldiers. The commandant of the building and environments was present, and showed me every courtesy. The short statement I made from the tribune was perhaps more historical than literary. Here stood a workingman representative of the great democracy at home, speaking words I hope of comfort and cheer to the new democracy of Europe and Asia, the echoes of whose voice mingled in loyal manner with the echoes of the addresses of Russian revolutionary heroes who had dared to stand there and speak for democracy in the dark past.

It did not require a stretch of imagination to also feel in the atmosphere of this noted building that the echoes to which I have just referred were crowding into oblivion the unsavory messages of the Tsar which from time to time had thwarted the purposes of the representatives of the people and had caused every Duma but one to dissolve the day and date it proposed to enact beneficent and representative legislation.

The interpreters seemed to convey at least the spirit of my thoughts, for the demonstration which followed indicated those present caught the spark.

There were interesting conferences held with groups of workmen and soldiers, visits to factories and to some of their homes, in connection with which the purpose for which we had been sent to Russia was told over and over again. Here was in evidence truly democratic visits by a representative of the United States to a locality where but a few weeks ago absolutism had reigned supreme. It was enough to make one's heart beat hard and fast, and to make one's mind alert and keen with joy to see employes who heretofore had worked the long, long workday under great distress and drudgery, now going home after eight hours' employment, and at increases of one hundred per cent in wages. Even at that, compensation was very low, but the change can scarcely be expressed in words or mentally grasped by hearing feebly expressed words describe the situation.

I went through a factory district in a government automobile. Distances were large, places remote, and conveyance of such a kind was essential. But while the scene gave me great joy and satisfaction, the appearance of the government machine seemed not to be clear in some of the workers' minds. I asked the driver on two occasions to stop, so that I could invite a few careworn, poorly clad working women into the machine to convey them home, and so that I might, through the interpreter, say to them also what I had with some effect related to the group in the Duma. They did not divine my intentions, nor did the sign language bring relief. Perhaps that same government machine carried their minds back but a few weeks when it might have been the means of carrying some of the most virile workers from their factory employment on the first stage of their way to Siberia. I was happy in the thought, however, that I at least had the best of humanitarian intentions, and as the atmosphere by wireless, by some ethereal process yet not defined, in time conveys thoughts and purposes to those at a distance, I took it for granted the happy thought which had been in my mind would find echo in the minds of those workers who, emerging from the darkness of the past, from the struggles, sacrifices and despairs of generations would take comfort, would be inspired in their new environment, and would agree that the change would permit of civic development and betterment, guaranteeing to the future the benign conditions their revolution had made possible.

We went to Moscow, the heart of Russia. This journey was undertaken at the request of the provisional government, so that what we had in mind as a mission might equally be made known to the officials and to the people of the greatest purely Russian city.

After arriving in Moscow, we attended a joint meeting of the Associated Committees of Moscow, at which many important and interesting addresses were delivered, one of especial interest being by R. J. Ischudetzki, a representative of the employes of the War Industrial Committee of Moscow. He was a fine specimen of the intelligent industrial workmen's representatives. After the formal meeting was over I had the pleasure of meeting him and his colleagues to discuss workingmen's industrial activities. He was full of war activity, and of politics, and said he and his colleagues hoped to be able to end the war promptly and successfully, so that there might be opportunity then to depose and dethrone capitalism.

On the same day I also met in conference with the delegates of the Moscow Workmen's and Soldiers' Council.

The following day, Saturday, June 23d, was one of the most strenuous dates for our Mission. It started with our attendance at a meeting of workmen and soldiers. The hall was densely packed, and the weather was very warm. Many women were in the audience, and at this meeting, as at a meeting of the Moscow Duma presided over by Mayor Astrov the previous evening, some of the Russian speakers addressed the assemblage in the language of this country, denoting their study not only of our social conditions but of our language, and the applause which followed the ex-

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pressions in the English language by all the speakers was more noted than that which followed interpretations of same. To some extent the pith of original oratory is usually lost in the interpretations.

A visit was made to the headquarters of the Russian Co-operative Society together with an investigation of its business and banking system. After the manager in charge had made interesting statements about the institution, and especially of its hopes under the new freedom, another employe of the institution, a young lady, in carefully prepared and measured sentences told of the excellent relationship of the management of the society to its employes, and for whom, and especially for the female workers, she was proud to speak. An inquiry into a form of business management, especially with reference to the so-called middleman in business, elicited a reply from the textile manager, an expert in jute and flax, that the society eliminated middlemen, and the business management of the institution attended to same on all told a three per cent. basis, thereby keeping the system and everything appertaining to so-called middlemen's work within the co-operative movement. I will come to another view of this subject later on.

On the same day we attended a meeting of the Moscow Bourse. The addresses made at all of these meetings had direct and specific reference to our Mission in Russia plus the incidental meetings I had an opportunity to attend with the Workmen and Soldiers' delegates, where and when subjects of more direct reference to organized workers were discussed strongly and plentifully along practical rather than theoretical lines.

Four well-attended public meetings were held on this day, which brought the people of Moscow and us into close relationship. The Mayor of the city, who also held other important business, industrial, social and educational positions, was unusually intelligent, earnest and attentive, and left nothing undone which would be helpful to our purposes, comfort and pleasure in the historical city.

Large summer gardens were in evidence here. Public buildings, hotels, etc., were also very large. In some of the pleasure resorts with fine weather but shorter twilight than at Petrograd, there were open-air meetings, where thousands congregated to witness theater scenes, and frequently, evidently for the edification and information of the illiterate, scenes of historical nature were enacted, and that which was unfinished on the previous Saturday evening, for the scenes to which I refer were principally held on that date, was renewed at the following Saturday performance, and by this means those who regularly attended got the story well in mind from seeing it thus acted and, therefore, the "divinity which shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will," played its part in helping to inform even the illiterate. It is true that these meetings were more popular, more largely attended, more appreciated and with greater appearance of freedom than had been the custom before the revolution, but the methods yet followed had to some extent a resemblance to that which had been in practice bofore the revolution occurred.

With further reference to the subject to which I said I would return, I found that the co-operative movement began in Russia October 22, 1865. The event followed close after the birth of modern Russia, when serfdom fell off the limbs of Russia, February 19, 1861, and which event was the greatest reform in Russia prior to the meeting of the Duma in 1905, but all of which events were insignificant compared to the great revolution of March, 1917. Russia's response to the liberation of the millions of peasants from serfdom was the introduction and spread of the co-operative movement. Subsequent statutes and administrative acts unfortunately nearly nullified the utility of the great reform of 1861 and the importance of the statutes of 1864, which had made possible the introduction of the co-operative movement.

The first co-operative institution in Russia was along the lines of a loan and savings association. It began in an obscure locality under the Government of Kostroma, thence spread throughout Russia; but the first Consumers' League was really formed in Siberia. The Zemstvos became interested in the movement and through their assistance co-operative dairies, blacksmith shops, tar works and shoe shops were instituted, principally between 1866 and 1874. From the latter date to 1877, 150 loan and savings associations were annually established. The Zemstvos alone established over 800 of such associations in seven years to 1887.

In July, 1913, Russia contained 12,225 loan and savings associations and credit societies, with a membership of 7,649,102, and the total amount of loans was 519,400,000 roubles. On January 1, 1916, these co-operative associations numbered 15,450. During the recent fifteen years separate co-operative associations began to unite into larger groups. The largest was the Moscow Union of Consumers' Leagues, which by July 1, 1915, was made up of 1,400 minor leagues, with a total capital of 345,760 roubles. The business done by the leagues in 1915 amounted to 22,855,400 roubles.

The center of the co-operative credit organization is the Moscow People's Bank, the business of which in 1914 amounted to 110,221,081 roubles. This amount, as compared with the business done in 1913, shows an increase of 54,214,911 roubles. The business done during the first nine months of 1915 amounted to 141,513,030 roubles. The factor which helped the development of the Russian co-operative movement were the two all-Russian Co-operative Congresses. The first was held at Moscow in 1908 and was attended by 1,800 delegates; the second at Kiev in 1913, attended by 1,500 delegates. At both it was demonstrated that the Russian co-operative movement had already outgrown the legislation which still applied to it. Those Congresses, therefore, pointed out precisely the weak spot in the organization of the movement. This was declared to greatly hamper the great work of organizing the economic forces of Greater Russia. A new law concerning the formation of those societies was demanded. A bill was drafted and introduced in the Duma in August, 1915. It had the support of the Constitutional Democrats and other groups in the Duma, and

with the 1917 revolution intervening, this bill, much improved, is expected to soon be a law of the land.

In comparison, the Labor Gazette of the Board of Trade for September, 1915, gives data concerning the co-operative movement in Great Britain. In the United Kingdom at the end of 1914 there were 1,524 co-operative organizations of all kinds with a total membership of 3,096,000. From this comparison is shown that economic self-government had been politically developed in Russia, at least as far as co-operative societies were concerned, much faster than in Great Britain, which is credited with being the home of political self-government; for in Russia, by the end of 1915, 35,000 co-operative organizations had a membership of approximately 12,000,000, and which, according to the usual calculation, one member of a family holding membership in the Co-operative Society influenced the interests and well being of over 60,000,000 persons, or over one-third of Russia's total population. Investigation in the government of Oufa showed that the average family among members of co-operatives is 6.15 persons, as against 5.8, which is the average for the whole population. Land held by members of the co-operatives is 7.26, as against the average of 5.45. Members of the co-operatives have 3.25 heads of cattle as compared to the average of 2.74 heads.

The development of the co-operative movement in Russia has proceeded on such a gigantic scale because the whole country is economically young but powerful, and full of undeveloped but inexhaustible economic might.

It is but proper to state that the all-Russia co-operative movement by might and main is supporting the provisional government, emphatically believes in the revolution, and is proving to be one of the greatest numerical and moral factors backing up Premier Kerensky and his colleagues in the earnest and untiring effort to bring order out of disorder, and to maintain provisional representation until full constitutional authority has been instituted.

June 24th was Sunday. We were still in Moscow. To be there even in the large interesting city with its two million inhabitants, and riding along the banks of the Moscow River through the city, would be nil without a visit to the famous Kremlin. It was within its walls where the downfall of the great Corsican began; where he saw the impossibility of conquering Russia; where he desecrated its churches by stabling the horses of his guard in them, and where finally from a turret window, and which I visited this Sunday morning, he saw the ancient and famous city afire, leaving him, his army, horses and accoutrements desolate and starving in a foreign land where the natives, even dissatisfied with their own system of government, had no sympathies for him and his cause, nor hope of their deliverance, might he be successful.

The Kremlin is not generally open on Sunday. The Mayor, in compliment to our Mission, not only ordered that it be open in all of its parts for an extended visit by us, but arrangements were made for an additional corps of interpreters, so that the many places of interest might be as thoroughly explained as the circumstances would permit.

To see the Kremlin is to see Moscow; to visit and see Moscow is to see Russians and Russia; hence the importance of our visit to the heart of Russia, and to the famous structure in the center thereof. The first of the buildings in this famous group were erected in the middle of the twelfth century, were improved upon in every century thereafter, and with each addition to the building came the creation of new and famous halls, with competition among all the leading architects of the world as to the production of the best effects in lines, in lighting, and in ornamentation. Foundations and additions had been laid and constructed as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Thus, the latest large addition was declared by the Emperor in 1849 as being "an exquisite example of architecture, a new and worthy ornament to my beloved ancient capital, the more so as it is quite in harmony with the surrounding buildings which are sacred to us and unites with them in reminding us of the bygone centuries and great events in the history of our fatherland." Philarett, the metropolitan of Moscow, at nearly the same time, having reference to the Georgievski Hall, explained that "Tsars like other people built themselves houses in order to have dwelling places suitable to their dignity and requirements of public life. In this instance the Tsar desired it should be an expression of the emperor and the people; that it should be a tablet or stone book, on which could be read present greatness, memorials of the past, and edification for the future."

Alexander's Hall is noted for its elaborate ornamentation, beauty of architecture and great elegance, which, while entitled to the term "magnificent" and constructed really at the expense of the common people, the producers of all wealth, had little in common with their meager and unsatisfactory conditions of life.

St. Andrew's Hall, a magnificent portion of the Kremlin, was erected in honor of the Order of St. Andrew, the device of which is "For Faith and Fidelity." The throne in this room is dazzling, and over it is an "all-seeing eye" surrounded by "sun rays," which in all of the surrounding splendor seems to follow one wherever one goes, thereby bringing out in bold relief the purpose of the ornamentation.

The Red Staircase was more historical than conspicuously architectural. From this position and with the surrounding elegance, the monarchs on certain occasions had appeared to give audience to the favored populace. The latter met in a large quadrangle—"the red square"—from which this famous staircase and the monarch could best be viewed. The staircase got its name from the hugely large, bright red and exceedingly costly carpet or covering which was used only for these official occasions.

The Granoviti Hall, so named because of the light colored stone of which it was built, is both ancient and historic. In this great hall heirs to the throne had been declared, metropolitans instituted, foreign ambassadors received and celebrations of conquest held. It is the oldest part of the palace which has been preserved through the ages,

and during its four hundred years' existence has the credit of having withstood fire, invasion by Napoleon, and vandalism incidental to that and other wars.

Elsewhere throughout the Kremlin may be seen evidences of victories and defeats, paraphernalia used at coronations, famous paintings and statuary, including a gift by Napoleon Bonaparte of a marble statue of himself chiselled and fashioned so much in the toga, crown, features, and bearing of Julius Caesar, that were it not for the Corsican name it bears, the casual observer would think that the presentation and likeness was of the great Caesar.

Within a stone's throw of all this splendor, principally in interior ornamentation, for the exterior of the buildings were all commonplace material, usually with large and still almost clumsy lines, was found a contrast in the preserved rubble stairway, staging and block where Ivan the Terrible and others just about as terrible as this brutal and inhuman monarch, chopped the heads off those who did not agree with the edicts of the Tsars, princes, bishops and metropolitans.

Thus, within the outer walls of this ancient historic building was not only to be found the two extremes to which I have referred, but thousands of other important events and things touching upon and appertaining to the innermost history of artistic, literary and barbaric Russia.

Baron Ramsey, our principal companion and interpreter in this and many other historical visitations, and who had been master of ceremonies under the Tsar for fourteen years, took us somewhat rapidly from hall to apartment, explaining in our own language each historic event associated with the different halls, corridors, galleries and stairways. Here a soul-stirring romance had begun, there a noted personage had been assassinated. In this corner gossipy tsarinas, in mad jealousies, had hatched plots and schemes, which speedily sent someone across "the Great Divide" and advanced some scheming scoundrel to the vacant position; there Napoleon's paifrey had been hitched to an altar and the paraphernalia thereof used as a trough for his food, and yonder in a high turret overlooking the Moscow River, and part of the noted city, were kept in good preservation the room and bed where the great emperor had slept. In one part the greatest of the world's architects had displayed the excellence of their art, and in another locality the paintings and ornamentation composing the structure of the building bade almost defiance to anything elsewhere. Yet by the river which slowly meandered along the wall of the Kremlin, squalid peasants lived, God only knows how, in the most abject poverty, frequently in filth, generally in absolute ignorance as far as school and book education goes, and the more one of the ranks of the common people of America viewed the scene, the more the wonder grew that even such a peasantry had allowed such bombastic veneer, such militaristic authority and such absolutism in government so long to exist.

As guests of Mayor Astrov of Moscow, we motored from the city through a beautiful valley and along the Moscow River to famous Sparrow Hill. Near to this place are the large and comprehensive water works for the city of Moscow. They were famous and had to be visited because by comparison little is done through that great country for the purification of water supply. It was a beautiful and warm Sunday evening. The natural stillness of the locality, after the hustle we had been through, was pleasant and invigorating; in fact, the quietude was only broken by the song of native birds, the latter evidently unmolested by the populace, and by soft, plaintive music somewhere in the distance as one might suppose echoing the outpouring of the souls of the populace over some monstrous deed which at some time had beset them and was being handed down from generation to generation through the skill of the music master.

We dined on the porch where Napoleon had supped the night before he entered Moscow. The terrace has been retained in the position, shape and space it had held and occupied before that attempt at invasion, and if the luxuriant valley, the bustling city all overhung by a deep blue canopy of sky for a roof, looked half as pleasant to the man of fate on that evening as it did on the occasion to which I am referring, it must have appeared to him more or less of a Garden of Eden, both by comparison as to his experience before and after his visit to the heart of Russia.

We returned to Petrograd. Rumors had reached us that the Bolsheviki was about to upset the provisional government. The crude names applied to the political economic groups were not perhaps the best selection, at least to people speaking our language. The word means maximalists—the greatest possible—and which in turn had reference to the extreme in socialism, those who desired to have all governmental affairs immediately and without hesitation socialized, and that no one but extreme radical Socialists who believed in the maximum of that line of thought, including the division of money, lands, property, etc., should hold office.

They despised the moderate Socialists nearly as much as they did the Social Democrats; and the bourgeoisie, or businessmen, etc., were to be entirely eliminated from the social and political state, and simply used as a means to the end of supplying the Bolsheviki with such portion of public activities as might be found necessary. If they were to be measured by the noise they created, they would have been largely in the majority, but in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, about 800 in number, on a test vote in support of the provisional government, 788 delegates voting, 640 voted to sustain the provisional government and 148 opposed. This gives the proportion. The Bolsheviki minority created the noise and endeavored to prevent legislative activity because they were in a minority, and the great majority moved along in business-like fashion as circumstances would permit. Yet the press of our own country, perhaps influenced by pessimistic reports from their representatives, gave to our people one hundred times more news and reference to this breezy minority than was

given to the practical, purposeful and constructive majority.

I had the honor of holding several further conferences with the Minister of Labor, and, by prearrangement, on Friday evening, June 20 (our time—Russian time is thirteen days later), addressed the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies in the Kadetsky Korpus, and which was quite fully published in the following Sunday issue of "Novo Vremya," the official publication of the Minister of Finance, also in the official publication of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council. I was introduced to the assemblage by Chairman Tcheidze, who referred to the militant labor movement of America—the American Federation of Labor. I was escorted to the tribune, and addressed the audience substantially as follows, and which was suitably interpreted:

"Citizen Tcheidze, Chairman and Delegates of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council of Russia, Ladies and Gentlemen:

"As a representative of the organized labor movement of North America, appointed by President Wilson to serve on the Commission from the United States of America to the new Republic of Russia, I bring you fraternal greetings.

"The purpose of the American Mission in coming to Russia and to Petrograd was not to simply bring a message, nor to deliver a lecture, but to congratulate you on the great revolution from autocracy to democracy which has just taken place; to ascertain your needs and methods and to offer such assistance as we in America can be to you in the present inspiring national development.

"It is also a great pleasure to me, as the the International President of my own trade association and as Vice-President of the great organized labor movement of America, to bring fraternal greetings from both to you and to pledge our assistance in whichever way we can be of the fullest service to you.

"The Granite Cutters' Association, of which I am a member and officer, began organizing one hundred years ago. It now includes ninety-six per cent of the men employed in the industry.

"We have one hundred and twelve unions in America, covering the United States and Canada, and which are amalgamated into a general organization—the American Federation of Labor—to which I have already referred and which, with the railroad men of America, amount in numbers to 2,500,000 workers.

"In a general way and through our unions we demand that equal hours of labor and equal compensation be given to women workers as to men, for equal service, and we are endeavoring to organize all women workers into their respective trade or employment unions so that they may have the benefit of organized effort and activity to protect and assist them the same as men enjoy. It has been found to be very difficult to get employers to recognize this demand and to pay the same wages to women as to men, for they have been accustomed to pay them a much lower rate and which was not only unfair to women workers, but they were thereby used to hold down the wage rate paid to men.

"In your present situation you are confronted with a great public responsibility. You are helping, even leading, in the proper and permanent formation of representative government in Russia. Heretofore you have been oppressed both in political procedure and in trade union organization, so your activities thereunder have been principally devoted to a radical change from autocratic to democratic and essentially to representative government.

"Now the authority of autocrats in Russia has been repudiated and you are entrusted with the earnest and constructive work of helping to establish a system of government based upon the consent of those who are to be governed. No government can or should endure that which is not based upon the general consent of the people who are to live under it.

"Recognizing this democratic concept and under the existing circumstances, the responsibility of this Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies is of the utmost importance. For untold centuries, those who follow you will refer back to your opportunity in helping to lay down the great fundamental principles of free and representative government and will point to your wisdom and to your foresight in the same manner as the free citizens of the United States of America do now speak of the statesmanship of those who one hundred and forty-one years ago, formulated the great declarations which form the basic structure of representative government in the greatest democracy the world has thus far witnessed.

"The Republic beyond the Pacific Ocean, proud of its history, jealous of its position among the great nations of the earth, and prepared to defend the principles of democracy against any or all interference, welcomes the citizenship of New Russia on this side of the Pacific to the dignified and honorable position of self-government and to the roster of twentieth century national democracies. Seldom in the world's history has such an opportunity fallen to the lot of responsible men.

"Republics in the past have been organized and too soon have passed into history because of not having been properly organized upon the true fundamentals of democratic government. They represented but a small portion of the people, i. e., the aristocracy, instead of representing all the people. Their laws were not formed for, nor to comprehend the will of those to be governed and, therefore, were doomed to passive existence.

"Dynasties have risen and fallen in other countries much the same and because of similar misrule as that of the Romanovs. Other dynasties have supplanted them and brought similar tyrannical and extreme militaristic procedure, as has been and is yet practiced under the rule of the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns; have kept the common people in degradation and in subjection. But a new time has evolved. The people as a whole dare to be free, they dare to govern themselves and throughout the whole world propose and expect to collaborate in the halls of legislation so that, if they must fight on the battlefields for defense of the right of free people, they themselves will determine the course

to pursue and against whom and for what purpose their life's blood is to be shed.

"In this magnificent aspect the people of America are with you. They have entered the war for that consummation. They propose that the free peoples of the civilized world shall stand together and shall fight together for liberty, for self-government, for free speech, for a free press, for free assemblage, and for the right to protest against wrongs, whether economical or political, and that a public injury to one citizen shall be the concern of all citizens.

"In this way misery, hunger, oppression, lack of employment, partition or desecration of the home circle and governmental inteference with domestic well-being, will be reduced to a minimum. In this way hope of betterment, a sufficiency of food, justice, reasonable guarantee of employment with all its beneficent encouragements, the virtues which brighten the home circle and which give life a humane tone bordering upon that which is divine, will be given due consideration and will be foremost in the minds of those entrusted with public legislation.

"As to general well-being and when your political activities have assumed a more definite and a more permanent attitude, perhaps the organized workers of America may have an opportunity to help in the great work in new Russia of organizing the unorganized working people into militant, usful trade unions. Those, with your soldiers, constitute the common people, and the greatest of American Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, in one of his most brilliant and most lovable statements, with reference to the common people said, "God Almighty must have loved them because He made so many of them."

"We disire to give you information about our own progress. You may thereby receive assistance by copying the methods which brought about our accomplishments and which will be of some service to you. At the same time we hope to have a chance to indicate to you some of the mistakes we have made so that you may profit by avoiding them. Through this comparison of events true and abiding progress will, we hope, constitute your new economic, industrial and agricultural history.

"We strongly recommend to your consideration speedy legislation in favor of a free, compulsory public school and general educational system. This should include provisions for keeping boys and girls at school until they are at least fourteen years of age, so that their bodies and minds may be fitted for active and useful lives. You should also provide for free text books for your public schools, containing truthful, useful, historical, industrial and commercial information, such as would lay a mental foundation in the youthful mind, thereby guaranteeing an intelligent, thrifty, liberal-minded citizenship.

"Such legislation would supply a double purpose. It would not only provide the essential education just referred to, but by keeping boys and girls at school until they are at least fourteen years old and giving them plentiful opportunities for healthful exercise in playgrounds in their spare moments, they will grow up strong, bright and useful citizens, and during this period will not be used in mills and factories at low wages, and unjustly competing against adults for employment. There is nothing more deteriorating to the public welfare than the species of corporation greed which makes money out of the employment and really out of the lives of young children.

"Get into your minds and forever adhere to the thought that public education will be the greatest asset of your new democracy. You will do well as working men and soldiers to encourage in as far as you can do so, that such an educational system as I have referred to will be one of the leading provisions in your contemplated National Constitution, or Bill of Rights, or whatever the new Magna Charta may be designated.

"Enlightened public opinion, the development of your vast national resources, encouragement of the arts and sciences and your broadened public conscience will constitute the greatness of New Russia. This will so far excel the alleged greatness of your neighboring countries who believe and legislate that the arbitrament of the sword should be considered paramount, that by comparison your position will be considered true civilization and those dark and reactionary forces I have referred to will be considered relics of barbarity.

"It is in that which a country excels that its true greatness is recognized, so in preparing your constitutional regulations give free hand to human affairs. Encourage domestic virtues and so go in evidence that all the people in New Russia will breathe more freely and will know that the greatest of all revolutions, that of the Russians in 1917, stands out in history as being unparalleled in bloodlessness as its new constitution may be unprecedented in raising the human equation from semi-serfdom and from race prejudice to a position which will make the Russia of the future loved at home and respected abroad.

"Permit a word about the eight-hour workday. My own trade and in fact the building and many other trades throughout North America enjoy the eight-hour workday. We have a half-holiday upon Saturdays. This makes a work week of forty four hours. We also have a government eight-hour law directly applying to work for the government. Foreseeing the possibilities of emergencies, for sometimes the workingmen are the real statesmen, we provided that the limit of the working day in the event of war, for instance, would not arbitrarily apply. President Wilson fully agreed with us in this view and implicitly trusted to our co-operation in his enormous responsibility at the present time: and, in accordance with the constituted authority in the law, the workday on war materials and on incidental appurtenances has been extended in accordance with war needs. Also in accordance with its provisions, whenever the emergency is over the law automatically resumes its normal functions. Thus we have provided for such an occasion and thereby did not have our eight-hour law revoked, nor was there need for abridging its purposes when the war emergency arose.

"We recommend this subject to your careful consideration, for although you may not have similar eight-hour workday regulations

as we have, and may not have a similar provision for war or other emergency, as I have just referred to, the underlying principle will be found to be of great assistance to those of your people who in factories, mines, mills and shops are employed on war materials for use of the soldiers you represent and who are at the front in your country's service, trying to make the war short, decisive and victorious to Russia and her Allies. In this way the man behind the hammer and the pick can perform essential, if not co-equal service to the activities, sacrifices and patriotism of the man behind the gun. Both need to work conjointly for the common good.

"Naturally soldiers at the front cannot be governed by an eight-hour workday provision. War is not conducted in that way. Workers in mills, factories and shops who are doing their part in assisting the soldiers at the front, need, however, to give the best possible service within the twenty-four hours composing a day, to be helpful to the soldiers. In doing so there will even then be less hardship to them than to the stout-hearted and brave men in the trenches, or who are striking terror into the heart of the enemy with large caliber guns.

"In order to keep the soldiers well supplied with the material they need in their arduous and patriotic work, the example of our workers in America should be followed by you. The recommendation is, therefore, strongly put up to this Council of Workmen and Soldiers, to use all your possible influence in favor, if need be, of the full twenty-four hours in each day, six days of the week, being used in shops, mills and factories to provide the essential equipment to properly support your soldiers at the front.

"Practice and statistics both prove beyond doubt that if workers are employed more than eight hours in twenty-four, they are not so efficient after they have worked eight hours as up to that time. Consequently the same workers should not be expected or required to work more than eight hours in any twenty-four hour day, unless in very great emergency, but two shifts of workers, each of eight hours, or, if occasion calls for it, three shifts each of eight hours in the twenty-four hour day should not only be encouraged, but should be urged in order that your government may thereby have evidence that those in the workshops are performing their full duty to your government and to your soldiers.

"It was to meet such a condition that the emergency clause was added to our eight-hour law, and it is not only working well, but proved the efficiency and the patriotism of our workers in their efforts to supply munitions to all soldiers entrusted with the arduous duty of fighting the foes of freedom.

"The time has come when autocracy and democracy should not both longer exist. One must give way to the other. We in America stand for democracy and we appreciate the fact that New Russia desires our co-operation. This new partnership joins the old world to the new and gives notice to whom it may concern that freedom of action and liberty of thought and expression must prevail.

"The right to go on strike against injustice, oppression, long work days or inadequate wages, is one of the God-given privileges of free men. No man, however, whose mind is on the level, desires to go on strike simply for bravado. Workers have their own welfare to conserve and the brightness of the home circle to respect, so they do not lightly regard this important subject. Therefore, while this God-given privilege should be at all times within our power, striking should only be resorted to when more friendly methods of adjustment of trade contentions have failed.

"What I have said about the strike more forcefully can also be applied to corporations or other employers locking out the workers, for usually a lockout is accompanied with despotic cruelty, sometimes with brutality. The better way is to have trade agreements between workers and their employers. These should contain conditions of employment mutually arranged by a committee representing the workers and a committee representing the employers. That is what we call collective bargaining. It will be found to be of great advantage to have a provision in such an agreement for an effort to mutually adjust disputes. In such a manner workers can have their grievances redressed without causing or incurring drastic procedure.

"In connection with the whole subject kindly take a word of advice from the organized workers of America and see to it that in addition to your political activities and the passage of humane laws by your legislative bodies, the workers in the several employments throughout Russia fully and strongly organize into unions. Our experience in America has been that however beneficent a law may appear to be, and however sympathetic the law-making body may be, the politician or other official to whom authority is given to administer the law, may become careless, sometimes antagonistic, and where there is not strong economic organization to demand enforcement of the law it is difficult to get the labor measure fairly administered.

"The politicians will tell you that redress may be had through the courts. Such a course would practically make workers policemen, as it were, over the acts of those employing them and would raise legal animosity, which between worker and employer is very distasteful and unsatisfactory. We find that when it is known by the government official that members of the trade union will go on strike rather than to submit to infringement of the law or to other injustice, he is more respectful of the provisions of the law.

"In America until recently, in the minds of many corporation managers, the labor power of human beings was considered to be a property right. After many years of legal wrangling and contention the Congress of the United States, with the approval of President Wilson, eventually passed a measure for which organized labor had contended, which plainly and tersely sets forth that the labor power of a worker is not a commodity or article of commerce. A man's labor power is part of his life, co-equal thereto with eyesight or any of the senses. It comes into existence when he is born, it may be affected by injury to him, it goes out of existence at his death, it is not transferable, it is a quality of life and belongs to him to exercise singly

or collectively as he pleases. His labor power is, therefore, his prerogative and not a property right of his employer. When this is clearly understood and fairly recognized, a worker is placed in a position to demand his rights and to exercise his functions as a human being, co-equal with any other citizen.

"Later on, through exchange of communications, correspondence, trade journals and statistical documents, we will endeavor to explain to the workers in Russia how the working people in America have benefited by recognition of what we term 'trade labels.' Our clothing, our boots and shoes, the cigars and tobacco we smoke, the papers and books we read, can all be marked by registered trade labels which give guarantee to the purchaser that the commodity purchased has been produced under union conditions, fair compensation, decent conditions of living and improved sanitation in workshops, for these are qualifications of trade unions, in other words, of collective agreements.

"We firmly believe in you and in your faith for the future of your country. We know that you will not only preserve, but will improve upon your strong national character and this will mean that the Russian people will maintain and utilize the advantages they have gained through your revolution. We are not dismayed by, nor do we give much credence to the pessimistic reports we hear about your internal affairs. Keep on doing your best and all will be well. You have come through the greatest of revolutions better than even many of your friends expected, and those who are opposed to you would not be satisfied nor would they give you credit for, nor encouragement in your endeavors, whatever you might accomplish. In short, they would wish for your downfall, as a means to their own unworthy purposes. Do not be discouraged by their apathy nor permit them to interfere with your solidarity and progress.

"It is with pleasure I have this opportunity to report to you the great enthusiasm in the United States over the Russian Mission which is now proclaiming the same sentiments of friendship and of good will there that the Commission of which I am a member is conveying to the people of Russia. Ambassador Bakhemetieff and the Russian Mission were given an audience in our House of Representatives at Washington at which all the members of the House and Senate were present. Each of the Russian Mission was introduced to each of our Senators and Congressmen after they had listened with great interest and much respect to the address of your Ambassador. In reply to that address the Speaker of our House of Representatives, one of the greatest democrats of our time, made suitable reply. He welcomed the Russian revolution and compared it to the French revolution. Incidentally he reminded his audience that when the United States became a democracy there was but one other republic in the world, namely, Switzerland, and that Russia was the twenty-seventh kingdom which had introduced a republican form of government. He ended his eloquent statement with a remark that in his opinion the Russian revolution is the greatest political event known in history.

"In conclusion, bear in mind that new power brings new responsibilities. The greatest of vices is tyranny. Neither practice it yourself nor permit it to be practiced upon you. Russia has had more than her share of it. Toleration of your neighbor's view is a great virtue. Russia in this critical moment should cultivate it. Being trusted with the science of popular government and conscious that laws must be respected, amending or repealing them as necessity requires, assistance and loyal support should be given to your public officials in the fulfillment of the new duties assigned to them. Such support will do more to establish respect for and confidence in your young democracy than any other single thing.

"Again pledging to you the greatest possible assistance of the organized workers and of all the people of America in your economic and political development, and expressing the hope that when we here assembled shall have passed from this life to that which is beyond, we may feel that we have helped to make the world better than when we came into it and so that our children will bless us for the heritage, I wish you Godspeed."

The Kadetsky Korpus is the largest hall in Petrograd. It was filled. The audience was estimated at about 5,000, for the public was admitted to the portions of the hall not reserved for delegates.

Chairman Tcheidze feelingly responded, and anew asserted, with approval from the audience, that the council favored a continuation of hostilities until the allies were entirely successful, and so that their own democracy not only would be safe, but that there would be opportunities for other countries in the conflict to depose their monarchical oppressors, and also to form representative governments.

The climax of his reply was that Russia desired no annexations and no indemnities, and that localities in other countries directly concerned should be given opportunity to express under what flag and under what conditions they should live and be governed.

This Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates was an elective body. It had taken the place of the voluntary and somewhat unmanageable council of about 2,500 delegates, which assumed authority following the revolution. The new council had called for a general election throughout greater Russia, on a basis of a representative to 25,000 electors. All citizens entitled to vote had an opportunity to do so, but the property owners, business men, and thousands of others failed or refused to participate. However, it was the first elective body in Russia and claimed authority accordingly. This is why this council claimed the right of representation in the cabinet, and to be consulted in reference to legislation. It directed the Duma, which was still meeting, to disband, and on that body not formally agreeing, sent a second message that as the delegates composing it had met under authority of the Tsar, it was not representative and if the delegates proposed to meet they might do so, but would not be compensated nor would legislation enacted by the Duma be respected. Either or both edicts had the

desired effect, for the provisional cabinet would not antagonize the Workmen's Council.

The reference I had made to the relationship of munition workers to the soldiers in the front, and which was meaningfully propounded, had excellent effect, especially among the Cossacks, who are heart and soul with the revolution, and on the following day, early in the morning, I was invited by a civil committee and a group of soldiers to go with them that evening to Pavlovsk, twenty-five miles south of Petrograd, to address a great public meeting there, primarily for the purpose of creating a fund to permit of supplying soldiers at the front with clean, practical and instructive literature. By this means, those among the soldiers who could read would enlighten those who could not, and in that way not only would their spare time at the front be well occupied, but they would know something of the activities on the western front, and of the interest and support of the American people to new Russia.

Mr. Russell and I accepted the invitation, and with the dual committee motored to Pavlovsk. It was the most luxuriant spot I had seen in the country, and I soon learned that it was to that portion of Russia much the same as some of our famous and popular summer resorts are to this country. On the way thither we passed buildings which had been constructed by Catherine the Great for the convenience and pleasure of herself and her guests in summer. Further and somewhat into a woodland seclusion was Tsarskoe-Selo, where Nicholas Romanov, his wife and family were imprisoned. But yesterday, as it were, he was the Tsar of the Russias; now he was citizen Romanov, and not a very desirable citizen at that. The same guard which had kept the populace from annoying him in the dark days of Russia was still on guard, but now placed there to keep the little fellow from escaping. Other mansions equally famous in Russian history laid between Tsarskoe-Selo and Pavlovsk, each of them attired in the luxury of nature without and in splendor within. I mention them not because of these facts, but in contrast to the automobile ride I am describing and its purpose.

Oh, what a change was here! Royalty dethroned, arrested and locked up, could not even think aloud without supervision by the censor; stripped of the robes of fashion and officiality and languishing in durance vile for inglorious deeds perpetrated on an innocent husbandry. On the other hand, a man from the ranks of organized labor, representative of the working people of the grandest republic on earth, passing along the highway unhindered in action, untrammeled in thought, enjoying the virtue and blessing of free speech, breathing a new free Russian atmosphere, without interference from anything or anyone. The aspiring and inspiring situation so gladdened my thoughts that I could not refrain from almost audibly giving expression to my feelings. The interpreter, evidently possessed of the same inspiration, and with keener sense than one would have thought possible, told my companions in the automobile what he thought I was smiling about. Nor did they need to make close observation to catch the theme, for the situation seemed to suggest the same thoughts to all, and before we reached Pavlovsk one of them voluntarily shook my hand in the salvo of mutual understanding, which I think as fully revealed our thoughts, each to each, as by use of the spoken word.

It was an excellent and responsive meeting. I addressed them at 11 p. m. Saturday night, and had the satisfaction of being told by the financial officer of the joint meeting that 25,000 roubles had been cleared for the literary and fraternal purpose to which I have already referred. An excellent musical entertainment preceded the addresses. It was interspersed with folklore, dancing, costumes, recitations, and which in turn were punctuated with what appeared to my untutored musical training to be excellent operatic performances, and all of which presented a Russian scene of mental leisure and revelry much in contrast with the sombre and almost hopeless demeanor of peasant life.

The sun was rising at 1:30 a. m., when the audience dispersed, and I returned to the Winter Palace, Dvortsovy Square, Petrograd, at 3:15 a. m., one of my new Russian friends commenting, as he bade me Godspeed in my further efforts, that in my references to the eight-hour workday and the two or three shift process, my practice of same was more in evidence in the breach than in the observance.

Apart from having been the winter home of the Tsars, the Winter Palace has since sometime after the era of Peter the Great, the founder of Petrograd, a distinctively artistic history, for within its large dimensions are situated some of the finest oil paintings and statuary. Some of the most historic scenes known to history had been enacted within its walls or in the square in front. During the time we had the honor to reside there a large portion of the building had been assigned to a soldiers' convalescent hospital, and the patience of the wounded and the untiring and unlimited services of the nurses and doctors all indicated the zeal, the sacrifice, the stolid determination of those people, men and women, in the great cause of Russian betterment.

Abutting and by a bridge attachment to the Winter Palace is the celebrated art gallery, The Hermitage. Russian lovers of art had been earnest in search for and in the purchase of art treasures for that great institution. Unlike the palace, it did not excel in the number of emblems and insignia of royalty, but rather abounded and featured in pictures and statuary for the sage of art, very frequently and naturally rather taking the form of heroics of humane trend than glorifying or dignifying the supremacy of the sword.

On July 4 we were entertained by Foreign Minister Terestchenko in his office at a truly celebrated luncheon, and especially gotten up because of the day we celebrated. He and his colleagues of the provisional government and many friends gave us joyful and memorable evidence that they knew the day and what it meant. They had called us together in international celebration.

XUM

M. Terestchenko in excellent language and oratory, not only viewed the situation from the new Russian position, but without notes and easily within his memory quoted and referred to pithy portions of our Declaration of Independence.

Ambassador Buchanan of Great Britain seemed to enjoy the apt references, and Senator Root, in response, smiled benignly as eye to eye, looking at Mr. Buchanan, he declared that after all, our American activities in 1776 and thereafter were in training, method and effect but an expression of British descent, similar to and for much the same purpose as the activities now waged on the French front, and the pioneering in the vicinity of Bagdad; in short, fighting for the greater spread and development of democracy and an extension of the liberties of the people of the world from tyrannical and autocratic government.

American Ambassador Francis entertained on the same day, where we met many friends of America both from the United States and from New Russia.

On July 5th I had the honor and the pleasure of addressing the All-Russia Trade Union Convention, then in session in Petrograd. It had met under free conditions the first time. I suitably addressed them and assured them of your fraternal greetings and of your earnest wishes for their advancement and welfare. Three hundred and eighty-eight delegates represented twenty-nine unions. They too were desirous of our trade union reports, statistics, Federal and State legislation with reference to labor. Especially were they desirous of receiving copies of our Constitution books, due cards, secretaries' financial books, report sheets, ledgers and general registers of our affiliated organizations in the American Federation of Labor.

In accordance therewith, and when constitutional authority has been established, I recommend that the executive officers of affiliated organizations in the American Federation of Labor send to Russia, care of the Minister of Labor, Petrograd, copies of those books and documents marked to be given over to officers of trade unions which were represented in the convention in Petrograd July 5th. In doing so send a note that this is done as per the request to me as Envoy of the United States to Russia last summer and further explanation will not be necessary.

Petrograd is situated on what had been the levees of the Neva. It has some of the largest buildings in the world, yet they are partly erected on pile foundations. Pouskin, the Russian dean of poets, described Petrograd as being "international, cold and granite." It is a commercial and international city as compared to Moscow, the mother city of the Russian dominions. The population of both cities has recently largely increased, so that Petrograd contains nearly two and a quarter millions, while Moscow contains about two millions. In both cities, even without much appearance of municipal and almost no police authority, there was little or no evidence of crime or wilful wrong doing. This is said to particularly offset much of the pessimistic magazine and newspaper stories which have been published about murders, robbery, insult to women, etc., and which mainly existed in the overworked thinking apparatus of the writers. Drunkenness was not visible, quarreling, except in heated political argument, was not in evidence, and even then not one instance occurred, at least in the presence of any one of our commission, of a fist fight as a result of political differences. The climax of a political or war argument usually was reached when one of the disputants would offer a package of cigarettes to his opponent and take one himself, each participating in the effort with a feeling that he had won in the argument.

The reason for this marvelous condition is attributable to the fact that prior to the revolution the only things for which the peasantry and the poor, among whom it was supposed criminality lurked, were clubbed and subdued, were the obnoxious rules and regulations laid down by the Tsar and his representatives. He being now deposed, his vicious rules and regulations went with him, as it were; therefore, there was nothing for which those simple-minded peasants could be clubbed and subdued, for they had not had sufficient time since the dark forces were dispelled to cultivate new species of crime for which they should be clubbed or subdued.

The absence of police occurred through their having played their last card in Petrograd on the third day of the revolution, the ides of March, 1917, and which date has not been healthy for Caesars and Tsars. May God will it that the other monarchs bearing that synonym or its equivalent, will be deposed not later than the ides of next March. Be it known to you that these monarchs' titles only differ in environment and pronunciation. He whom we call Caesar was by the people of his time called "Kaiser." It is not, therefore, far from the word "Caesar" to the word "Tsar," simply a slip of the tongue to suit Slavic expression. Nor is it far to the Hohenzollern word "Kaiser," simply another slip of the tongue. It will be pleasing indeed to those of progressive thought if the end of the war sees the getting out of the whole breed whatever their names may be.

The Petrograd police, foreseeing the success of the revolution, set on fire the Palace of Justice, thereby successfully destroying the documentary evidence of their corruption and despotism. The revolutionists met this by setting on fire the police headquarters, "to smoke them out," they said, quoting a phrase from this country. The policemen, foreseeing their fate, begged for the mercy they had never given to others, offered to change their uniforms and go to the front to fight for Russia if their lives were saved. The revolutionists showed they were humanitarians and did not propose even in revenge to be governed by the inhuman customs of only the previous week and saved their lives on the policemen's own proposition. Thus there were no policemen in Petrograd, for no constituted civil authority had yet prepared arrangements of that kind, and instead militiamen, or cadets here and there, and indicated by the white band of mercy on the left arm of their blouses, did such police duty as was necessary and which chiefly consisted of the duties of a traffic squad, namely, to prevent cars and vehicles from running over or interfering with

women and children on the various street crossings.

I was untiring during my sojourn in that interesting country to know what were the sparks which had touched off the revolution. Three years ago in a public statement I opined that sooner than perhaps we might imagine, the outraged people of Russia would rise in rebellion against the Tsar and what he represented, and with the first smell of freedom would pass on in rapid manner to the organization and permanency of one of the most effective and liberal democracies the history of the world had ever known. Last February in the Journal of the trade association of which I am proud to be a member, again did I give expression to much the same thought as follows:

"One of the reasons so many Russians have been slaughtered in the present European war is because the aristocratic government of Russia found that the munitions of war cost a lot of money, while men were cheap. That great country, even by withdrawing its army from its frontier and by starving the invading army, may not be conquered from without, and the system of government has resisted democracy from within. The solution of the great Russian problem may be found to be the opening of the way to the Mediterranean Sea and to the Indian Ocean to the vast products of southern and central Russia, and in exchange for such products will go manufactured articles from other countries. With those products in exchange progressive ideas and the installation and growth of a new democracy will occur, and when the Russian populace once smells freedom and understands what it means, despotism there will be given its quietus. There may be a few estoppages in the great political process which will follow, but in less time than many prophets would name as the limit there will be established on behalf of that great country with its wonderful mineral and agricultural possibilities, a great and permanent democracy born of the cruelties and despotisms in the past, and which will be the most enduring as well as the most co-operative government either of Europe or of Asia."

This I quoted in a conference with Minister of Labor Skobelev at Petrograd, and who replied that perhaps I expected the change would come in slow processes and by the loss of much human blood. He also declared, and which was amplified by others, that none of the prominent Russian revolutionists even expected that the revolution would occur in 1917. I replied I had expected there would be much human blood spilled, but that I had not expected the fight for freedom would be by slow process. My study of Russian conditions and temperament seemed to bring us closer into friendship and faith in the combined interests of our two countries.

There were two sparks which touched off the Russian revolution, the one proceeding almost entirely without contact with the other. Either one of itself might have been successful, but the two without foresight or preparation occurring almost conjointly accomplished in a few days and with little bloodshed what had previously been thought almost impossible.

In the past the army stood with the Tsar, and the Tsar won. The army contained the flower of the young men, the weapons of training and the munitions. The army was obedient. The peasant was not allowed the benefit of education. Such might have interfered with his obedience in the army. At least he would have constructive thoughts. The problem, therefore, was to reach the army. Workmen's Councils had been in session for years before the first Duma in 1905 and have been more in evidence ever since. The workers in the industrial centers of Russia are not illiterate; it is those in the rural and peasant districts who are illiterate. These by the irony of fate composed about 80 per cent. of the population, leaving about 20 per cent. including the so-called upper classes, composing the educated people. It will thus be seen the Workmen's Councils were not numerous nor their membership multitudinous. In accordance, however, with their number, their opportunities and their desires, the more credit is due to them for their accomplishments.

When the 1905 Duma met, those in the rural and peasant localities sent word they would let up in their revolutionary propaganda, such as they had opportunity to express, providing the Duma would guarantee to them sufficient to eat. This again proved the adage that bread is life. Soon after the Duma got into action, and it was evident to the Tsar it proposed to do things, its abolition was ordered. The poor people who had sent the above message construed this to mean they were not even to have sufficient to eat, and it discouraged them. Other Dumas met and in turn were dissolved for the same reason I have just mentioned. Beginning, however, about the time of the first Duma, Workmen's Councils resolved in such manner as was possible to send pamphlets, newspapers, books, carefully prepared and containing correct information, to the rural and peasant districts, so that whomsoever might be found to read would get audiences and would give the information therein contained. Thus informed, the young men who by and by would be diverted from their poor but pacific daily routine into the army would carry with them the lessons and thoughts, the hopes and aspirations of a new and better time, aye, even of a great democracy, in which the native loving and pacific nature of the people would be reflected and in accordance with the new laws, liberty, fraternity and plenty would be their heritage. They were thus taught to make the army a portion of the coming revolution and to co-operate with the Workmen's Councils to make it a success. Those who read these lessons soon found themselves in Siberian prisons, but others immediately took their places, and who in turn also went to prison. Still others took their places, by which time those first imprisoned, their terms having expired, took up the work where the others had left it, and although again consigned to prison, the evolutional process continued. Men and women joined in the noble work. A number of both sexes returned to Petrograd from Siberian prisons while I was there, and one notable character among them was Catherine Breshko-Breshkovskaya, the grandmother of the Russian revolution, now over eighty years of age, and who by the pitilessness of

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tsardom had occupied Siberian prisons for forty-two years during her life, and at no time for committing greater crime than helping to bring on the revolution.

Another somewhat less prominent was Vera Figner, who had been sentenced to Siberia for many years, and on her return a political exile society had been formed on money collected by subscriptions. Political exiles from Siberia and other places go there on their return to Petrograd for two weeks, being provided with room and board, an allowance of money for dinners to meet their friends, and those remaining over the two weeks' limit need to find employment to support them or they may be provided with money to return to their family home.

Marie A. Spiridonova, who eleven years ago had been a school teacher, was among the returned exiles. Her home had been in Little Russia, which at that time had a very oppressive and wicked governor, and who in his madness had ordered soldiers to fire on peasants who had not promptly obeyed his unjust command. The brave and beautiful school teacher shot him dead, had been sentenced to execution for the deed, but the protest from mountain and valley, from stream and lake, also from busy industrial centers had its effect, and the Tsar commuted the sentence to life imprisonment in Siberia. She returned to Petrograd while we were there, not broken in spirit with her long privation, but her health impaired by long imprisonment, and unless the free air of liberated Russia can offset what is feared to be the consumptive germ, she may ere long close her eyes forever, but it will be in view of a scene of heroic deeds performed by her compatriots of both sexes, and the great struggle in which she participated publicly as well as the tortures she endured will live long in the minds of the Russian people when the despot whom she killed, and he who sent her into Siberia will have been forgotten, excepting for such debasing parts as they took in this and similar tragedies.

Following the revolution all political exiles were released and enabled to return home. In some instances this created a scramble during which convicts justly incarcerated took opportunity to escape, for keepers were pushed aside, and this fact, resulting in the convicts reverting to misdeeds, has been charged against developments of the young democracy.

In addition to this is to be added the many sects or sub-divisions in the vast dominions. Siberia has hers,—Western Siberia, Eastern Siberia, Turkestan, Transbakalia, Urkutsk, Yakutsk, Yenieseisk, Toboisk, etc.; Old Russia has hers—Finland, White Russia, Great Russia, Little Russia, South Russia, West Russia, East Russia, Poland and the Crimea. From such diverging geographical and racial sub-divisions the wonder is they have done and are doing so well. Time and fraternal association will weld them into a concrete whole, a vast, well-wishing commonwealth, and which will produce wholesome literature, refined and expressive music, and such a domestic betterment as only emanates from souls and minds released from inhuman and intolerant conditions.

Four members of the provisional cabinet, those who directly represented the Workmen's Council, were men who had devoted much of their time and activities in this direction, namely, Alex. Kerensky, Irakly G. Tseretelli, Matthew I. Skobelev and Victor M. Tchernov. Some of them had been many years in Siberian prisons for this meritorious work. The leaven was working. It worked fairly well, although the young men entering the army had little or no school education. The illiterate mind is in a class by itself. If something interesting is told to or heard by illiterate young persons and which appeals to them, they are so mentally constituted that they can thereafter almost through life repeat verbatim the statement which had appealed to them. Those young peasants were in this receptive mood. The documents emanating from the Workmen's Councils urged them while in the army to be in readiness for the revolution, and when the signal was given, to stand manfully, even sacrificing their lives if need be in joining with the Workmen's Councils by declaring for the revolution and uniting for democracy; that as the army had in the past supported the Tsar and he had thereby won, by the army standing with the purposes of the Workmen's Councils and the revolution democracy would win. During the twelve years of this propaganda, 1905-1917, many of the old soldiers in routine manner had left the army, and the young men to whom this had been told had taken their places, and with the line of reasoning with which God and nature had endowed them, they saw the forcefulness of the point at issue and the value of the stakes involved. This was the condition of the Russian army in the springtime of 1917 in as far as the illiterate young soldier was concerned, and those among them who had had some education were better informed upon the subject than the others, for they in large part had been the teachers of the others, or had been accessory to the preparation and distribution of the literature. This partial review constitutes spark No. 1.

During a few months prior to the springtime of 1917, in fact, about the time Grand Duke Nicholas had been bringing honor to himself and to Russia along the Prussian and Austrian fronts, the Tsar, a modern Adam, received the serpentine apple from the Tsarina, a modern Eve. It was in the form of advice that the glories coming to the Grand Duke should come to him, and that as in several localities he was being twitted for paying more attention to court foibles than to the real interests of his country, he should assume command at the front and leave affairs of state to the Tsarina, her lady friend, Madame Viroubova, the unspeakable Gregory Rasputin, and Sturmer, the German, their representative in the Russian Government. This quartette did not meet in state conclave for the good of Russia. It intensely hated several public men. Among them were Prince George Lvoff, who became premier after the revolution, and Professor Paul Milvoukoff, who in the Duma helped to bring on the revolution, and was the first Foreign Secretary in the provisional government. He had charged that Madame Viroubova had conspired to cause his death. He is a brilliant and finely educated man, but gave up the foreign portfolio because the revolutionary policy did not include

Russia taking and holding Constantinople. Subsequently Rasputin was killed by a Russian princely soldier, now safely basking in the balmy Crimea; Madame Viroubova was imprisoned; Sturmer a few weeks ago died in a Russian prison in Petrograd, and the Tsarina, without her consent, now a citizen of Russia, is with her citizen husband, imprisoned at Tobolsk, Siberia, which until the revolution had been the great distributing center for political exiles.

Thus prompted and with another sinister object in view, the Tsar went to the near front. He arranged that all expenses be curtailed. This included letting damaged rolling stock—locomotives, cars, railway tracks—at and near the front remain in that condition. Utility of and attention to munition plants was minimized, the supply of muskets and munitions was curtailed, but with an increased supply of men. Thousands after thousands of young peasants then in the army had been sent to the front, and in this abnormal condition were ordered to attack the well-equipped German divisions. The latter could array themselves quite a distance from the Russian positions and pour hot shot on them, while the Russians, often sent into the fight with but from two to five rounds of ammunition, had, therefore, scarcely anything with which to defend themselves but their musket and bayonet. To make use of them they had a long distance to go, and on the way met the fate which the Prussians had in store for them. The fact that millions of them thus perished had no other effect upon the Tsar et al. than hope that with so many lost, people in peasant districts would protest against the unequaled slaughter and the Tsar would have apparently a forced excuse for entering into a separate peace with the war-mad Hohenzollern. This went on for months. It is said by those who know that the Russians through this process lost by death in the vicinity of five million soldiers, and that nearly two additional millions have been maimed for life or taken prisoners. Perhaps this holocaust of the Tsar might have had effect and have given his German propagandist quartette the victory of an individual peace, for which they had played such high stakes, but well laid schemes "gang aft agley."

The Duma had again assembled, and in the early months of this year, following the course of other Dumas, began to do things. The Tsar was in a dilemma. Evidently expecting that the slaughter of his soldiers would be sufficiently heavy in his temporary absence, he moved from the near front long enough to give other affairs of state momentary consideration, for the Tsarina's coterie, instead of being able to stop, had instead intensified the popular wave emanating from the activities of the Duma. The Tsar ordered the Duma to dissolve. The Duma promptly instructed its great leader, President Rodzianko, to answer that it refused to dissolve. This was the second spark touching off the Russian revolution.

Immediately the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, for the common soldier, by the process heretofore mentioned, was now a militant democrat, dreading that autocratic influence might have its effect upon the Duma, and that on second thought it might either dissolve as it had been ordered, or withdraw its reforms and remain pussyfooting, declared for the revolution, and T. J. Kyrpichnikov, a young peasant soldier, fired the first shot, starting off the revolution, and which was not only heard from the Roumanian frontier to the narrow stretch of sea off the coast of Alaska, but gave liberty and freedom new meaning and valued impetus from Petrograd to Petrograd the world around in both ways.

In four days the revolution was a success. The soldiers' councils, knowing their duty, called upon their officers to declare their fealty to the revolution. Where the officers did so concord was in evidence. Where they refused and offered fight, which only a few of them did, short periods of combat ended the contention with victory in favor of the common soldier and the man before the mast.

Moscow promptly seconded Petrograd's motion, and the Russian dominions were aflame with joy, the Marseillaise opened and closed all meetings, the Greek Church, dominant throughout Russia (and Russians generally are very religious), promptly fell in line. This body held a temporary conference, then a convention at Moscow, both of which two members of our mission attended, there, too, conveying the spirit of good will from the people of America to the people of Russia.

The Tsar, being deposed, was not now the representative of divinity in that country, and even the Russians stood appalled that their religion should so well bear the loss of the divine (?) representative of the government in church affairs.

Popular elections occurred in connection with their popular church, and those who had stood faithful to the revolution were endorsed and elected, those who fell by the wayside having been the Rasputin coterie who had been so detrimental to the interests of the people. By a convention election the Bishop of Moscow became the Metropolitan of the Greek Church in Russia, and this evolutionary process was a happy sign of the times, for had not this result promptly and properly taken place the revolution would have nevertheless been successful.

Enemy propaganda had been plentifully and maliciously exercised toward all Russian groups where there was the faintest possibility of an audience, whether at meetings along the public streets, in restaurants, in quasi-public meetings, in the navy or at the front. Unfortunately, it was easier for this cruel method to produce results among those who were illiterate than elsewhere, excepting, of course, among intriguers and ex-governmental grafters who expected to gain by their snivelling, unpatriotic and unheroic conduct.

That the soldiers and sailors in the aggregate were not willing to fight is not true. That they did not have respect for their superior officers is mostly a mistake. Prior to the revolution they had often been very cruelly treated in the way of discipline. Petty officers had imposed humiliating and brutal punishment on mere pretext, simply to install obedience. For mere trifles, such as looking to see if one's toes were in line with the others in drill exercises, or for a casual turn of the eyes or head instead of looking straightforward, days of confinement following a brutal slap in the face

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would be applied. Sometimes at the naval base at Helsingfors, for some such alleged violation of a command, two sailors would be placed in one cell for four days, the place not high enough to stand up nor wide enough to lie down, and nothing but a glass of water to drink or eat the first day. This information was given to our full Mission by a young corporal who had the night before told me in greater detail the whole story. He had been elected to the Petrograd local Council of Workmen and Soldiers. His narrative had such a pathetic ring to it that Senator Root, after hearing it, congratulated the young man on the honest outpouring of his soul to men whom he and his associates felt and had a right to feel were their friends.

He ended his soul stirring story with this comment: "What would you liberty loving Americans do if you met men on the street who had treated you and your companions in that way? Would you feel obligated to smile upon or salute them, or would you like we, whose feelings had been hurt, resolve to honor and salute them on duty and in their official capacities, for we know that proper discipline is essential to success in the army and navy, but when off duty either on the ship, or on the parade ground, or in the public street, to pass them as if we had never known them, and had no relationship to their rank?"

This is the true story of claims in the press that Russian soldiers and sailors refused to salute their officers, and who among you, subjected to conditions such as this young corporal described, would feel differently about it if the situation had been yours instead of theirs?

That for the time being the people were, as one might say, intoxicated with their new found liberty is true, and perhaps excusable. They had three hundred years of pent-up feelings, and had in one way or another to express them, hence shouting in glee, singing songs, parading in expression of their feelings, sometimes with music, sometimes without it. But what need of the fife and drum? Their hearts beat true to their new condition. Men and women so situated had to be given opportunity to express themselves in their own way. Nor was this evidence of, nor should it be counted against them as being unpatriotic.

Imagine if you will, for instance, a hard-working union granite cutter, finding at times a relief in the company and acquaintanceship of a beautiful daughter of a wheelwright, and as time went on expectation increased and the happy day occurred, and as a wedding gift an admirer or relative had sent the groom a draft for a million dollars, and as a side issue a country mansion well furnished and stored, and surrounded by orchards, and if when the eventful ceremony was all but concluded and the bride was receiving the homage of the guests, someone in liveried uniform, stiff and austere, tapped that same granite cutter on the shoulder and told him to come with him to perform heroics in the trenches; would you not in the fullness of your hearts feel like extending support to the hewer of stone, if he turned on the militarist and with outstretched hands and an appealing look said to him, "I love my country and will fight for it, but for the love of goodness and under the circumstances with this and this now mine, kindly give me a chance not only for temporary association and ownership, but so that I may really know, after the hard struggles of my employment and the energy I have given to my trade association, that my new partner and I are associated for life, and that these gifts are a reality, and not a dream."

The Russian mind had been through one hazard after another. It now saw partnership in democracy and felt the thrill of new life through freedom, through opportunity of mental and industrial development, and desired a space in which not only to express with glee the great and sudden change, but so that the liberated mind might absorb the full benefits of the new conditions, and thereby to be sure it was not a horrible nightmare in which the ground might slip from under them, or their handhold might be lost, and that they would drop back again into the drudgery and degradation of yesterday. That their minds worked slowly and perhaps on extremes is true, but give them a chance to fully absorb their new responsibilities, and they will develop a democracy not only worth fighting for, but for which they will fight as only free men can.

The adverse propaganda I have referred to was performed principally by Prussians with Russian names, or by Russians under the influence of enemy kult. The Russians called it Prussian intrigue. Somehow at least they made a mental distinction between the term "Prussian" and the general term "German." In this they may have been justified, for Prussia is represented in the Reichstag by 236 out of 397 delegates, Bavaria being next with forty-eight. Prussia contained over 40,000,000 of population out of about 65,000,000 in the German Empire when the present war in Europe began. Bavaria was second with less than 7,000,000. It is true that in the Bundesrath Prussia was represented by but seventeen out of sixty-one representatives. This difference in figures for actual control is easily accounted for. In the choice of members of the Bundesrath the German, including the Prussian people, have nothing to say. They are appointed by the kings, dukes, princes, etc., and have no discretion in any action they take, for they are forbidden by the federated constitution to act excepting by special instructions from the sovereigns who appoint them. The Kaiser as King of Prussia appoints about a third of the members. In addition he appoints three for Alsace-Lorraine. By clever manipulation the appointments for Brunswick and Waldeck are made by the Kaiser, and with this combination it would not be difficult in the language of Tammany, "to get the balance of the controlling vote" from the small states which so much need the Kaiser's financial and other attention, even if Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg were to oppose his plans, which provinces conjointly have fourteen representatives in the Bundesrath. The members of this body all have seats in the Reichstag. The Kaiser's will and pleasure is first recorded in the Bundesrath, the kings, dukes, etc., having instructed their representatives how to vote, then in a

body they go to the Reichstag with the German chancellor as their spokesman, and the Bundesrath tells the Reichstag what to do. Should the latter disagree, which under the circumstances is not very likely because of Prussian domination, neither the Kaiser nor the Bundesrath need to pay attention to the adverse action of the Reichstag. In the process of this federated situation, and after Bismarck through his "influence" had coralled under the federated scheme the Frankfort Diet he boastingly declared, "I flatter myself that I have gradually brought the Diet to a realizing knowledge of its absolute nothingness."

The Russians know these things, and feel they are within numerical, as well as logical bounds, in blaming their current misfortunes in international affairs on the intrigues and connivance of Prussian militarism. Heredity has had much to do with the raging conflict, and which is at the present time so extremely harassing to the working peoples of all the countries of the world, especially those actively participating. With such a trio of families as the Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns and Romanovs, and with their bloody and accursed family histories, what might not be expected as long as they are permitted to rule?

Of the enlightenment of the German people, the student of history would have expected a democracy to form out of that empire sooner than perhaps in Austria-Hungary or in Russia. But with the latter, even with its illiteracy in mind, breaking up the trio of tyrants, it is hoped that Germany as we knew her before this horrible holocaust, will not remain the only evidence of absolutism, militaristic domination, or of lacking a desire for representative government among civilized nations. It present manipulation of so-called legislative representation is a wonderful mathematical problem. When the empire was formed, districts were apportioned for a member to a hundred thousand of the population. Since then—1871 to the latest election—Berlin for instance had grown from a city of 600,000 to two million of people, yet has only six seats in the Reichstag, the same as apportioned to it in the formation of the empire. This, no doubt, is mainly because the great commercial and industrial centers contain the Socialist and liberal votes with the result that four and a quarter million Socialists eventually won 110 seats, while less than three and a quarter million others had 135 of the 397 seats. When war came, and although the delegates of the German trade unions and representatives of the German Socialist Party had pledged their party and their organizations against war, and that they who declared for it should themselves do the fighting, the Russian peasant soldiers whom I have been trying to introduce to you, found that when you scratch the back of a German Socialist, you draw blood from a Prussian militarist. This historic criticism may also be applied to the unions of Germany, but they are not a political entity in the autocratic country, and one has not the same opportunity of judging them as of the same men when wearing political toga.

With these historic conditions before us as far as the populace and the representatives so-called are concerned, what of the chief mogul? Frederick the Great imparted to his immediate family the following advice: "To despoil your neighbors is to deprive them of the means of injuring you." Lest there might be any doubt about this alone having reference to material affairs, he reminded them that "If a Hohenzollern engaged in foreign affairs should remember he is a Christian, he is lost." History also has from the pen of the great Frederick when referring to the first royal Hohenzollern, "Our first diadem was placed on a vain and frivolous head belonging to a crooked and distorted body." With Frederick William the father of Frederick the Great, militarism is recorded as a mania, and to aid in his plans he ordered that "any Prussian who attempted to escape from the kingdom to be hanged." This king's son, and who succeeded him, publicly advised his Hohenzollern family to "not be ashamed of making interesting alliances from which only you yourself can derive the whole advantage. Do not make the foolish mistake of not breaking them when you belief that your interest requires it." Frederick William II was told by his austere uncle, "Do not forget that world policy means almost roguery and rascality." Of this same monarch Mirabeau wrote: "He deceives by system." The present head of the family had a grandfather who with his son "Unser Fritz" have been recorded as the most amiable of the Hohenzollern family, yet William I despoiled nearly all his neighbors, and with Bismarck formed a veritable Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, benevolence falling from the soft blue eyes of the former, while Bismarck marched up and down Europe roaring for blood and iron.

The Hapsburg, which a short time ago at a very old age passed from this life, declared that the Hohenzollern "is a power which listens but to the dictates of egoism, and is under the influence of an ungovernable craving for aggrandizement."

Influenced by this historic aspect, when William II ascended the throne he in a moment of passive contrition declared, "I shall ever be mindful that the eyes of my forefathers look down upon me," and as an incantation the Archbishop of Cologne declared that the reigning Kaiser "is adorned with all the virtues of his Hohenzollern forefathers."

From scenes like these come the conditions which have been bidding strongly to upset the young democracy of Russia. The purpose was not to recommend to nor to advise for Russia's good, but in subtle manner, so that if possible beguiled Russia might lie down and permit these blood and iron despoiling proclivities of the Hohenzollerns to divide and upset their aspirations, to try to put the great country from the Baltic to the Pacific, from India and Afghanistan to the Arctic Circle under the autocratic and militaristic discipline of an absolutism out of place and out of reason with the pacific temperament of the common people of Russia.

As compared to such probabilities we assured our Russian friends the United States of America had no purpose in the great conflict but to aid world's democracy. An-

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nexations of territory were not in our minds; compensation for the part we were performing either punitive or otherwise had not been, and would not be a feature. We pledged them our support in whatever manner it could properly be given, and with grateful thanks for our proffered assistance, for our democratic advice, and for the friendship of the great liberty loving republic across the Pacific, the provisional government gave us a fraternal farewell.

Just before leaving, we witnessed the Women's Brigade having their regimental colors blessed before St. Isaac's. Although being named Amazons, the maimed male soldiers who acted as their guard of honor called them "The Brigade of Death." They were going to the front not only to show their heroic and patriotic determination to help to hold the new democracy, but with a smattering of vengeance because of the stories which had reached them about the desecration of their sisters in the common cause in Belgium.

Our voyage back to Washington was practically across the same course, and which I have already somewhat described. When we reached 180 degrees east and west of Greenwich fate so willed it that we got near to the International Date Line on Sunday. This gave us a Sunday approaching the line, also a Sunday immediately we crossed the line. You are not safe, therefore, at all times to bet that there may not be three Sundays in two weeks. This event repaid the sailors for their loss of a Sunday going west, for we were on the same ship and with the same crew. A great and enthusiastic reception awaited us at Seattle, the fine liberal mindedness of the people of the locality and proverbial of the whole coast, being clearly in evidence. We viewed their city and its environments with its great business possibilities, and attended their public meeting, where the thanks of the American people in an informal way were given to us. After suitable responses in which I was called upon to speak, and including an excellent address by the union iron moulder, Governor Lister of the State of Washington, we continued our easterly course and formally and fully reported to the State Department and to President Wilson, who in one of the historic rooms of the White House proper, sympathetically entered into the discussion and gave us the official public thanks for what he described as duty well performed.

An individual reception from many friends and under the auspices of the Washington C. L. U. had been arranged for me, at which a remembrance from a number of friends in our labor movement was given me, and which I highly appreciated. Receptions by the Mayor of New York City, the Chamber of Commerce there, and by the Union League Club of that great metropolis practically brought to an end the duties of this interesting mission.

During the Chamber of Commerce reception ex-President Theodore Roosevelt in careful and purposeful language, and having reference to the developments within our memory, and which point the way to greater accomplishments in the future, paid our much loved labor movement and its activities the great compliment of making for the industrial democracy of the future, and which almost in solemn words he declared to be the democracy of the future to which political democracy would be not only subservient, but a method of application of its purpose.

To have lived with and among you so many years, and in the world's affairs to have witnessed or had knowledge in the near past of the formation of twenty-five republics, including since our Atlanta convention a republic in China, and now as your representative to have had close personal and official contact with the leading men and events which have brought about the democratic republic of new Russia, then to return and in receiving the homage of friends to hear an ex-president of the United States voluntarily prophesy the advent of the industrial democracy, amounts to such soul-stirring events connected with the throb of human affairs, one even of an optimistic mind must pause to assure one's self it is all real.

The trend of events, slow coming as they are, portend a better time for the human family when there will be less human oppression, greater comradeship, and the peoples of the world permitted to live their own lives in the way of their collective choice.

In conclusion, I have great and abiding faith and confidence in the Russian people. They are beset at present by intrigue from without and by a number of breezy isms from within, but in due time by the adoption of a constitutional Bill of Rights, followed by a general election which will guarantee public and constituted authority, this young democracy will provide ways and means for national defense and for an honored place among nations in the furtherance of human affairs which by far will supersede the otherwise coveted "place in the sun."

Although this report is partly in the nature of a free will offering, yet as stated in the early part thereof, I felt the honor and the responsibility of your credential that I might represent you in any trade, labor, or similar convention or conference it might be possible and advisable for me to attend, and therefore I have prepared this report so that if I have been in any way successful in bringing the common people of the two great countries into closer friendship and unison, and that we may the better understand each other and work together for universal good, the purposes of President Wilson entrusted to me will not only have been thereby accomplished, but will be something of a record of an effort made to bring about those beneficent results.

JAMES DUNCAN,
Envoy to Russia.

It was moved by Delegate Tobin (D. J.), seconded and carried, that the report of Vice-President Duncan be made a part of the official proceedings of the convention and that it be printed in pamphlet form.

Delegate Tobin (D. J.): The discussion on yesterday afternoon has been spoken of by delegates who were here, and I want to say that in line with many other delegates that many international officers obtained considerable information from

the enlightened discussion on the floor of the convention. Many of the delegates have expressed a desire that the entire subject be published in the proceedings for future reference. I know as one delegate that I was much impressed and enlightened with the explanations and statements made by the President of the American Federation of Labor and by Delegates Woll, Berry and others. Knowing that the result of the vote proved that the entire labor movement was substantially back of the administration, not only the national administration, but the American Federation of Labor administraction, in all that it has done in this entire situation, and in order that we may be able to go out among our people and explain exactly what has been done, I move you that the entire discussion on that part of the report of the Executive Council under the head of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy be published verbatim as a part of the proceedings of this convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Frey offered an amendment, which was accepted by the maker of the motion, that the discussion at this morning's session on the same subject be also included.

The motion as amended was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 16—By Delegates Raymond E. Oden and Wm. A. Smith of City Firemen's Union No. 15665:

WHEREAS, The twenty-four hour system for city firemen in this shorter-hour age is indefensible from a social, physical or financial standpoint; and

WHEREAS, City Firemen's Union No. 15665 of Washington, D. C., is now engaged in an effort to abolish this ancient system and establish the humane two-platoon system, which is being so successfully enforced in many larger municipalities of our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, reaffirms its endorsement of the two-platoon system, and instructs its officials to assist City Firemen's Union No. 15665 in their efforts to establish the two-platoon system in the nation's capital; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Honorable Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Vice-President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the chairmen of the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution, with the amendment of the first resolve as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled endorse the two-platoon system and instruct its officials to assist City Firemen's Union No. 15665 in their efforts to establish the two-platoon system in the nation's capitol."

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Charles B. Stillman of the American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, It is now recognized that enlightened public policy demands pension provision for public employes; and

WHEREAS, Our national capital must now be classed among the backward cities in that regard; and

WHEREAS, A carefully prepared bill for the retirement on pension of public scohol teachers in the District of Columbia, known as Senate Bill 640 of the first session of the Sixty-fifth Congress, has been favorably reported, unanimously, by the Senate Committee in charge of the bill; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, endorses the pension bill for public school teachers in the District of Columbia known as Senate Bill 640, and that the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and hereby are instructed to use every available means to secure its enactment at the next session of Congress.

Resolution No. 133—By Delegate Sam DeNedrey, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The High School Teachers' Union of Washington, D. C., and the Central Labor Union of Washington, D. C., have endorsed a bill for the retirement of public school teachers in the District of Columbia, which has been introduced into the Senate of the United States and been unanimously favorably reported by the Senate Committee in charge; and

WHEREAS, This bill vitally affects the interests of the District of Columbia and the educational welfare of its children; and

WHEREAS, This bill, although local in character, must be enacted, if enacted at all, by the Congress of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., do heartily endorse this bill and urge its immediate passage by the Sixty-fifth Congress in its second session; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be furnished to the Vice-President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Your committee considered Resolutions Nos. 23 and 133 jointly, and recommends their adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 33—By Delegate J. F.

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Blakely of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, Milwaukee, Wis.:

WHEREAS, No people can long remain a free people when denied the freedom of the press, free speech or peaceful assemblage, the underlying principles of economic freedom; and

WHEREAS, This doctrine is plainly set forth in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, i. e.:

"Article 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances;" and

WHEREAS, A number of papers have been either suppressed or have had their mailing privileges withdrawn by the Postmaster General's Department, among them some of the staunchest supporters of organized labor, and if such suppression is allowed to continue without protest from the labor movement, the entire labor press of the country is exposed to the possible whim or fancy of the Postmaster General's Department; and

WHEREAS, The American labor movement has always stood for the principles as set forth in the Constitution of the United States, and can only exist and progress while such rights are retained by the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., protest against this arbitrary ruling of the Postmaster General's Department, because it places the entire press and consequently, labor, in jeopardy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be, and hereby are instructed to put forth all their efforts to have the administrative officials of the government at Washington modify their position, and refrain from stopping the publication of newspapers and other publications on technical grounds and in defiance of the Constitution of the United States.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate I. Buchbinder of Neckwear Makers' Union No. 11016, New York City:

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States guarantees to the citizens of the United States the right of free speech, free press and free assembly; and

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department of the United States has curtailed the right of free press to the people of the United States; and

WHEREAS, Said curtailments especially applied to the press published on behalf and in the interest of the labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of said American Federation of Labor, be, and they are hereby instructed to call upon the President of the United States and upon the Postmaster General of the United States, and protest in the name of all the members of the American Federation of Labor against the violation of the Constitution by the said Postmaster General of the United States and demand from said Postmaster General of the United States, as well as the President of the United States, that the right to free press in no wise be abridged or interfered with.

Your committee jointly considered Resolutions Nos. 33 and 97 and recommends their adoption.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Blakely, of the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, discussed the report of the committee and proposed the following amendment: That the officers of the Federation be instructed to see the Postmaster General and ask him to modify his position in the premises and only suppress publications which have been specific in their violation of the law. (Amendment not seconded.)

After a brief statement by Delegate Frey, in which he explained that the report of the committee had covered the ground thoroughly, the convention decided to concur in the action of the committee.

Delegate Voigt requested that he be recorded as voting "no" on accepting the report of the committee on Resolutions 33 and 97.

Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Edward F. McGrady:

WHEREAS, James J. Storrow, a banker of Boston, Mass., has been appointed by Mr. Garfield as his representative in the conservation of coal for the New England district; and

WHEREAS, The said James J. Storrow has seen fit to solicit from the Edison Electric Illuminating Corporation of Boston, Mass., a list of isolated power and lighting plants for the purpose of presentation to his committees in order that they might be in a position to assist the above named corporation in the securing of business; and

WHEREAS, We believe that these actions on the part of Mr. Storrow are being used as a cloak to cover up an ulterior motive, rather than as a legitimate and earnest desire to further the efforts and assist the government in its desire to save coal; and

WHEREAS, The absorbing of these isolated plants by the Edison Corporation will not prevent the use of coal in these plants because of the fact that heat must be maintained in all the buildings where these plants are located; and

WHEREAS, It has been proven in innumerable cases that there is no saving of coal when it becomes necessary to heat a building by live steam; and

WHEREAS, The continuation of the plant means that heat will be procured through the exhaust or waste steam coming from the machine that furnishes both power and light; and

WHEREAS, The benefit derived from this by-product used in the building more than offsets any claim made by Mr. Storrow of savings that can be made; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the acts of Mr. Storrow, so far as they relate to the using of his high office as the selling agency for the Edison Illuminating Corporation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon Mr. Garfield to immediately instruct Mr. Storrow to cease his activities along these lines; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask Mr. Garfield to establish reasonable methods that must be carried out by his assistant; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That if Mr. Garfield refuses to do this, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to place this entire matter before the President of the United States for his consideration.

Your committee assumes no responsibility for the statement contained in the resolution and recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council with the request that it give its assistance to the Boston Central Labor Council in correcting abuses which may exist.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Daniel C. Murphy of the San Francisco Labor Council, San Francisco, Cal.:

WHEREAS, Representatives of the International Negro League have presented to the San Francisco Labor Council for its endorsement, and for endorsement by the American Federation of Labor, certain resolutions, hereinafter fully set forth, dealing with the racial problem occasioned by the presence of thirteen million Negroes in the United States; and

WHEREAS, It is the intent and purpose of the sponsors of said resolutions to secure the co-operation of the American people and the national government in an endeavor to have the nations participating in the coming world's peace conference agree upon a plan to turn over the African continent or parts thereof to the African race and those descendants of said race who live in America and desire to return to Africa, and thus enable the black race to work out its own destiny on an equality with other peoples of the earth; and

WHEREAS, This proposal seems to be one of great importance and worthy of consideration, though one not to be adopted and encouraged or carried into execution except after fullest investigation as to its practicability and desirability as a means to solve the negro problem of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby recommends and directs the Executive Council to promptly and diligently investigate and take such steps as may seem advisable and proper to influence the President and Congress to carry into effect, should they so decide, the intents and purposes of the following resolutions submitted for the consideration of organized labor by the International Negro League, to-wit:

"WHEREAS, President Woodrow Wilson, in his historic war speech, has declared that 'the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts; for democracy; for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government; for the rights and liberties of small nations; for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free; and

"WHEREAS, There are upward of 12,000,000 Americans citizens of negro blood who are compelled to submit to taxation without their having a representative or a voice in the law-making bodies of the nation, millions of whom, in the Southern States, are openly disfranchised and have no voice in their state or local affairs, and are deprived of their civil and property rights by humiliating and jim-crow and segregation laws; and

"WHEREAS, Men, women and children are put to death, oftimes by torture and fire, for slight offenses and for no offense at all, while white men can openly commit crimes against colored women with impunity, which if committed by colored men against white women would mean death by torture. Various other grievances too numerous to mention here could be recorded; and

"WHEREAS, This nation is now at war and as a result great and unusual powers have been given the President which, if he will, can be exercised to abolish many of the wrongs to which American negroes are subjected; and

"WHEREAS, The nation has entered the war for the purpose of protecting the rights of small peoples; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That we American citizens and others respectfully appeal to President Woodrow Wilson to use, now and immediately and to their fullest extent, all the power and influence at his command, to the end that all the political, civil and economic disabilities, so offensive and destructive to the rights of negroes as human beings and American citizens be removed; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, That we call upon the members of the United States Congress and all executive and judicial officers of the land to use their power and influence to the same end."

Your committee can assume no responsibility for statements contained in the resolution, but inasmuch as portions of it refer to the organization of negro workers we recommend that that portion be referred to the Executive Council.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Gorman, of the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, spoke at some length on the subject and took exception to that part of the resolution referring to the treatment of the negroes in the South. He expressed a desire to amend the resolution and was informed by the chair that the

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subject matter before the house was the report of the committee.

Delegate Murphy, of the San Francisco Labor Council, the introducer of the resolution, explained his position and expressed regret that certain parts of the resolution were framed in language offensive to any delegate.

The question was further discussed by Delegates Connors, Switchmen's Union; Bowen of the Bricklayers, Berry of the Printing Pressmen, and others. The principal point of contention was the language in the resolution that was objectionable particularly to the delegates from the South.

Delegates James Duncan and Frey, on behalf of the committee, explained that they appreciated the danger resting in the language contained in the resolution, but that since it was a part of the official proceedings they had no alternative than to submit a report and that they felt all that was necessary was to disclaim all responsibility for the statements contained in the resolution.

Delegate Frey suggested the following as an amendment to the report of the committee: That the committee cannot be responsible for and rejects the statements contained in the resolution, and inasmuch as portions of it refer to organization we refer that portion to the Executive Council.

A motion by Delegate Lennon that the resolution, together with the report of the committee, be laid on the table, was lost.

Delegate Bowen, of the Birmingham, Alabama, Trades Council, asked Delegate Murphy who was responsible for the introduction of the resolution?

Delegate Murphy responded and said that neither he nor the San Francisco Labor Council had any particular interest in the negro workers, but that out of a certain measure of appreciation of support given by the negro workers in a recent strike in San Francisco, the resolution had been introduced at the request of the representatives of the International Negro League.

When Delegate DeNedrey asked a question of Delegate Bowen concerning the organizing of the negro workers Delegate Woll raised the point of order that cross-questioning of delegates in the convention was not permissible. President Gompers declared the point of order well taken.

The matter was further discussed by Delegates Ogletree, John H. Walker, Secretary Frey, Bowen (Wm. J.) and others.

President Gompers then read Section 6 of Article XI, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, which is as follows:

"Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interests of the trade union movement to do so."

Secretary Frey then read the amended report of the committee, which was as follows: "Your committee cannot be responsible for and rejects the statements contained in the resolution, but inasmuch as portions of it refer to the organization of negro workers the committee recommends that that portion be referred to the Executive Council."

The convention adopted the amended report of the committee.

At 6:20 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, November 21st.

NINTH DAY---Wednesday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 21, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Wednesday, November 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Sovey, Reddick, Anderson (Mary), Jones, Price, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Yates, Kuhlman, McAndrews (Jas.), Bugniazet, Edgerton, Etheridge, Brennan (Wm. J.), Bechtold, Rosenberg, Greenstein, O'Leary, Lane, White, (J. P.), Hayes (Frank), Mitchell, Moore (John), Weaver, Hedrick, Lynch, Schneider (Geo. J.), Dold, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson, Roth, Lyons, Berry, Orr, Sheehan, Freel, Sumner, Stilliman, Bode, Konenkamp, McMahon, Williams (Thos. J.), Agether, Scott (Marsden G.), Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Taylor (C. O.), Holland, Jarrett, Kennedy, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (Thos. D.), Rahele, Robinson, Harlin, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, McDonald (John A.), Gorman, Brindell, Hodges, Burch, Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Martindale, Wilkinson, Traglio, Woodmansee, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Hester, Casey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, Mezzacapo, Morris, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Wilkie, Green, Quesse, Malone, Busch, Eson, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson (E. D.), Fitts, Miller, Battle, Juhl, Pollock, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from George Tebbinhoff, Secretary W. G. W. A. District Council No. 8, of Cincinnati, urging that the next convention be held in Cincinnati. He also read the following telegrams:

New York, N. Y., November 19, 1917.
Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor Convention, Buffalo, N. Y.:
I regret that work of the three state commissions of which I am chairman renders it impossible that I shall be able to attend any sessions of the convention. May I ask you to extend sincerest hope for successful convention and convey to delegates my disappointment that I may not this year have the pleasure of meeting with them. JOHN MITCHELL.

New York, N. Y., November 19, 1917.
Hugh Frayne, Hotel Statler, Buffalo, N. Y.:
Window cleaners' strike settled; returned to work this morning; increase three dollars per week. WILLIAM COLLINS.

Secretary Morrison announced that a communication had been received from Vice-President Mahon stating that he was quite ill and would not be present at the convention.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Your Credential Committee recommends that the name of Charles E. Kinskey be substituted for the name of Marsden G. Scott of the Typographical Union.

Respectfully submitted:

E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman;
T. P. HYLAND,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate MacPherson, of the Carriage, Wagon and Automobile Workers of North America, asked unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution in regard to union labor being employed in the manufacture of vehicles which will ultimately go to the government.

Delegate Kline raised objection and the request therefore was not granted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Secretary Frey, for the committee, submitted the following:

The following telegram from the president of the Globe Miners' Union was referred to your Committee on Resolutions:

Globe, Ariz., November 14, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.:
Conditions in Globe very unsatisfactory, although miners involved agreed to abide by the ruling of the President's special commission. The copper companies are not keeping their part of the agreement. Many of our active members have been refused employment and this organization requests the A. F. of L. to demand that President

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Wilson insist on mining companies living up to terms of settlement.

S. J. FORD,
President Globe Miners' Union.

Your committee endorses the action of the miners in abiding by the decision of the President's special commission, and recommends that the subject matter of the protest be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to confer with President Moyer of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union and give such assistance as is possible in securing the correction of any injustice which may have been done.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, Thousands of postal employes throughout the postal service are compelled to work nights under conditions inimical to their mental and physical well-being; and

WHEREAS, The Postal Department grants no recognition by either a wage or a time differential of the admitted hardships of night work; and

WHEREAS, The affiliated postal employes are endeavoring to eliminate unnecessary night work in the service by securing a reduction in the daily working schedules of fifteen minutes in every hour worked after 6 p. m. and prior to 6 a. m.—a legislative reform beneficial to the men in the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention heartily endorse the efforts of the affiliated postal workers to minimize night work in the service and instruct the Executive Council to co-operate in securing from the Sixty-fifth Congress the needed legislation.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 51.—By Delegate Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes; Florence Etheridge of the National Federation of Federal Employes, and Edward J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers:

WHEREAS, The retirement of superannuated civil service employes upon service annuities is now generally recognized as justifiable from both a humane and a business standpoint; and

WHEREAS, The United States Government is one of the few in the world that makes no provision for the retirement of its aged civil service workers, resulting in one of two conditions; men are heartlessly dismissed after years of faithful service, or they are retained upon the payroll when no longer able to render efficient service; and

WHEREAS, The compensation of government employes is insufficient to permit of adequate savings for voluntary retirement in old age; and

WHEREAS, All political parties in their platforms have pledged their support for the enactment of retirement legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as favoring an equitable retirement law for superannuated government employes, and that the Executive Council is hereby instructed to use every means at their command to secure the enactment of such legislation by the Sixty-fifth Congress.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

We hereby reaffirm our previous declaration in behalf of Woman Suffrage and the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate Mary Anderson, National Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, and Elizabeth Christman, Delegate National Women's Trade Union League:

WHEREAS, The efforts of individual nations to raise the standard of life for their own workers are perpetually hindered through the international trade competition of countries with lower standards, it has now become necessary to meet this situation through international agreement; and

WHEREAS, During the war the working people have in every nation contributed their all; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, in convention, urge that there be included in the treaty of peace to be signed at the conclusion of the war, labor clauses, to take effect within a definite time, prescribing standards covering conditions of work, the hours of work, and the wages paid, so that the workers may be insured such elementary rights as the eight-hour day, one day rest in seven, no child labor, the abolishment of night work for women, a living wage in proportion to the cost of living in each country, and equal pay for equal work; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Government of the United States be requested to adopt for its agents and employes of every grade, men and women, the principles of equal pay for equal work; the higher positions to be filled according to capacity and merit, without distinction of sex; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to make systematic investigation of the state of men's and women's wages in this country, a national bureau of wages be established using as far as possible a machinery already existing appropriate for that purpose; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we endorse the movement for the establishment of an international bureau of wages, with a view to

centralizing information of every kind concerning wages for federating national bureaus; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States be urged to appoint representatives of organized labor to attend any conference that may be held between nations to discuss terms of peace; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the United States Government and the Secretary of Labor.

While your committee is in thorough accord with the necessity for establishing terms of employment and conditions of labor which will give to the toilers an adequate opportunity to elevate their standard of living, it cannot endorse several of the proposals contained in the resolution, while other proposals with which it is in accord will be covered in the report of the Committee on International Relations. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 76—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do all in its power to have the compensation law of the State of New York restored to its original form whereby all men may be protected.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to co-operate with the International Longshoremen's Association and the New York State Federation of Labor in securing the changes in the law requested.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 78—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Some years ago the government maintained a marine hospital in the city of Pittsburg, Pa., but some few years later this was discontinued; and

WHEREAS, When the marine hospital was done away with it was the understanding that the government would maintain a marine ward in some hospital, which has not been done; and

WHEREAS, The men who are engaged in marine work, when sick or disabled are new being sent to whatever hospital they are assigned for these sick workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this matter be brought to the attention of the Department of Commerce and an effort made to have the government again establish, or re-open a marine hospital in Pittsburg.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to co-operate with the International Longshoremen's Association in taking up the question with the Department of Commerce.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate James Duncan, President Granite Cutters' International Association of America:

WHEREAS, The protection of our national institutions and the defense of democracy are as essential to real and earnest citizenship as is enjoyment of the social, economic, political and industrial benefits and blessings of our great countries; and

WHEREAS, True democracy requires that all should bear equal responsibilities in the defense of our respective countries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November, 1917, recommends to all affiliated organizations, which may not now have the following provision in their Constitutions, that they change their fundamental laws to provide: "That men coming from abroad to the United States and to Canada, or who are born here of foreign parents, before they make application for membership, or are admitted to membership in the respective organizations, they shall either be citizens of the United States, or of Canada, or shall have officially and in accordance with law declared their intentions of becoming citizens."

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Sarah Shapiro: I would like to know whether, if this resolution is adopted, a member applying for membership in the union would not be admitted, if he or she has not declared his intention for citizenship?

President Gompers: The resolution, if adopted by this convention, is an expression that the unions should adopt, as part of their Constitution, a provision that any person coming to the United States or Canada from any other country should first be a citizen of the United States or have declared his or her intention to become a citizen before they can become accepted as a member of the union.

Delegate Felder: What effect would it have upon those who are non-citizens of the United States and are members of organizations at this time?

Vice-President Duncan, for the committee: It would have no effect at all. It can only be effective after the affiliated organizations have placed it in their law.

Delegate Sarah Shapiro spoke in opposition to the report of the committee.

Delegate J. G. Brown, while not opposed to the intent of the resolution, said that he

believed it would interfere with the organization of the Oriental workers in the Western States, and no doubt with the Mexican workers in the metalliferous mining districts. He offered an amendment to the report of the committee, that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that they modify or enlarge the declaration so as to meet in a measure the problems that are confronting organized labor in connection with the needed organization of Oriental laborers and the Mexican laborers near the border.

The amendment was seconded by Delegate Moyer.

Delegate Lennon spoke in favor of the report of the committee and expressed the view that those who are making their living in and enjoying the benefits which the country affords should be citizens of it.

Delegate McKillop opposed the report of the committee.

President Gompers requested the delegates to confine their remarks to the motion to refer the matter to the Executive Council.

Delegate Woll spoke in favor of the amendment, basing his opinion on the belief that the resolution if adopted might conflict with treaties with certain foreign countries.

Vice-President Duncan reminded the delegates that the resolution and the report of the committee was nothing more nor less than a recommendation and that it would be up to the various organizations to accept or reject it.

Delegate Williams of the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers opposed the resolution and favored referring the matter to the Executive Council because he believed that if the resolution were adopted it would interfere seriously with the organization of the foreign-speaking people in the iron and steel industry.

Delegate Felder spoke in favor of the amendment.

Delegate McClory concurred in the sentiments expressed by Delegate Woll.

Delegate Hevey made reference to the large number of Belgians, Frenchmen and men of other nationalities who come to this country to enjoy its liberty and said he did not believe they should be deprived of that right by the adoption of such a measure.

Vice-President Duncan spoke in favor of the resolution and referred to the large numbers of American boys now fighting on foreign battle fields. He said it was the duty of those aliens working and living in the United States to take their place on the firing line beside these boys.

Delegate Proebstle of the Brewery Workers said that a law similar to the intent of the resolution had been in effect in his organization for the past twenty years. He referred to the practice of what he termed "pettifogging lawyers" in certain districts charging exorbitant fees when foreigners made application for citizenship papers.

Delegate Dobson of the Bricklayers spoke in opposition to the amendment and emphatically expressed the hope that the original resolution and the report of the committee would be adopted.

Delegate McDonald, Central Labor Union, Scranton, Pa., advocated the mapping out of some plan whereby the foreign workers in the United States would not be taken advantage of in the future by unscrupulous lawyers.

Delegate Cannon spoke at some length in favor of referring the matter to the Executive Council. He opposed the adoption of the resolution on the ground that it would excite suspicion and distrust among the Mexican workers, in whom he said it had been impossible to instill the principles of trade unionism until only recently. Conditions in Arizona and New Mexico were reviewed in some detail and the delegate told of the success which had been met with in getting the co-operation of the Mexican workers there. He further advocated the establishment through the American Federation of Labor of some sort of school or bureau that will educate the foreign workers to the necessity of becoming citizens of the United States.

Delegate Frey called the attention of the delegates to the fact that the substance of the resolution did not make it compulsory upon the various organizations to incorporate the provision suggested in their law.

Delegate William Green spoke in favor of the amendment because he said he knew from experience that the work of organizing the men in the mine working industry would be seriously hindered and hampered by the adoption of the resolution.

The previous question was called for and the request supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

The motion to adopt the amendment offered by Delegate J. G. Brown was carried.

The convention adopted the report of the committee as amended.

Secretary Frey, continuing for the com-

mittee: The committee amended Resolution No. 144 to read as follows:

The committee recommended the adoption of Resolution No. 144, when amended, to read as follows:

Resolution No. 144—By Delegate Edward F. McGrady of Boston C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, The United States Government has passed the Conscription Law compelling every citizen of the United States between the ages of 21 and 30, who is physically fit, to bear arms and fight for the defense of our country; and

WHEREAS, There are hundreds of thousands of aliens from the countries which are our allies who have been in the United States more than five years, who are between the ages of 21 and 30, and who have not taken out citizenship papers nor have they declared their intention to do so; and

WHEREAS, These men have refused to assist our country or their own in the present war; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled go on record as being in favor of legislation or the entering into of treaties with our allies that will compel these aliens to bear arms in defense of our country, or to join the forces of their own country, or to be deported from our country.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Brown: I would like to ask the committee a question. Does that refer to all the allies?

Secretary Frey: It refers to all aliens between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years who come from the countries which are our allies.

Delegate McGrady: Delegate Duncan, in discussing the resolution that has just been disposed of, said that perhaps that resolution at this time was not a burning issue. I believe the resolution before you now is a burning and live issue that must be met now or in the very near future. I felt very much pleased yesterday to listen to the patriotic utterances of the delegates when they pledged their fealty and loyalty to the President of the United States and this Government now at war. When the American Federation of Labor shortly after war was declared took its place beside this government in order to make this war successful for democracy and humanity, we from the State of Massachusetts, from the city of Boston, took our place beside President Gompers and his Executive Council. The Governor of Massachusetts asked me if I would serve as labor's representative on the Public Safety Committee, and part of my duty as labor's representative was to raise money for Liberty Bonds. The Boston Central Labor Union raised $385,000 in the first issue and in the second issue we raised $280,000, headed by a magnificent single contribution from the Boot and Shoe Workers' organization of $50,000. They asked us to try and reach the young men of this country and see if we could not get them to volunteer. I take a great deal of pride at this particular time in telling this convention that sixty-three per cent. of the volunteers from the State of Massachusetts were men who carried trade union cards in their pockets.

The ages set for the fighting forces of this country were twenty-one to thirty years. The flower of American humanity, the very life-blood of the membership of organized labor, because the men between those ages are the life-blood of the American labor movement. I went all over the state of Massachusetts trying to arouse the alien of our state to do his duty. In the town in which I live we have 2,200 Belgians and I know you will be surprised and disappointed to know that out of 2,200 Belgians coming from a country that was so bitterly treated by the Huns, only 18 men volunteered their services to make the fight for humanity and liberty. In the state of Massachusetts we have over 500,000 of British blood and less than 3 per cent of the 500,000 volunteered their services to fight for either England, or for America, or for humanity and democracy.

That is the situation that confronted us in Massachusetts, and it is reasonable to assume that almost that same proportion exists throughout the other states on the Atlantic seaboard. My old dad in 1861 marched away to preserve this Union. In 1898 I marched away, and it has been my proud privilege inside of three months to see my boy march away. Why should my neighbor next door, who has lived here nineteen years and who has never become an American citizen, why should his two boys be allowed to live here side by side with me and my family and make no sacrifice? I believe it is absolutely unfair, and if the American public have not woke up to the fact that danger confronts them they will wake up in the near future when the transports come back to our shores bearing the bodies of our sons and members who have made the supreme sacrifice that we are called upon to make in a war that we have nothing to do with.

I don't believe in war unless it is absolutely necessary to preserve this country of ours, and we have nothing to do with this fight across the water. Belgium,

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France, England and the rest of those foreign nations got into the tangle and why should we sacrifice millions and millions of our boys to preserve those countries if the men of those countries on our shores don't see fit to make that sacrifice for themselves? And if they don't see fit to willingly go across and bear the burdens of the country from which they came I believe that the American Federation of Labor should send the word throughout the entire United States, particularly to our boys in the cantonment camps and across the water in the trenches of Europe, that we will see that these alien slackers will do their full duty or get out.

In discussing the proposition in Massachusetts I found that many of the large employers of alien labor were absolutely opposed to this foreign labor being compelled to bear arms. They were willing to see the virile, clean-thinking American youth go across the water, because they realize that the young American between the ages of twenty-one and thirty years would mean strength to organized labor, and they would gladly see our young men go away and in their places in industry put the alien slacker. Their position in that matter is un-American and absolutely selfish, because the manufacturers invariably in this country look upon the war as a means of added profit. War to the worker means death, suffering and hardship. Labor's attitude has been unselfish and patriotic. We are going to go through with it and I hope we will go on record today notifying not only the unfair employer of labor in this country, but the alien slacker in this country that we go on record absolutely in favor of making these alien slackers do their full duty by the United States of America or by her allies, making the great sacrifice in this great crisis here and now.

Delegate Duncan (Jas. A.): When we get down to earth and do some thinking of our own as unionists, maybe we will take a different view of the situation. There are many, many ways in which we can consistently assist our government in carrying this great war to a successful conclusion, but in my humble judgment we cannot consistently adopt this resolution. If we had been an organization that had stood out and declared for conscription and were instrumental in having the conscription law passed, we would be absolutely consistent in coming in here and saying that it is only fair that we extend the provisions of the conscription act, which this in reality means; but having been violently opposed to the principle of conscription I say we can ill-afford to now come out and agitate an extension of that principle. If I remember rightly—and I have no feeling in the matter—the Council from which this good brother comes, the Boston Trades Council, was either for conscription or it was on the fence. Organized labor generally throughout the nation, together with our President and the rest of the Executive Council, I think were violently opposed to conscription, and I say if there is going to be any extension to the thing to which we are opposed in principle, it should come from outside the ranks of organized labor. We didn't go on record for conscription but we got conscription. We are swallowing conscription, and if there is any extension of the law there is no question but what we will swallow that, too, but to come out now before we have any conscription of wealth I am satisfied that I am safe in saying to you that I reflect the sentiments of the council that sent me here when I say I am opposed to it.

Delegate MacPherson: I have fifteen reasons for voting for that resolution; they aren't big ones, either, but I have fourteen nephews in the trenches today in France and I have one of those nephews buried there. I would be false to my trade unionism, I would be false to the blood that is in my veins if I did not vote for that resolution.

Delegate Lennon: I just want to say a word regarding the statement made by Delegate James A. Duncan. I was opposed to conscription before the government of my country enacted it into law, but when it was enacted into law I am an American citizen and I am prepared to go with my country in her defense wherever it may be required. I have a grandson in the United States Navy and I was sufficiently opposed to conscription to advise the boy, if he had any intention of enlisting for the war, that he would please me and the ancestors he has if he would volunteer rather than wait for conscription. Nevertheless the people referred to in the resolution are in the United States receiving as much benefit from their living here as we do, and the preservation of our country and democratic institutions makes it necessary that this war shall be won and their duty and their obligation is just as

great as ours, and they should be put in a position where they will have to meet that obligation.

Delegate Connors: When the conscription law was being advocated I was as much against it as any man in America, but after the United States Congress had passed the law I, as a law-abiding citizen of this country, fell in line with it, and I believe that every American should stand with the law and for that reason and because it is the law and because they are conscripting the young men of this country bred and born here, I am for that resolution that provides that every alien who is of the age should be conscripted or deported from this country. I don't see why the alien who hides under the cloak that he is an alien should not be compelled to do his duty as well as my boys and all the other boys in this country.

Delegate Taylor (Jas. A.): We have hundreds, perhaps thousands of men of the conscription age who are working in munitions plants and shipyards, which the government has said is as essential to the winning of the war as men going to the trenches. What will be the action of the government in cases of this kind?

Secretary Frey: It is impossible for the secretary of your committee to answer that question. The government will decide where the men can be of the most service to the nation.

Delegate Black (Thos.): The reason why I am so particularly anxious and interested in this resolution is because, not like some of the previous speakers, I happen to be one of the eligible men, and I have opposed in season and out of season conscription. I want to say before going further, in reference to three per cent. of the men of British blood from the State of Massachusetts, that this war has been going on for three years. Your country hasn't been involved in this war for one year, but in the three years that the men of British blood in Canada have been in the war I don't believe there was one per cent. of the American people who volunteered their services.

The danger I see is this: You ask that the government, or you prompt the government to carry on further extension of the principle of conscription, and I hold that it ill behooves the delegates of the American Federation of Labor who speak so much of democracy and free institutions to prompt the government to carry on something they have been opposed to. If my memory serves me rightly I have read where the President of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the proper authorities and protested against the enactment of conscription. Even then for two years he knew that the war had been going on. You knew that your nephews, whether from Canada or the British Isles, had sacrificed their lives. Why did you take that stand at that particular time? Because you felt your free institutions were being threatened.

On the other hand, what useful purpose is it going to serve? I hold that those who are in authority, who control the destinies of the lives of this nation, they themselves know whether it is desirable or necessary that this further extension should be applied. They have the means whereby they can apply it and if they haven't seen fit to extend that principle why should you sentence me to death? I hold that it is decidedly unfair for men over age to argue to me or to you how to act in this particular case. You must not try to judge the mental attitude of every individual on this particular question. There are no slackers, and I want to say right now that when the time comes for the draft to embrace me I don't feel that I will claim exemption, but I don't feel that an extension of conscription is desirable at this time.

Now in Canada we were given their assurance, or at least our Executive Council, that no measure of conscription would be introduced until such time as the Executive Council of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress were made acquainted with the necessity of such legislation, but in spite of that they brought along the question of national service and sent out cards to see what the feeling of the people was. They responded and signified their willingness that if they were given the same rate of pay wherever they might be serving they would willingly do their duty, but they refused to give up the positions they held and allow the standards of living for themselves and their families to be broken down.

Before you make any provisions for the extension of this dastardly act I would advise that you at least conserve your energy in trying to see that the men who give up their lives and their dependents at least should have the same standard of living that the father was in a position to give them before he was called away. Are you doing anything of that character? Are you giving me any assurance that my wife and children will be protected? You are

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only making provision for the further application of the principle of conscription to the men of the allied countries. What are you saying about the alien Germans? Are you recommending that they be interned? I venture to say that you haven't done it.

I just want to remind you that if it becomes necessary in the estimation of the government to enact further conscription they themselves will do it. It has been argued that you were opposed to conscription, but now that it is the law you are going to defend your country and abide by its decisions. I have the right, and every man has the right, to urge the repeal of any law. The thing isn't a law and will not be a law until such time as it is enacted, therefore you need not fear that you are opposing the government. I venture to say that after three years of war, when you have seen the men returning legless and armless, after you have seen the way the dependents of these men have been served, if they do as they have done in Canada, you will not be so anxious for an extension of conscription until the conscription of wealth is brought about and the wives and children of our men have the protection they are entitled to.

We have got to take the soldier out of the category that he is now in, working for cheap wages. Why perpetuate a system that has given to the exploiters of your people and my people the right to sacrifice our wives and children? All you are getting is promises; all you are getting is: "We will give your question sincere and honest consideration." Until they comply with the request of the American Federation of Labor in regard to the protection of its people, then I don't see any good reason for a further extension of this act, knowing as I do that if it becomes necessary they themselves will enforce it. If they themselves enacted it tomorrow you would submit to it and I would submit.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

President Gompers: First, I desire to say that I very much regret that I did not heed the call from all over the hall by delegates for the previous question and accorded recognition to the delegate who has just spoken. If ever there was a good reason for the adoption of the resolution as recommended by the committee, the delegate who has just addressed you furnished the best.

It is quite true that the American Federation of Labor has declared always for voluntary institutions; it is quite true that I have been an advocate all my life of voluntary institutions and agencies; it is true that I protested against the enactment of the conscription law, and it is true that I did my level best to prevent its enactment, but it is also true that the Congress of the United States passed the conscription law and it is now the law of the land. The delegate failed to say that since the duly constituted authorities, the representatives of the people of the United States, enacted that law that he has not heard one word or hint emanating from me against the full enforcement of that law.

Delegate Black: Mr. Chairman—

President Gompers: I didn't interrupt you when you were speaking. Two or three delegates arose to interrupt and I refused to see them.

There was such a floundering around upon the subject and so many things were lugged into the statement without any reason or rhyme—the question of compensation for soldiers and sailors and their dependents, when as a matter of fact if you will consult the report of the Executive Council and the report of the Committee on Resolutions upon that subject you will find that a law was enacted by the Congress of the United States as a result of the activities of the Council of National Defense, of which I am chairman, the most comprehensive and humane piece of legislation that has ever been enacted by the Congress of this country or by the parliament of any other country; the increase of pay for the soldiers and sailors is as much as a hundred per cent.; the abolition of the old-time system of pensions, which were often won by kisses and favors. As a matter of fact, when one political party was contending with the other for national control and making the issue these pensions to the old soldiers, the soldiers' votes in the presidential election were often determined upon the pension system; the political character of the Congress of the United States was often determined upon the generosity or parsimony toward the soldiers.

We applied the principle of workmen's compensation in industry to the soldiers and the sailors, regarding them as the employes of the people and the Government of the United States, and the risks which they ran in the service were to be paid for automatically under the soldiers' and sailors' compensation law. When the private insurance companies would either not insure the risks of soldiers and sailors or

at such a rate as to make it prohibitive, the Government of the United States, under the law to which I have referred, now insures the soldiers and sailors at a minimum cost, a cost at which the young men could not be insured in privately owned and operated insurance companies.

Raises in wages and conditions of employment—perhaps not quite all that we would wish, but we never made such progress in any decade in the history of our country as has been made in the past six months.

The confiscation of wealth—not all—but believe me, the Congress of the United States has taken a long stride in that direction. The taxing of war profits, a board to determine or to advise, has been created by the Secretary of the Treasury, and having representatives of other interests on such an advisory board he asked me to appoint a representative of organized labor upon that advisory board to determine or recommend the basis upon which the taxing of war profits shall be put into effect.

I very well understand the mental attitude of the delegate who preceded me in addressing you. I wish that he would have made it possible for me to refrain from what I am now about to say, for I have enough to do in trying to help run our own affairs without "butting" into the affairs of others. But this fact: Our fellow organized workers of Canada, instead of taking the position of co-operation with the government in this war, have too frequently stood off, and if not placing obstacles in the way of the government at least oppose their every action and suggestion.

Delegate Black: It is not true. It is absolutely incorrect.

President Gompers: I will challenge my veracity with that of the gentleman. I have it from representatives of the Canadian labor movement. When two representatives sent to Washington by the acting governor general of Canada to attend a conference at which Charles Bowerman and James Thomas, sent by Lloyd George, were present, there was that same opposition to which I have just alluded, and it was Thomas who gave as severe a castigation as I have heard in a long time to the attitude and the expressions of one of the gentlemen who came from Canada to attend that conference, and yet, with that same reliability that characterized the statements of the delegate, he says that which I utter is not true.

The American Federation of Labor took this position. We did not know absolutely that we were going to be dragged into the war; some of us felt absolutely sure that we would be, and nearly three weeks before we had gone into the war, at the instance of or by the authority of the Executive Council a conference of the responsible officers of the national and international unions was called and there that conference, despite some very strong feeling and discussion, passed by a unanimous vote the declaration which has been made part of the Executive Council's report to this convention. By reason of that declaration, by reason of our willingness to take our part, come what may, there has been given a little more consideration to the rightful demands of the organized labor movement.

I don't know whether the delegate is fully appreciative of the language he employed. For my part I would not characterize even the draft law as a dastardly act. I commend to the gentleman that he go to the dictionary or the encyclopedia and find the full meaning and purport of that expression. Much as I was opposed to the enactment of the conscription law, I shall not either speak of it or even think of it as a dastardly act. We are at war. If the gentleman has not an understanding of that fact it is better that he wake up to a realization of it. We are at war, and when we are at war we have got to fight; we have got to fight! This is no child's play; it is not a thing for academic discussion; these are not normal times. We are at war and being at war every honorable thing must be done in order to win the war. I am not willing to surrender the rights of the workers even during the war except in making the supreme sacrifice.

It was said a little time ago that some men give lip service instead of patriotism. (Applause by Delegate Black.) There are probably fifty or more officers of the labor organizations of the country in this convention; there may be more. They are not on the firing line nor are they working in factories or workshops or mines. What are they doing for labor? What are they doing for their constituents? Force them back into the mines or workshops, or must they not give lip service in furtherance of the protection and promotion of the rights and interests of the men they represent? So far as they, others and I are concerned, for years you have selected me to give lip service, not in the sense in which that term is generally understood, because the term "lip

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service" is a term of opprobrium; lip service is insincere, a substitute for genuine service. They won't have me in the military service because my age interferes. They need some to help in an advisory capacity; they need some in an organizing capacity; they need some in an administrative capacity, and some have told me that I am not lacking in any of these qualifications. My brother's son, my brother now dead, his widow gave her boy, who in the navy was shot and killed in Haiti a few months ago in the service of the United States. I have five nephews and seven cousins in the army and navy of the United States, and my grandson, a boy of nineteen, a few months ago enlisted in the aviation service of the United States voluntarily and was accepted and is doing his bit. I believe it is the duty of every man, I believe it to be the duty of every woman to do their level best to determine this contest; to have it determined at the earliest possible moment; not to waste the life of one of our boys or one of the boys of our allied nations. And he who does not must bear the brunt of the judgment and the condemnation of red-blooded men who must do their duty.

Several delegates from Canada asked an opportunity to respond.

Vice-President Green: In order that justice may be done the chair will recognize Delegate Carey from Canada.

Delegate Carey: I haven't taken up the time of the convention and I didn't expect to be called on to say one word, but I think in justice to the men and women I represent and the country I come from they should be properly understood. I am not going to take up your time, but I want to say that I am speaking to you as a Canadian citizen, as a member of one of the international organizations affiliated with this body for some seventeen years, and I want to say to you that I have already sacrificed members of my own family in this war. My youngest brother has already paid the penalty and my oldest son is now two years in the trenches in Flanders. I hold a letter from him this morning in which he says, after I had told him about the victories at home in the baseball field and elsewhere: "Dad, there is a better game for them here and if they will only come over and help us fight we will win the war for the British Empire and our allies." The Canadians and the boys who went to war when called upon went without conscription in the largest numbers ever possible. They didn't ask the question what they wanted them to do. They simply said: "We go to war in order that we might protect our homes and our country and give our people freedom."

I want to say to the delegate who spoke previously that he did not and could not express the thoughts of the Canadian people in the utterances he made use of. If the delegate himself as a Canadian—I understood him to say so—is eligible for the field his duty is in France helping my boy and every other boy to defend the flag that is over you here and the flag that represents my country. We in Canada in the trade union movement were not favorable to having war, but when war came and it was knocking at our door our people responded to it and are responding to it, not only by thought and talk, but they are giving their blood for it. You come into the city of Toronto today and see the hundreds of boys, young men nineteen, twenty, twenty-five or twenty-six years of age who have spent two years in the trenches and are now home without a limb of any kind, left as charges upon their people. But the trade organizations of our country are going to take care of those men and they are going to see to it through the medium of the trade union movement of the Dominion of Canada that the government of our land will give compensation to the families at home now that they are in distress. There is no man with any red blood in him who, when a man slaps him in the face, will not slap back or at least make the effort, and I want to say without detaining you that the trade union men, the men of the trade union movement, from the highest member of the Trades and Labor Congress down to the lowest, is out to win the war.

So far as the Canadian workmen are concerned they are with the American Federation of Labor in all they do to bring victory, and I am one of those individuals who has given and sacrificed all, who has given the best he had in him. I am prepared even now to go the limit so far as my age will permit in doing my full share in representing not only my own country, but the allies, this country and every working man within the sound of my voice.

On motion, debate was closed.

President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Frey re-read the report of the committee.

The vote by show of hands on the adoption of the Committee's report resulted as follows: 244 in favor; 20 opposed.

The following delegates asked to be recorded as voting against the report of the committee: Delegates Kaufman and Silberstein, representing the International Fur Workers' Union; Delegate Buchbinder, representing Neckwear Makers' Union No, 11016; Delegate Shapiro of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Delegate Halonen of Federal Labor Union No. 14653, and Delegate James A. Duncan of the Seattle Central Labor Council.

Delegate Black: I just desire to have the question of personal privilege that was accorded one of the previous speakers during one of the sessions in order that I may clear up a wrong impression that cast a reflection upon the whole Canadian movement.

President Gompers: And you are the defender and spokesman of the entire Canadian labor movement?

Delegate Carey requested that the complete record of the discussion on Resolution No. 144 be published in the proceedings.

On motion, it was decided that the entire debate on the report of the Committee on Resolutions on Resolution No. 144 be published verbatim.

President Gompers: I desire to take advantage of this opportunity to present a matter to you and through you to all whom it may concern, that an opinion has been rendered by the Assistant Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue leaving the inference that the unions whose members pay more than twelve dollars per year into the union are subject to the payment of 10 per cent of those dues and all initiations, and that regular monthly reports are to be made to the District Internal Revenue office. It is the opinion—and I am not in position to express an opinion of a law as well as a lawyer or an officer—but I venture to express the opinion that it is far-fetched to have the unions brought under this taxation. My purpose is in bringing it to your attention:

First, that the matter be contested before the Internal Revenue Department.

Second, in failure of obtaining redress, we believe it justifiable that the matter be brought to the Attorney General or even up to the President of the United States for an opinion.

Third, if the law be as interpreted by the Deputy Commissioner that this convention authorize and give expression to its opinion that a law should be enacted by the Congress of the United States at the earliest possible moment to undo that which it was evidently not the purpose of Congress to do as interpreted by the Deputy Commissioner.

It was moved by Delegate McNulty that the matter be referred to the Executive Council to take whatever action is necessary for the protection of the rights of the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. (Seconded and carried.)

At 1:10 p. m. the convention was adjourned to reconvene under a suspension of the rules at 2:45 p. m. of the same day.

NINTH DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m., Wednesday, November 21st, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Goldstone, Logan, Healy, Brennan, (William), Bechtold, Rickert, Larger, Doyle, Humphrey, Greenstein, O'Leary, Vaccarrelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Strain, Lane, Kennedy, Loder, Corey (D. A.), Hedrick, Schneider, Kearney, Anderson, Race, Roth, Lyons, Berry, Orr, Mahon, Sheenan, Freel, Sumner, Gorman, Konenkamp, Agethen, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountord, O'Neal, Fitchie, McHenry, Taylor (C. O.), Jarrett, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Rahele, Coughlin, Harlin, Vorgas, Bryan (F.), O'Dell, Brindell, McAndrew, Hodges, Henry, Burch, Kelly (William J.), Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison, Wilkinson, Traglio, Murphy, Woodmansee, Smith, Gafney, Warren, Hannum, DeNedrey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Tillman, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson. Wilkie, Green, Quesse, Malone, Busch, Eson, Burt, Thompson, Fitts, Miller (F. M.), Battle, Juhl, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from L. U. 2538, U. M. W. of A., Thurber, Texas, asking that the next A. F. of L. convention be held at Ft. Worth. He also read the following telegram and communication:

New York, N. Y., Nov. 21, 1917.
Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Please accept for yourself and the convention my congratulations. The people

can never forget the services rendered to the nation and the world.

ALTON P. PARKER.

1418 West Washington St.,
Phoenix, Ariz., Nov. 12, 1917.

Dear Mr. Gompers:

We wish to thank you, and through you, the American Federation of Labor, for the sympathy shown us in our sorrow. Our gratitude goes forth especially to those who toil. To their cause, the life of John McBride was consecrated, and for them he gave his dearest gift.

His last thought, as all of his life, was devoted to the cause of labor. Speaking to his old friend, and yours, W. B. Wilson, just before the end, he said: "Billy, I do not know what the outcome will be, but whatever it is, tell the boys to get together."

In return for your sympathy we can but give to his much loved Federation this, his final advice to the working people.

Your assurance that Labor mourns with us we will hold in loving remembrance. In this deep sorrow our consolation must be, that he died as he would have wished, in the service of the people he loved and the nation he revered.

With sincerity,

MRS. JOHN McBRIDE
AND FAMILY.

To Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

The communication from Mrs. McBride and her family was received and made a part of the records of the convention.

At this point the delegates and visitors, at the request of President Gompers, rose and stood in silence for a period of one minute out of respect to the memory of the late Vice-President D. A. Hayes and other workers who had passed away during the year.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, for the committee, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 86—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this convention that that part of the navigation laws of the United States Government that gives exclusive right to American built and American owned vessels to engage in American coastwise trade should be repealed, and in explanation of this action on our part we offer the following reasons:

First: The high rates charged for freight carried and the limited service given by the present monopoly restrict the amount of traffic that would naturally follow this route if it were not for the artificial obstructions of the present monopoly to the development of this trade.

Second: The scale of wages paid by these American owned coastwise lines ranges from 5 to 50 per cent below the scale of wages paid by foreign vessels for longshore work, and other conditions that pertain to this class of work, such as the discharge of employes who attempt to organize the men with a view to improving their conditions. This constitutes a discrimination against American labor and the rights of the American citizens, and should be abated.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 87—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The employers on Puget Sound have flagrantly disregarded the terms upon which our recent strike was concluded on the Pacific coast, this being particularly noticeable in the manner of the hiring of men—the employers having resorted to a card system under which our members are discriminated against and strangers given preference regardless of who they are or where they come from; and

WHEREAS, A larger proportion of the cargo shipped from Puget Sound ports is consigned to the allies of the United States, we believe that the above mentioned system of hiring men is in view of the activities of alien enemies exposing the shipping of not only the United States, but also that of our allies to the gravest possible danger; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to make representation to the National Defense Committee and also to Congress in order that this state of affairs, which is not only detrimental to the interests of our organization, but to the best interests of the nation, be stopped. It is obviously desired that too strong a recommendation cannot be made in connection with this matter.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request that it be taken up with the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Defense Committee.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate P. Harry Jennings, Massachusetts State Branch A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The people of the United States are now engaged in a deadly struggle with the governing classes of Germany, in which democracy is fighting for its existence against autocracy, and as this same governing class has declared itself not only in favor of military control, but also in favor of the plan of the German junkers for a future (industrial and economic) invasion of the United States, which will seriously affect the industrial conditions of the working class of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That our delegate to the national convention of the A. F. of L. be instructed to bring this matter to the attention of the delegates to the American

Federation of Labor Convention, that proper steps may be taken to protect and to safeguard the conditions of American industrial life, in such manner as the delegates to the national convention may think best.

Inasmuch as this resolution is an instruction to the delegate of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor, your committee took no action upon it.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate E. G. Hall, Minnesota State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Washburn-Crosby, Consolidated, and Pillsbury Flour Milling Companies, three of the largest concerns in the milling industry, on Thursday, November 1st, refused the request of the Government of the United States to reinstate members of the Flour and Cereal Mill Workers' Union No. 15469, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who had been discharged by these companies for affiliating with the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor request the Government of the United States to take over and operate the flour milling industry of the United States at the earliest possible moment in order that the milling autocracy, which for years has exploited both the workers of the city and country, may be terminated, and the business of manufacturing flour conducted for the benefit of all the people.

Your committee recommends that the resolve be non-concurred in and that the Executive Board be instructed to lend its assistance in organizing the flour and cereal workers and in securing the reinstatement of the men discharged because of their trade union membership.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 111—By R. P. Brindell, representing the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, The Senate Printing Committee in its report of October 6, 1917, recommends governmental operation of the print paper and pulp industries during the war, and which is to be presented to the December session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, The report says of the Federal Trade Commission's findings: "They show beyond any question that the print paper industry, in its greed for excessive profits, has imposed a most unjust burden on the American press, which faces a serious disaster if relief cannot speedily be had from the oppressive prices now exacted for print paper"; and

WHEREAS, Most of the press of the country are soon to renew contracts for paper, and if adequate relief is not secured, many of the smaller sheets will be forced to discontinue publication, causing irreparable injury to the education of the American people and to those employed on these newspapers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Federated Union, in meeting assembled, endorse the recommendation of the Senate Committee and instruct its delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention to further this recommendation.

Inasmuch as the resolution is an instruction to the delegate from the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity, your committee took no action upon it.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate James A. Duncan, of Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The duplication of equipment and service by the railroads of this country presents a most wasteful condition, which should not be tolerated by our Government, especially during a period which calls for the highest efficiency in the operation of our transportation facilities; and

WHEREAS, It is absolutely imperative that the telegraph and telephone systems of our nation operate with guaranteed continuity, which guarantee cannot be given while these public utilities are in the hands of arrogant corporations, which deny the right of collective bargaining to their employes, and openly defy organized labor and the United States Government; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor strenuously urge government operation of these facilities, as the only means possible of securing efficient operation and harmonious relations with employes.

It is the opinion of your committee that it is inadvisable for this convention to adopt any resolution vitally affecting hundreds of thousands of workers organized in national unions, which is introduced by a central labor union without consultation with and approval by the representative officials of such national unions. Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution, and further recommends that the convention reaffirm the policy of the American Federation of Labor which endorses the government ownership of telegraph and telephone lines.

Delegate James A. Duncan discussed the resolution and report of the committee in a general way, giving an outline of the conditions surrounding the strike of the telephone operators in Seattle.

The report of the committee on Resolution 112 was adopted.

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Thos. F. Flaherty of National Federation of Postal Employes, and Delegate Edward J. Gainor of National Association of Letter Carriers:

WHEREAS, In the report to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive

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Council says, "There has been a recognition of the principle that those associated in the work of production ought to have a voice in the management of those things concerning their interest and welfare;" and

WHEREAS, Unfortunately, this desirable recognition of the rights of workers to industrial enfranchisement has not been granted by the largest employer of labor in the United States, if not in the world—the Postal Service—where approximately a quarter of a million wage earners are expected to accept without protest the working conditions imposed by the Postmaster General; and

WHEREAS, The present Postmaster General has time after time instituted revolutionary changes affecting vitally the rights and working conditions of the postal workers with an autocratic contempt for their opinions or for whatever protests they make, which is at variance with the ideas of our beloved President, Woodrow Wilson, who expressed this thought in his memorable speech to this convention: "Moreover, a settlement is always hard to avoid when the parties can be brought face to face. I can differ from a man much more radically when he is not in the room than I can when he is in the room, because then the awkward thing is he can come back at me and answer what I say. It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor entirely to himself. Therefore, we must insist in every instance that the parties come into each other's presence and there discuss the issues between them and not separately in places which have no communication with each other;" and

WHEREAS, It is essential to the preservation of service efficiency and for the perpetuation of our most cherished democratic ideals of government that these quarter of a million workers—men and women who are deprived of their economic power and circumscribed in the use of their political power—be not denied an avenue of expression or approach to the Postmaster General or restricted in their right to petition Congress; and

WHEREAS, In Great Britain the postal employes, backed by the organized labor movement, have long enjoyed official recognition, secured by an enactment of parliament, which instructs their Postmaster General to meet and counsel with the representatives of the employes with reference to the labor policy of his department; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, emphatically condemns the autocratic policy of Postmaster General Burleson toward the postal employes and hereby instructs the Executive Council to co-operate with representatives of the affiliated postal employes' organizations in securing an audience with President Wilson, and placing before him all the facts concerning the oppressive labor policy of Postmaster General Burleson.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate and give such assistance as the circumstances may warrant.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed by Delegates Flaherty, Gainor, Nelson, First Vice-President Duncan and Secretary Frey of the committee, the three first-named delegates urging the adoption of the resolution and going into some detail in reference to conditions of employment in the Postoffice Department, for which they alleged Postmaster General Burleson was directly responsible.

Delegate Nelson proposed as an amendment to the report of the committee that the resolution be adopted.

President Gompers ruled the motion out of order and stated that the proper course was to first accept or reject the report of the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was lost.

On motion by Delegate Nelson, Resolution No. 114 was concurred in by the convention.

Reporting on Resolution No. 115, your committee recommends the elimination in the resolve of the words "the skilled tradesmen" and substituting therefor the words "all wage earners," so that the resolution would read as follows:

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate E. L. Edgerton, Steam and Operating Engineers:

WHEREAS, We are aiding our government in every possible way to win the war and we will if necessary make any reasonable sacrifice asked of us in order that humanity, justice and civilization may survive; we call the attention of the delegates to this convention, the workers of the United States, especially the skilled tradesmen whose product is easily transported, to the danger that exists unless prior to the end of the present war some measures of industrial preparedness are taken by this country against a possible industrial invasion; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of a policy of industrial preparedness and the enactment of laws by Congress that will adequately protect all wage earners of our country against the loss of employment through any industrial invasion on the part of the products of any of the other nations.

We recommend that the resolution as amended be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to have the Legislative Committee carefully watch all legislation affecting the welfare of the wage-earners and work unceasingly to secure the enactment of legislation which

will safeguard the best interests of American labor.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Black offered the following addition to the resolve: "And that such preparedness be in harmony with the standards of labor as recognized by the American Federation of Labor." The resolve would then read:

"RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of a policy of industrial preparedness, and that such preparedness be in harmony with the standards of labor as recognized by the American Federation of Labor, and the enactment of laws by Congress that will adequately protect all wage-earners of our country against the loss of employment through any industrial invasion on the part of the product of any of the other nations."

The amendment was seconded and carried, and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 138—By Delegate E. L. Edgerton of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, During the period of the war a low long distance telephone and telegraph rate should be established to all training camps; and

WHEREAS, Such low rates would keep us in closer touch with our loved ones; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President, Congress and the Council of National Defense be urged to call a conference of the various telephone and telegraph companies for the purpose of bringing about closer co-operation between the companies, better interconnection and lower rates to all training camps in the United States.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported at this time on Resolution No. 159, but the report was temporarily withdrawn at the request of President Gompers.

Resolution No. 164—By Delegates J. E. McClory, P. J. Morrin and S. P. Tobin of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

WHEREAS, The American labor movement is loyal and patriotic to our country in the present world war, and is determined to use its best efforts to establish and maintain the co-operation of all organized workers in assisting our government to carry this war for justice and humanity to a successful conclusion; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers earnestly desires to lend its aid in the furtherance of the above principles, and has at the present time one-sixteenth of its entire membership engaged in the government military and naval service and has purchased Liberty Loan Bonds to the extent of thirty-five thousand dollars ($35,000.00), and stands ready and willing to make any sacrifices necessary to aid President Wilson and our government to help win this war; and

WHEREAS, A great amount of the materials necessary for government work and contracts are being furnished by the United States Steel Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, and which work is being erected by or through the firms that are members of the National Erectors' Association; and

WHEREAS, For the past twelve years the United States Steel Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation and the National Erectors' Association have steadfastly refused to enter into an agreement or to in any way negotiate with our International Union in which over 75 per cent of the men who follow our trade are members, and the above named companies have repeatedly refused to meet the representatives of our International Association in conference; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be empowered and authorized to take up this matter with the Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy and the Council of National Defense, and endeavor to have the members of our association receive the same recognition and consideration that is accorded the other organized workers of our country on all war work and contracts and all other work being done for the government where the services of such skilled workmen are required.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The question was discussed by Delegate Morrin, of the Iron Workers; Delegate Williams, of the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, and Delegate Barnes, all favoring the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 167—By Delegate Fred W. Voigt, of Central Labor Council, Oakland, California:

WHEREAS, Making a wheatless day would have a tendency to, and probably when strictly carried out, would result in labor troubles in the baking industry; and

WHEREAS, It seems to be the unanimous opinion of both the employers and employes that the adoption of Sunday as wheatless day would be most suitable to all concerned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby petition Mr. Hoover, Food Administrator of the United States, to adopt Sunday as Wheatless Day.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, in co-operation with the officials of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union, with instructions to take up the

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question of regulation of the consumption of wheat with Mr. Herbert Hoover, Food Administrator.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT.

Delegate John Golden, for the committee, submitted the following report:

Cap Makers—Hatters.

In connection with that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 124), your committee considered also Resolution No. 147:

Resolution No. 147—By Delegates M. Zuckerman, M. Zaritsky and J. Margolis of United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America:

WHEREAS, The report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. under the caption "Cap Makers—Hatters" quotes the 1916 decision of the Executive Council and the Baltimore convention and says:

"The Cap Makers were notified and again notified that they were expected and required to conform with the decision of the A. F. of L. As yet no such assurance has been given. We, therefore, regretfully recommend that the charter of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers be revoked;" and

WHEREAS, The Eleventh Biennial Convention of the U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A., held in May, 1917, has unanimously adopted a resolution (which is attached hereto) stating that the 1916 decision of the A. F. of L. is practically impossible of execution and that it is besides a great injustice to their organization, which was granted the jurisdiction of the Straw Hat Workers and Ladies' Felt Hat Workers by the convention of 1903 of the A. F. of L., and that the U. C. H. and C. M. since then for thirteen years have legitimately organized with the sanction of the A. F. of L. these Straw Hat Workers; and

WHEREAS, The same convention of the U. C. H. and C. M. has gone on record as being ready to amalgamate with the United Hatters into a single international in order to once and for all do away with all conditions that may serve as a cause for jurisdictional controversies; and

WHEREAS, The U. C. H. and C. M. have, immediately after their convention, in a letter dated May 23, 1917, communicated the above resolution to the Executive Council and while appealing that the 1916 decision be reconsidered, stated that they are ready to confer, amalgamate and to do practically anything and everything in order to avoid strife between brothers; and

WHEREAS, The only response to this communication that they received from the Executive Council was a reiteration of the 1916 decision and a demand to comply with it, to which the U. C. H. and C. M., in a letter dated September 7th replied by requesting the Executive Council to point out "what definite steps should the U. C. H. and C. M. take which the Executive Council would be willing to consider as compliance with the decision of 1916;" and

WHEREAS, The U. C. H. and C. M. especially emphasized this last request by stating that it is of especially great importance, since they must know definitely what they have to do and exactly what steps they have to take to comply with the decision and since their organization must have a chance to decide upon this matter before the Buffalo convention; and

WHEREAS, The U. C. H. and C. M. have never received word from the Executive Council as to exactly what steps they have to take in order to comply with the 1916 decision; and

WHEREAS, In their anxiety to prevent the jurisdictional controversies between themselves and the United Hatters and to promote a condition which will strengthen the ties of brotherhood among all the workers, the U. C. H. and C. M. have addressed on October 20th a letter to the United Hatters (see p. 204 for copy of letter), a copy of which was communicated to the Executive Council, pointing out that the necessity of amalgamation of both our organizations has become even more expressed and vital and proposing that the United Hatters communicate with the U. C. H. and C. M. and agree upon a date and place convenient for a conference of representatives of both organizations, who shall devote their efforts to work out a mutually agreeable plan for the amalgamation of both organizations on a basis providing for a reasonable degree of self-government for the different branches of the trade; and

WHEREAS, All these actions of the U. C. H. and C. M. could not be considered otherwise than as a serious effort to comply as far as possible with the decision of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, It has always been the aspiration of the American labor movement that kindred organizations of the same industry shall amalgamate wherever and whenever possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed by this convention to arrange a conference between representatives of both organizations and make an effort to bring about their amalgamation.

Your committee recommends the striking out of the word "revoke" in the recommendation of the Executive Council and the substitution of the word "suspended." If the decisions of the Baltimore convention and the Executive Council are not carried out by January 1, 1918, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America stand suspended until such time as they comply with the decisions of the Baltimore convention and the Executive Council. We further recommend nonconcurrence in Resolution No. 147.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

The question was discussed at some length by Delegates Zaritsky and Zucker-

man of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers and Delegate Lawlor of the United Hatters of North America.

Delegate Zaritsky reviewed the history of his organization from its inception and touched on all the circumstances leading up to the present controversy. He made the assertion that previous to the time his organization was formed the United Hatters of North America had not claimed jurisdiction over the class of workers now in controversy. He further stated that when their claim of jurisdiction was filed with the American Federation of Labor and request was made of the United Hatters for a statement as to whether or not they had any objection to that claim of jurisdiction, the Hatters raised no objection. He claimed to have written several letters to the officials of the American Federation of Labor asking what steps were to be taken in order to carry out the decisions of the Baltimore convention and the Executive Council, but that no reply had been made to those letters. He referred to the fact that the members of his organization were willing to amalgamate with the United Hatters, but that such a proposition had been flatly refused by the Hatters. In closing his statement Delegate Zaritsky pleaded for some action that would tend to unite the two contending forces.

Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen, in the chair.

Delegate Lawlor presented the Hatters' side of the controversy and denied statements made by Delegate Zaritsky that the membership of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers was increasing. He presented figures to show that there had been a decrease in membership. He contended that the making of straw hats and felt hats was one and the same process. He reminded the delegates in his statement that the Baltimore convention by an almost unanimous vote had decided that the making of felt, straw and Panama hats for men and women belonged to the Hatters. The statement was further made that it would be impossible to carry out the decision of the Baltimore convention and the Executive Council until the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers stopped organizing the men and women who do not belong to their organization. Various circulars and documents, as well as extracts from the Hat and Cap Makers' Journal, were read by Delegate Lawlor in substantiation of his arguments. In closing he urged the convention to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Sillinsky of the Journeymen Tailors' Union and Delegate Zuckerman of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers discussed the question further and Delegate Zuckerman read extracts from the report of the Adjustment Committee at the San Francisco convention touching on the Machinists-Carpenters controversy and purporting to show that the principles then expressed by that committee apply now in the Hatters-Cap Makers' controversy.

Delegate Schlesinger proposed an amendment that action on the committee's report be deferred until the next convention of the American Federation of Labor in June, 1918, and that in the meantime committees of both organizations take up the matter and have conferences, with some member of the Executive Council presiding, with the end in view of reaching some understanding. The amendment was seconded by Delegate Greenstein.

President Gompers: There must be some regard for the will of the delegates to this convention. I shall put it up to them whether the amendment shall be entertained without discussion.

The vote to entertain the amendment was lost.

President Gompers: The chair suggests that there is not sufficient time, if we adopt this report, for an international union to carry out a decision of such a character, and I want to give these men a chance to carry it out if we adopt it.

Delegate Lennon: I offer an amendment to the report of the committee that the words "April 1, 1918," be substituted for the words "January 1, 1918." (Seconded.)

Delegate Lawlor: And I would add that the Cap Makers be instructed to refrain from organizing men and women outside their jurisdiction during that period.

President Gompers: That would be prima facie evidence of failing to keep faith.

The amendment offered by Delegate Lennon was carried, and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

A roll call vote was requested, but the request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

At 6:40 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Thursday morning, November 22d.

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TENTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 22, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m., Thursday, November 22d, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Franklin, MacGowan, Sovey, Reddick, Baine, Brown (Walt), Kugler, Sullivan (John), Bowen (Wm. J.), Preece, Price, Boyer, MacPherson, Baker, Coulter, Kuhlman, Feeney, Hannahan, Edgerton, Brennan (Wm. J.), Bechtold, Rosenberg, Duncan, Zaritsky, Margolis, Greenstein, O'Leary, Fry, Hogan, Strain, Lane, Ryan (Jas. J.), White (John P.), Hayes (Frank J.), Mitchell, Green (Wm.), Moore (John), Valentine, Hedrick, Schneider (Geo. J.), Dold, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Roth, Lyons, Orr, Mahon (W. D.), Sheehan, Freel, Sumner, Konenkamp, Agethen, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Jarrett, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Rahele, McGrady, Coughling, Robinson, Harlin, Vargas, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, O'Dell, Gorman, Hodges, Burch, Kelly (W. J.), Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davidson (E. C.), Martindale, Wilkinson, Janes, Traglio, McDonald (S), Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum, McIntyre, De Nedrey, Iglesias, Reinhard (L. W.), Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Fisher (J. H.), Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson, Wilkie, Teitelbaum, Green (Walt), Quesse, Malone, Busch, Eson, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson (E. D.), Fitts, Miller, Bottle, Juhl, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials.

Secretary Morrison read the following report on behalf of the Credentials Committee:

We recommend that the name of G. C. Van Dornes be substituted for that of William F. Kramer, representing the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Delegate Kramer having been required to leave the city.

E. L. EDGERTON,
Chairman.
T. P. HYLAND,
WILLIAM P. CLARKE,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers: The chair desires to announce that inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council has loaned $20,000 to the Government of the United States in the Liberty Bond Loan, and inasmuch as we are allied with Great Britain, France, Italy and Canada, the Executive Council yesterday decided to invest in or purchase the Liberty Bond from the Canadian government in the amount of $10,000.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT.

Secretary Golden, for the Committee, submitted the following:

Lithographers—Printing Trades.

In connection with that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 125), your committee considered also Resolution No. 40.

Resolution No. 40—By Delegates Philip Bock and William Benson of the Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, A protest and appeal has been filed with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor against the unfair and unjust report and recommendations of the Investigating Committee appointed, as provided by action of the San Francisco convention, to make a thorough investigation as to the claims of both parties to the jurisdictional controversy; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor did not consider the protest and appeal, but referred the entire subject to this convention for such action as it may direct; therfore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be the sense of this convention to consider the appeal and protest of the Lithographers against the unfair and unjust recommendation of the Investigating Committee; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to arrange for a conference of the representatives from the organizations at interest at their earliest convenience to again review the case.

Your committee recommends that the subject matters contained in these documents be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to draw up a plan of amalgamation to be put into effect by April 1,

1918, or as soon thereafter as the Executive Council may decide, and the organization or organizations failing to become a part of the amalgamation, as laid down by the Executive Council, shall stand suspended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Bock of the Lithographers spoke in opposition to the report of the committee and said that the issue of amalgamation was not the main issue and that it had been brought in simply to confuse the matter. He claimed that the work of the lithographer was essentially different from that of the pressman or photo-engraver. It was further alleged in the course of his remarks that the investigating committee either had been biased in its investigation or had been misled. In closing he urged that the report of the committee be voted down and that the lithographers be given another opportunity to prove that their contention was correct.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Delegate Wilson, who was a member of the investigating committee referred to in the subject matter, denied the statement made by Delegate Bock that the committee was biased or prejudiced in its investigation and decision. He presented facts to show that the committee had gone into the matter thoroughly from all angles and quoted the decision of the San Francisco convention in substantiation of his statement that Delegate Bock at that time expressed himself as being satisfied with the decision of that convention. He said the members of the committee were unanimous in their conclusion that the best interests of the workers in the printing industry would be conserved by an amalgamation of the organizations involved in the controversy.

Delegate Berry of the Printing Pressmen denied the statement made by Delegate Bock that the Printing Pressmen had employed a non-union lithographer as an instructor in their school in Tennessee. He contended that there should not be two organizations executing identically the same work and competing with each other on the market. He said further that the Lithographers were seated without regularity in this convention but that the Printing Pressmen had not opposed their seating because they were desirous that they should have a full and impartial hearing. A statement was also made by Delegate Berry that printing pressmen in New York City were receiving much higher wages on the class of work in contention than the lithographers engaged on the same work, and that therefore the employers were anxious that the lithographers should have this work. In closing he directed the attention of the convention to the fact that every committee, the Executive Council and every one else concerned in the controversy had been unanimous in the opinion that the amalgamation should take place.

Delegate Woll spoke in favor of the adoption of the committee's report and called attention to the evolution in the industry and to the constantly changing processes. He contended that, in view of the action of the Baltimore convention, there was only one thing to be determined at this time, and that was the question of laying down definite terms of amalgamation.

Delegate Hays (J. W.), in speaking on the subject, condemned the action of the Lithographers in setting aside the label endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and adopting one very similar in design to the label of the Allied Printing Trades Council, which he said was done for the purpose of making the people believe that it was the label of the Allied Printing Trades Council. He urged that the report of the committee be adopted.

The matter was further discussed by Delegates Berry, Wilson and Bock, after which the report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union—Change of Title.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council - under the above heading (p. 130), your committee recommends that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union discontinue the use of the words "automobile workers" in their title by January 1, 1918, or the organization shall stand suspended until such time as the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union complies with the decision of the Baltimore convention. Further, the officers of the American Federation of Labor are instructed to discontinue the use of the words "automobile workers" in the official records or correspondence at headquarters.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Logan, in discussing the matter, said that the title of Carriage and Wagon Workers was practically a misnomer, for the reason that so many members of the

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organization were now engaged on automobile work. On these grounds he advocated the change of title.

Delegate Morton moved that the words "January 1, 1918," be eliminated and the words "April 1, 1918," substituted therefor in the report of the committee. (Seconded and carried.)

The convention adopted the report of the committee as amended.

Sheet Metal Workers—Stove Mounters.

In connection with that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, your committee considered also Resolution No. 151:

Resolution No. 151—By Delegates John J. Hynes, Thomas Redding, James Moriarty and Hugh Franey:

WHEREAS, The representatives of the Sheet Metal Workers and Stove Mounters held a conference as per instructions of the Baltimore Convention, (Resolution 71, p. 332), with Mr. Perkins, representing the American Federation of Labor, meeting being held in the city of Chicago; and

WHEREAS, The Stove Mounters absolutely refuse to offer or suggest anything themselves that might lead to a settlement of the controversy and refuse the settlement as offered by the representatives of the Sheet Metal Workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be requested to appoint one of their members to arrange a conference with the above named organization, that this controversy may be brought to an amicable adjustment by amalgamation, if necessary, so that the bitter feeling now existing between members of both organizations doing the same class of work may be obliterated and much better conditions prevail in that branch of the sheet metal industry.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 151.

The report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

Resolution No. 6—By Central Labor Council, Anaconda, Mont.:

WHEREAS, There has been much dissatisfaction and misunderstanding in the jurisdictional rights granted the different Internationals affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by the American Federation of Labor, thereby causing much trouble in this particular locality; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention be requested to define and enforce the jurisdiction granted to the different Internationals through their charter rights. At present, in this locality, the Pipe Fitters, Sheet Metal Workers and Engineers are organized under their respective Internationals, are affiliated with the local and State Metal Trades Councils and are included in the agreement entered into on July 30, 1917, which agreement dates from July 1, 1917. These men and all journeymen helpers are members of the Mine, Mill and Smeltermen as well, as are also the Cranemen, and are the men affected by this overlapping jurisdiction. Should this overlapping charter jurisdiction be corrected and enforced, much better results and greater satisfaction would be obtained.

Your committee recommends the reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for such consideration as it may deem necessary in the premises.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 34—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are a great number of steam boilers which are operated in connection with the various coal mines in the State of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The repairs on these boilers are now largely being done by the engineers, firemen, blacksmiths and others employed in and about the coal mines, all of whom have no right, under the rules of the A. F. of L., to do any work whatsoever which rightly belongs to journeymen boiler makers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we ask the Illinois State Federation of Labor, in their thirty-fifth annual convention assembled, that they go on record opposing the practice of others than journeymen boiler makers, who carry a paid-up membership card in the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, doing any work on, or making any repairs whatsoever to steam boilers used in connection with coal mines or in any other industry in the State of Illinois; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to communicate with the State officials of the U. M. W. of A., advising them of the passage and intent of this resolution, soliciting the aid of the U. M. W. of A. in putting into effect the intent thereof.

Secretary Kasten: Inasmuch as the Illinois State Federation of Labor cannot settle jurisdiction disputes between International unions, we, your committee, recommend that the Secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor be instructed to forward this resolution (No 10) to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor for adjustment at the next convention of the A. F. of L.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a conference between the parties in interest within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to the adjustment of matters at issue.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, For a period of many months there has been a controversy before the Central Labor Council of the City of Seattle, Washington, over the seating

of Cranemen and Operators' Union No.—; and

WHEREAS, This controversy is causing dissension among the members of the Labor Council of the City of Seattle and if allowed to continue will destroy the harmony and good feeling necessary among members of organized labor in the accomplishment of its aims; and

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Council of Seattle has submitted to the Metal Trades Section of the A. F. of L. the merits of said controversy for decision, and no decision has been made; and

WHEREAS, The best interests of organized labor demand an immediate settlement of said controversy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in convention now assembled, take up the merits of the controversy existing over the refusal of the Central Labor Council of Seattle to seat Cranemen-Operators' Union No. —— and render a decision settling said controversy.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arrange for a conference between the parties in interest within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to the adjustment of matters at issue.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Dennis Lane, Joan F. Hart and John Kennedy of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, The handling of fish and sale of same is fast being introduced into meat markets in connection with the handling and sale of meats, and the men who are employed are paid low wages and work long hours, which interfere materially with the wages and hours of the Meat Cutters and in certain localities where efforts have been made to get the men employed in handling fish organized, the employer has raised the question of our jurisdiction and makes claims that the men do not come under our contracts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, grant jurisdiction to the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen over such persons employed in the handling and sale of fish in markets.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arranges for a conference between the parties in interest within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to the adjustment of matters at issue.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate John Wilds, International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Bill Posters' Union has jurisdiction over bill posting and sign work, and has successfully organized and promoted the best interests of the men in this occupation in all cities where it is possible to maintain such organizations; and

WHEREAS, In the city of Chicago there is a local union directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor known as the Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union, which union has been transgressing upon the rights of the International Bill Posters' Union; and

WHEREAS, Several attempts have been made by representatives of the International Bill Posters' Union to reach an understanding with the Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union, whereby the interests of both organizations would be best protected, but without any tangible results; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to arrange a conference between these organizations for the purpose of adjusting this difficulty on some satisfactory basis, whereby the best interests of both organizations will be conserved and advanced.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arranges for a conference between the parties in interest within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to the adjustment of matters at issue.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 74—By Delegate Abraham Greenstein, International Jewelry Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union was reorganized September, 1916, and duly chartered by the American Federation of Labor and given jurisdiction over all those engaged in the making of jewelry of all descriptions, including badges and emblems; and

WHEREAS, The reorganized International Jewelry Workers' Union has adopted a new label to take the place of the old double acorn, which has not been the label of the Jewelry Workers' Union for several years, since the liquidation of the old International Jewelry Workers' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that no other label on products made by Jewelry Workers, including badges and emblems, be recognized by the American Federation of Labor, except the present label of the reorganized International Jewelry Workers' Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the convention declare the double acorn appearing on jewelry of all descriptions, including badges and emblems, a misrepresentation and not recognized by the American Federation of Labor or any branch thereof.

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The International Jewelry Workers' Union has printed in their international Constitution a list of crafts over which they claim jurisdiction, and

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enumerated among these different crafts were metal polishers, buffers, platers and silverworkers, and has secured or endeavored to secure the membership of several men of these crafts; and

WHEREAS, The jurisdiction over these crafts has been granted by the American Federation of Labor to the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silverworkers' Union of North America, since the inception of said Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silverworkers' Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, An attempt by the officers of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silverworkers' Union of North America to bring about a conference with the officials of the Jewelry Workers' Union for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment of this dispute has failed, through no fault on the part of the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silverworkers' Union of North America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Jewelry Workers' Union be ordered to discontinue to permit men working at those crafts to remain in their organization, and to strike all claims for jurisdiction over the same from the pages of their Constitution.

Your committee, reporting on Resolutions 74 and 77, recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arranges a conference between all organizations in interest, within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with a view to bringing about a thorough understanding as to the jurisdictional rights of all organizations involved.

Further, your committee recommends concurrence in the request of the International Jewelry Workers' Union regarding the withdrawal of the double acorn label or design, and the endorsement of the label now being used by the International Jewelry Workers' Union.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 75—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The question of jurisdiction between the L. T. P. A. and the Steam and Operating Engineers has been in dispute for the past two or three years, and the members of the Tug Firemen and Linemen's Protective Association are thereby losing membership in their association; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render a decision at the earliest possible date as to which organization has jurisdiction over these workers.

Your committee finds upon investigation that the Philadelphia convention rendered a decision covering the question of jurisdiction contained in Resolution No. 75 of the Buffalo convention. The language of the Philadelphia decision was as follows:

If it is found that the International Longshoremen's Association has in its membership, or is accepting to membership, engineers properly coming under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, they shall be transferred to such organization at the earliest date possible.

Your committee recommends the reaffirmation of the Philadelphia decision insofar as it applies to the jurisdiction of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and that that portion of Resolution No 75, as to which organization has jurisdiction over Tug Firemen and Linemen's Protective Association, is referred to the Executive Council for investigation and decision.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Snellings: I would like to ask the secretary of the committee if it is the intention of the committee to convey to the convention that the engineers mentioned in that resolution come under the jurisdiction of the Steam and Operating Engineers?

Vice-President O'Connell: That is the intent of the decision of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 79—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Local 926 of the International Longshoremen's Association is now in controversy with Local 369, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, which is injurious to the membership of both organizations; and

WHEREAS, Representatives of the Teamsters' organization claiming right to priority are taking within their organization workers on the lumber wharves of Boston who rightly belong to our organization through jurisdictional right rendered our organization by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, This infringement on our jurisdictional rights is only used as a method to compel Local 926 to expel paid-up members who occasionally drive a team or auto truck; and

WHEREAS, It has been acknowledged by representatives of the Teamsters' organization that it has been impossible in the past and will be more so in the future to compel these few men to join any organization other than the I. L. A.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be requested to use its best endeavors to protect the jurisdictional rights of our organization in this controversy.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor arranges for a conference of the parties in interest, within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, with

a view to the adjustment of matters at issue.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates G. H. White, T. F. McMahon, John Golden and John H. Powers of United Textile Workers' of America:

WHEREAS, It is the aim and purpose of the United Textile Workers to organize all textile workers into one united organization, believing their best interests more effectively safeguarded in this manner; and

WHEREAS, There exists at the present time three textile organizations holding charters from the American Federation of Labor, namely: The United Textile Workers of America, the National Cotton Mule Spinners' Union and the Amalgamated Lace Weavers' Association; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America extends its jurisdiction to all textile workers engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics, while the other two organizations named cover only those engaged in their own particular craft; and

WHEREAS, The holding of these three separate charters is proving a menace to the further progress of organizing the textile workers of the country into one united organization where their interests can be best safeguarded, and is encouraging secession among local unions in many parts of the country; and

WHEREAS, The officers of the American Federation of Labor have for several years used their best efforts to bring about the desired amalgamation, all of which efforts have failed through the refusal of the National Cotton Mule Spinners and the Amalgamated Lace Weavers' Associations to amalgamate under any conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed by this convention to bring about the amalgamation of the three organizations involved, within sixty days from the adjournment of this convention, the terms of amalgamation to be left in the hands of the officers of the American Federation of Labor. Upon the refusal of any one of the three organizations to comply with the terms as specified by the officers of the American Federation of Labor for amalgamation, it shall forfeit its charter to the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends striking out of the word "sixty" and inserting the word "ninety," and the striking out of the words "forfeit its charter" and the insertion of the words "charter shall be suspended."

With these changes your committee concurs in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Fleming reviewed at some length the history of the Spinners' International Union and stated that it had always led in the fight for the organization of the men and women engaged in industry. He referred to the financial strength of the organization and told of the conditions leading up to the severance of their affiliation with the United Textile Workers of America and said that the members of his organization could not see their way clear to become absorbed into the Textile Workers, which he claimed were not four per cent organized. He further contended that the mule spinners were the only class of operators in the textile industry who could operate a mule spinning machine, and that in this particular case there was no jurisdictional dispute, simply a question of retaining autonomy over an industry that the members of his organization felt should belong solely to them. As another objection to affiliation with the textile workers he cited the low rate of dues paid by members of that organization in comparison to the higher rates paid by the spinners. He further intimated that the recommendation of the committee was in effect a dodging of the law, which requires that a two-thirds vote shall be necessary to bring about the revocation of the charter of an international union, and that the recommendation of the committee to "suspend" was simply an evasion of the law.

Delegate O'Connell, of the committee, said in part: This committee has no other interest in this subject than the best interests of the trade organizations engaged in the industry. We have no desire to evade the law, our only purpose being to make it as easy as possible to bring about a consolidation, a better understanding, a working agreement, something that would bring together the scattered organizations in this great industry. The committee has no intention of taking away the charter of the Spinners' organization by reference of the subject matter to the Executive Council, and furthermore there is no desire on the part of the United Textile Workers of America to break up or destroy the Spinners' organization.

Delegate James Wilson in the chair.

Delegate Sara Conboy of the Textile Workers took exception to a number of statements made by Delegate Fleming, particularly with regard to the unorganized conditions of the men and women in the Textile Workers' industry, the low rate of dues paid and the fact that the great majority of workers in the industry were unskilled workers. She told of the struggles of the organization and the successes with which they have met in the New England

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States and elsewhere. In detail she reviewed how the organization, almost defunct in 1915, had been able to raise its dues and build up a fairly substantial reserve fund. Referring to the withdrawal of the Spinners' Union from their affiliation with the United Textile Workers of America, she said it had occurred because the Spinners had refused to pay the higher per capita tax voted upon by the Textile Workers. In closing, she made a plea for a united organization.

Vice-President Duncan reviewed the trials of the Textile Workers' organization at some length and said that when the Textile Workers did arouse themselves to the seriousness of their condition and decided to pay a higher per capita tax to their international office, it was the duty of the Spinners' International Union to remain with them and give them their support instead of withdrawing their support. He praised the work of the officers of the Textile Workers and the sacrifices which they had made personally to bring the organization to the fore-front. In closing he expressed the hope that the report of the committee would be adopted and that the Executive Council would be able to work out some plan of amalgamation that would be mutually beneficial to the workers in the industry.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Zaritsky took exception to the recommendation of the committee and contended that it was absolutely at variance with the report on a similar situation affecting the Hatters—Cap Makers controversy.

Chairman O'Connell of the Adjustment Committee made a statement in which he showed that there was no similarity between the two cases, that the Hatters—Cap Makers controversy hinged on a jurisdictional dispute and the Textile Workers-Spinners case did not, and that the committee was entirely consistent in its reports on both cases.

On motion debate was closed.

A roll call vote was demanded but the request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates. A division was then called for and the vote on the adoption of the report of the committee resulted as follows: 163 in favor; 32 against.

At 1.10 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene, under a suspension of the rules, at 2.45 p. m.

TENTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 p. m., Thursday, November 22d, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Preece, Shaughnessy, Tobin (S. P.), Boyer, McAndrews (James), Morton, Brennan (William J.), Bechtold, Rickert, Larger, Rosenberg, Duncan (Jas.), Greenstein, Bryan (W. E.), O'Connor, Vaccarrelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Strain, Lane, Moyer, White (J. P.), Hayes (F.), Mitchell, Moore (John), Lewis, Valentine, Skemp, Schneider (G. J.), Dold, McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Race, Roth, Lyons, Deviny, Orr, Mahon, Sheehan, Freel, Sumner, Stillman, Konenkamp, Agethen, Evans, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Jarrett, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Rahele, Vorgas, Bryan (F. J.), Hagberg, Hines, O'Dell, Brindell, McAndrew, Hodges, Burch, Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Wilkinson, Traglio, Duncan (J. A.), Nevin, Murphy, Woodmansee, Smith (A.), Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Fisher (J. H.), Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson (H), Wilkie, Quesse, Burch, Eson, Hanrahan, Thompson, Miller, Juhl, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Delegate Max Hayes asked consent to the introduction of a resolution in regard to disloyal utterances published in the Los Angeles Times. No objection being offered, the resolution was introduced, numbered 172, and referred to the Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 172—Introduced by Typographical Union Delegation.

WHEREAS, The reactionary Los Angeles Times, in this hour of stress and peril to our national solidarity, continues to attack the laboring classes daily, thereby inciting class hatred; and

WHEREAS, This reactionary newspaper has violently opposed woman's suffrage, all eight-hour laws, workmen's compensation laws and every other law for the advancement and betterment of the man who toils, as well as every honest and progressive measure for the benefit of the general public as against the public plunderers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby brands the Los Angeles Times as

one of the most reactionary papers in America and denounces its ridiculous and futile attempts to stir up hatred against workingmen as extremely disloyal and seditious at a time when national unity and unanimous support of our government are vital necessities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the disloyal utterances published in the Los Angeles Times be at once called to the attention of the authorities at Washington.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Delegate Brown (J. G.) obtained unanimous consent of the convention to the introduction of a resolution, which was numbered 173, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 173—By Delegate J. G. Brown, International Shingle Weavers' Union:

WHEREAS, It is reported in the newspapers that a movement is afoot to attempt in the next United States Congress the passage of legislation permitting the importing of hordes of Chinese coolies to work as farm hands or otherwise in America; and

WHEREAS, Such importation, now justly debarred by law, would be contrary to the traditional and avowed policy of organized labor in America and a menace to the present cordial relationship of government and labor in the prosecution of the war; and

WHEREAS, The mere championing of such a cause, doomed though it be to failure from the start, could only be construed as an attempt to tear down the high standards of the American workingman and substitute those of the Chinese; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November 22, 1917, do hereby protest in advance against any such proposed attempt to undermine the hard-won eminence of organized labor by decreasing the scale of wages and lowering the standards of living; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that such legislation is introduced in Congress, organized labor, as represented by this Federation, will hold to the strictest accounting those responsible for so traitorous an assault on its interests in this most critical hour of our national life.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from the Newspaper Carriers, the Stenographers' Union and also the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, all of Cincinnati, requesting that the next convention be held in that city.

He also read the following communication:

Washington, D. C., November 20, 1917.
Francois Monod, Chief of Cabinet of the French High Commission in the U. S.
To Samuel Gompers, Esq., Chairman American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:
Dear Mr. Gompers:

In the absence of M. Tardieu, now in France, I reported to the deputy high commissioner, M. de Billy, what friendly reception yourself and the Convention of the American Federation of Labor have been good enough to extend to the representatives of France and of the French army while in Buffalo.

We deem it a great privilege to have been enabled to spend a few days with the members of the convention. I may truly say that, during our stay in the U. S., nothing could be more gratifying to us.

Let me first express our grateful appreciation of your own gracious and very kind welcome. I beg you further to convey our most cordial thanks and greetings to the members of the convention, as well as our best wishes for a successful completion of their present work, and for the future of your great Federation.

To this, I wish to add other hearty greetings to the British and Canadian delegates. Nothing in our opinion could be more fortunate than, in such a convention, the meeting of representatives of the American, of the British and of the French democracy, united by a bond of fraternal and abiding sympathy and in a community of spirit and aims.

With every good wish and with high regard, believe me, dear Mr. Gompers,

Respectfully and cordially yours,
FRANCOIS MONOD.

President Gompers presented to Fraternal Delegate Lodge of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, a handsome gold ring with a diamond setting, as a token of esteem from the delegates attending the convention. President Gompers also gave to Fraternal Delegate Lodge a cameo broach, with the request that it be presented to Mrs. Lodge, who had been compelled to leave the city for her home. In making the presentation, President Gompers stated that it had been the practice in former years to tender to fraternal delegates, either from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress, or from that body to the American Federation of Labor, some reciprocal expression in the form of a souvenir.

Fraternal Delegate Lodge expressed his appreciation of the gifts presented and also for the many courtesies extended during his stay in Buffalo.

President Gompers presented to Fraternal Delegates Hill and Hayday, of the British Trades Union Congress, gold watches and expressed the hope that they might enjoy many more years of usefulness in the trade union movement.

Each of the fraternal delegates from England responded feelingly and expressed their appreciation of the many courtesies and hospitalities shown them during their visit in the United States.

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REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT.

Delegate Golden, for the committee, submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate R. P. Brindell of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, There exists in Greater New York a controversy between the organized labor movement and what purports to be known as the White Rats Actors' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, For over seven years, committees of the Central Body have met with members of the Executive Council in an endeavor to adjudicate this controversy and make possible the organizing of all actors and actresses into a compact trade union organization based upon the lines of the American labor movement; and

WHEREAS, To the best of our knowledge and belief, the White Rats Actors' Union of America ceased to exist in June, 1917, surrendered their club house and adjourned sine die; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the Executive Council to take up the charter of the White Rats Actors' Union of America, and request all actors' and actresses' unions as are: Vaudeville, Lyceum and Cabaret entertainers, and the Hebrew Actors' Unions now organized, and the Circus and Fair entertainers, to file applications with the Executive Council for separate charters; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That six months after the adjournment of this convention, the President of the American Federation of Labor call a convention of all those actors' and actresses' unions that have applied for and received a charter, for the purpose of organizing an International Union of Actors and Actresses.

Your committee non-concurs in the resolution and substitutes the following:

Your committee has had before it a number of delegates interested in the success and progress of the organization for actors and actresses. A mass of testimony was presented, both documentary and oral.

Your committee is of the opinion that owing to the apparent bitterness and feeling existing as a result of this long-drawn-out controversy, there should be a real effort made to bring together the scattered forces of actors and actresses with a view to cementing them together in a united organization for their protection and advancement.

We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to take such steps, at the earliest possible date, to bring about the formation of an organization whose jurisdiction shall cover all these engaged in the profession. The Executive Council is hereby authorized to supervise the formation of such an organization and have full authority to formulate the basic principles on which the organization shall be constructed. When the Executive Council has satisfied itself that the new organization is permanently established, all charters heretofore issued and in existence when the new organization is formed shall be cancelled.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Mountford: I take it that the resolution and the recommendation of the committee mean the cancellation of our charter, and on that point I should like the secretary of the committee to make it clear.

Chairman O'Connell, for the Committee: The committee is of the opinion, as expressed in their report, and from evidence submitted and from the knowledge of members of the committee and from information furnished to the Executive Council at its sessions during the year and heretofore, that there are in existence organizations of actors and actresses in this country that have not been associated with the White Rats Actors' Union, and it seems impossible to bring about the unity of these organizations with the present White Rats Actors' Union holding jurisdiction which prevents the issuance of charters to any other organization. The action of the committee does not forthwith cancel, nor does it set a time that the charter held by the White Rats or other organizations shall be cancelled, but it does instruct the Executive Council to make a real effort to bring together the scattered forces of the actors and actresses in this country with a view to adjudication of the differences existing and an amalgamation of these organizations. The name may or may not be White Rats Actors' Union—that is a question for later decision—but there should be a united effort to bring together the scattered forces. The committee is fully appreciative of the sufferings and the hardships that some of the members of the actors' organizations have been compelled to meet, but we believe that for the interests of all this movement that which we have suggested will bring out something that the actors themselves will be proud of.

A lengthy discussion followed, in which Delegates Mountford, Fitzpatrick (J. W.), Brindell, Berry, Frayne, Lennon, Vice-President Duffy, Vice-President O'Connell and Delegate Nelson took part.

Delegate Mountford made a strong plea for the retention of the charter of the White Rats Actors' Union, told of the many difficulties with which its members had been confronted and read documents to show that much of the opposition had been fostered and promoted by the vaudeville managers. He told of how the blacklist had been brought into play against the members of his union and of how they were enjoined in different cities where the members of the organization were on strike.

Delegate Brindell recited the effort which had been made by the Central Federated Union of New York to bring the various actors' organizations together, and read certain documents purporting to show that the White Rats Actors' Union was practically out of existence. He said that the organization which he represented favored the committee's report or anything that would bring about harmony among the actors' organizations.

Delegate Frayne reviewed his experiences of the past six or seven years with the actors' organizations as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, and said that he was fully in accord with the report of the committee. He enumerated the various actors' organizations existing in New York City and elsewhere and strongly advocated the adoption of some plan which would cement the different factions.

Delegate Lennon told of his investigation of the situation on instruction from the Executive Council. He said his investigation had proved that the organization in St. Louis, Chicago and New York positively was not out of existence.

Delegate Fitzpatrick (James W.) offered the following as an amendment to the report of the committee: That the Executive Council be instructed to urge all actors and actresses to join the White Rats Actors' International Union and that all organizers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed by the Council to render the White Rats Actors' Union every possible assistance to this end. (Seconded.)

Delegate Fitzpatrick followed his amendment with an ardent appeal to the delegates to give serious and careful consideration to the strenuous fight which had been carried on by the White Rats Actors' organization in the face of the most adverse conditions. In spite of repeated applications for a seat in the Central Federated Union of New York City, he said the requests of the White Rats had been persistently refused. He then made an attack upon those representatives of the Central Federated Union who had continued the fight against his organization and who, he said, were in effect, if not actually, cooperating with the vaudeville managers to put the organization out of business. Documents showing that the vaudeville managers had brought about an effective boycott on the members of the White Rats organization were read and the attitude of these same managers during the time the strike of the actors was in progress in Chicago was fully gone into. The Actors' Equity Association was referred to at some length. In closing his argument he urged that the amendment offered by him be adopted.

Vice-President Duffy, who in June had been authorized by the Executive Council to make an investigation of the situation, reported his findings in the matter and said that from all the evidence he could gather from all sources the White Rats Actors' Union was to all intents and purposes out of business, that members had told him their officers were gone and that they did not know where to pay their dues.

Vice-President O'Connell, for the committee, rose to correct an impression that might have been left by the statement of Delegate Fitzpatrick, wherein it was said that the Committee on Adjustment wanted the members of the White Rats Actors' Union to amalgamate or associate with members of a non-affiliated organization. He stated that Mr. De Voe, the gentleman referred to in the statement of Delegate Fitzpatrick, had appeared before the committee and had attempted to present some documents and make a statement, but that he was told by the committee that he would not be recognized and that they would not consider charges of any kind from him.

Delegate Nelson, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, spoke in regard to the strike of the actors in Chicago and the injunction which followed the strike.

On motion, debate was closed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Fitzpatrick to the report of the committee was put to vote and carried.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted.

At 6.15 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, November 23d.

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ELEVENTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 23, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 a. m., Friday, November 23d, Vice-President Duffy in the chair.

Absentees — Sovey, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Bowen (W. J.), Price, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Kuhlmann, Feeney, Woll, Brennan (W. J.), Bechtold, Rickert, Altman, Shapiro, Rosenberg, Russell, Will, Greenstein, Duty, O'Leary, O'Connor, Vaccarrelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Fry, Hogan, Lane, Kennedy (John), Hayes (F. J.), Mitchell, Farrington, Moore (John), Lewis, Curran, Weber, Weaver, Skemp, Lynch, Corey, Schneider (Geo. J.), Dold, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Menge, Roth, Lyons, Berry, Mahon, Sheehan, Harley, Freel, Griggs, Konenkamp, White, Powers, Williams (T. J.), Agethen, Hatch, Brown (J. G.), Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Taylor, Jarrett, Ogletree, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Robinson, Rahele, Hulin, Vargas, Bryan (F. L.), Haugh, Hagberg, O'Dell, Hodges, Henry, Burch, Kelly (W. J.), Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison, Martindale, Wilkinson, Traglio, Murphy, Woodmansee, Wrenn, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum, DeNedrey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezacapo, Morris, Tillman, McNally, Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson, Wilkie, Green (W.), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Eson, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson (E. D.), Fitts, Miller, Battle, Juhl, Randen, Lebowitz, Raines.

Delegate Martin Lawlor obtained the unanimous consent of the convention to the introduction of the following resolution, which was numbered 174, and referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolution No. 174—By delegation representing the United Hatters of North America:

WHEREAS, Contracts between the United Hatters of North America and the members of the Hat Manufacturers' Association of Danbury, Connecticut, expire on May 1st, 1917; and

WHEREAS, Conditions of trade in the fur felt hat industry are very poor owing to the high cost of fur and other materials going into the making of fur felt hats, and also to the number of our young men who are serving under the colors of the army and navy of our country, who are not wearing civilian headgear. These conditions are due entirely to the war in which our country is involved; and

WHEREAS, The Hat Manufacturers' Association of Danbury, supported by the Connecticut Manufacturers' Association, (through indifference to the attitude of the President of the United States and the Council of National Defense, who said: "That manufacturers should not take advantage of conditions brought about by the war, to lower the standard of employment") have taken advantage of these war conditions and refused to again sign agreements with the United Hatters of North America; and declared for the open shop policy in many of the large hat factories in the Danbury district notwithstanding the fact that they have operated union factories for many years and would not attempt to declare for the open shop policy under any other but war conditions; and

WHEREAS, Several of the largest hat factories in Danbury are still closed because members of the United Hatters of North America refuse to work under open shop conditions and as a result the members of that organization are forced to remain in idleness or move to other cities to find employment at some other industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, direct the President and Executive Council to call this matter to the attention of our Government and urge that a thorough investigation be made.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT.

Delegate Golden, for the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The District Council of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in Chicago, Illinois, has forcibly taken away the erection of large wooden tanks, both inside of and on the roofs of buildings; and

WHEREAS, This is a direct violation of the agreement entered into between the General President and General Secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Secretary-Treasurer of the Coopers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The manufacture and erection of wooden tanks has always been considered coopers' work and so endorsed by the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention direct that a signed agreement be entered into between the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Coopers' International

Union and approved of by this convention and lived up to by both organizations.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to arrange for a conference within ninety days of all parties interested, with a view to the adjustment of all differences, and if occasion warrants, an agreement be drawn up which shall safeguard the jurisdictional rights of both organizations.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 123—By the delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America:

WHEREAS, All painting on ships comes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America; and

WHEREAS, The members of the International Longshoremen's Association in the port of New York persist upon infringing upon the jurisdiction of said brotherhood, etc., despite repeated protests; and

WHEREAS, Several attempts have been made by the officials of the said brotherhood to arrange a conference in the city of New York between representatives of the two international unions and their respective local unions without result; now, therefore, in view of the premises, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, does hereby direct the International Longshoremen's Association to instruct the officers and members of its local unions to desist from further trespass upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America.

Your committee recommends that this subject be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to arrange a conference within ninety days after the adjournment of this convention, to bring about an adjustment of the differences existing between the parties in interest.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate James J. Doyle, Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The dock coopers of Greater New York, working under charter issued by the Coopers' International Union, and under the jurisdiction of Local No. 23, have from the time of its organization been harassed by the members of the International Longshoremen's Association because of their refusal to leave the craft of their trade and affiliate with the Longshoremen's Union; and

WHEREAS, The charter rights of the Coopers' International Union, guaranteed by the American Federation of Labor, clearly defines the rights of coopers on all work pertaining to the repairing of same, whether it be at cargo repairing or making of new packages; and

WHEREAS, A working agreement was drafted and signed by the respective International Presidents of both organizations and later ratified and endorsed by the American Federation of Labor in convention at Baltimore, November, 1916, which if lived up to by the I. L. A. would have effectually stopped all further controversy between the two International unions; and

WHEREAS, A local union of the I. L. A. known as Cargo Repairers, has struck against the members of Local No. 23, when these men were employed on the up-town docks of Greater New York; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, does hereby disapprove the attitude of the International Longshoremen's Association as unfair in this controversy and declares that all repair work on the docks belongs by charter right to the Coopers' International Union.

Your committee recommends the reference of this subject to the President of the American Federation of Labor with instructions to have an investigation made as to whether the agreement entered into by the two organizations is being lived up to or not, with the further view of adjusting any differences existing between the parties in interest.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 142—Dy Delegate James H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, There are in the cities of Pittsburgh, Pa., and Portland, Ore., organizations of carpet upholsterers that are not affiliated with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, whose jurisdiction covers this work and which has affiliated all of the others organized in this branch of our craft; and

WHEREAS, Resolutions have been introduced at conventions of the American Federation of Labor for several years, requesting that some effective action be taken to bring about the affiliation of the organizations referred to, each succeeding convention concurring in the resolutions, and in view of the non-affiliation of the organizations referred to; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to take such action as may be necessary to bring about the affiliation with the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, of the organizations of carpet upholsterers located in Pittsburgh, Pa., and Portland, Ore.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 145—By Delegate James H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The shade hangers and cutters, who were members of Local Union No. 111 of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, and located in Chicago, Ill., have seceded, and are now seeking to obtain support and recognition

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from unions of the Building Trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have a representative arrange a meeting between the representatives of Local Union No. 111 and the seceding parties with the object of harmonizing the differences that may exist, in order that we may have a united movement in the city of Chicago; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Building Trades and other local unions be instructed to refrain from giving to this secession movement recognition, support or encouragement.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate Edward I. Hannah of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Asphalt Workers, Flag, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters:

WHEREAS, The United Laborers No. 1 of San Francisco, Cal., affiliated with the International Union of Hod Carriers and Common Laborers, are endeavoring to force the members of the Asphalt Workers' Union No. 84 of San Francisco, Cal., to relinquish their membership in said organization; and

WHEREAS, The United Laborers' Union No. 1 is interfering with skilled labor and because of this condition the higher rate of wages established by the Asphalt Workers' Local Union No. 84 would be obliterated and the lower rate of wages demanded by the United Laborers' Union be established; and

WHEREAS, The Baltimore convention of the American Federation of Labor recognized the jurisdiction of this work, covered by the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, etc.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention prevents any further interference with the skilled labor of Local Union No. 84 of San Francisco, Cal., employed on the construction of roads and highways; and, be it further

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that all central bodies and State branches of the American Federation of Labor in California unseat as delegates the representatives of the United Laborers No. 1 of San Francisco, Cal., and that no support or recognition be given them until such time as the United Laborers' Union No. 1 complies with and carries out to the fullest extent the decision of the Baltimore convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee attaches herewith a copy of an agreement entered into by the parties in interest and recommends its approval and adoption by this convention as a substitute for Resolution No. 132. The agreement reads as follows:

Buffalo, N. Y., November 20, 1917.

We hereby agree with the Committee on Adjustment on the following plan as a basis for the settlement of our dispute in San Francisco, Cal., in lieu of Resolution No. 132, presented by Edward I. Hannah, Secretary of the International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters:

1. The President of the San Francisco Labor Council shall appoint one representative and the President of the San Francisco Building Trades Council shall appoint one representative. These two representatives shall select the third representative, which three shall act as a board of arbitration.

2. It is agreed that all parties in interest will abide by the award rendered by the above board of arbitration and that the San Francisco Trades and Labor Council and the San Francisco Building Trades Council agree to use their best offices to see that the award rendered is carried into effect.

3. It is further agreed that the decision rendered by the board of arbitration shall apply only to San Francisco, Cal., and is not to be considered as deciding any question of a national character.

(Signed) EDW. I. HANNAH,
For International Union of Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters.

D. D'ALESSANDRO,
For International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 148—By Delegate James H. Hatch of Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Federal Union No. 14872, located in Chicago, Ill., is infringing on work covered by the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, by accepting as members men employed on awning and shade work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct Federal Union No. 14872 to confine their work to that which is covered by the jurisdiction accorded them when their charter was granted by the American Federation of Labor. Should they fail to do so within sixty (60) days after the adjournment of this convention, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to revoke their charter.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Chairman O'Connell, of the committee, stated that Delegate Brindell had indicated his desire to withdraw Resolution No. 120.

After Delegate Brindell had stated his reason for wishing to withdraw the resolution, President Gompers made the following statement:

If it is a good thing to withdraw the resolution I shall not interpose an objec-

tion, but it evidently did not seem to be a good thing to do all through this convention, and despite the action of the convention yesterday afternoon upon the White Rats Actors' matter, it is not at all related to this subject. The withdrawal of the resolution will not solve or even help to solve the situation, of which complaint is made in the preamble and resolution. At the request of several parties interested, I sat in my room with about twenty-five representatives of this convention from in and around New York for several hours on last Saturday night, again on Monday evening and again during the noon recess Tuesday. I dictated a proposition which they asked me to draft in order that some understanding might be reached in regard to that situation. Copies of that statement were presented to the representatives of the organizations interested and it was agreed that it should be submitted to the committee as an attempt at a possible solution of the matter in controversy. That document was presented to the committee as the result of the joint opinion and I repeat, if that is the best thing to do to help solve the situation in New York, to withdraw the resolution introduced by Delegate Brindell of the Central Federation Union, I can have and will have no objection, but the withdrawal of that resolution at this time would be an acknowledgment that there is no situation to meet.

Secretary Morrison: I move that the draft submitted to the committee, the tentative agreement and also the action of the committee be read before any action be taken upon the request to withdraw the resolution. (Seconded).

Delegate Connors: If we accept this motion, will it open up the controversy that has already been disposed of in regard to the White Rats Actors?

Vice-President Duffy: This has nothing to do with the White Rats case.

The motion offered by Secretary Morrison was carried and Secretary Golden, for the committee, read Resolution No. 120 and the tentative agreement, as follows:

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate R. P. Brindell of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity:

WHEREAS, A serious condition exists in the clothing industry in Greater New York, caused by what is known as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who seceded from the United Garment Workers of America with the intent of destroying that recognized organization; and

WHEREAS, The United Hebrew Trades, a body consisting of various local unions of different trades, and which is not chartered by the American Federation of Labor, renders all possible support of the seceders and is, therefore, antagonistic; and

WHEREAS, The United Hebrew Trades fathered and abetted and is in sympathy with the organizations known as the "People's Council" and "Workmen's Council," who have declared in public print their intention of organizing one thousand branches in the United States, the purpose being to, if possible, supplant the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct all international unions whose local unions are represented in the United Hebrew Trades, to order all such local unions to withdraw from that body, and in case such local unions refuse to withdraw, to reorganize them under the banner of the American labor movement.

The representatives of the New York Central Federated Union, including Delegate Brindell, the introducer of Resolution No. 120, together with the Secretary of the United Hebrew Trades and of several of the affiliated Garment Workers' organizations and other organizations, with President Gompers, held several conferences to consider the situation in New York City and with which Resolution No. 120 undertakes to deal.

The concensus of opinion prevailed that while the United Hebrew Trades had accomplished much good in the organization of the Jewish workers in New York and vicinity, and had helped in securing many achievements, yet that body was necessarily in a transitory state and that at no distant day all of the workers must be merged into one comprehensive central body without regard to nationality, language, race or religious differences.

In view of the expressed wish of those who spoke at the conferences in the name of the United Hebrew Trades and the other organizations above referred to, that they desire to be and to remain loyal to the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement, and their belief that it might bring a great hardship and injury if the United Hebrew Trades were dissolved by the process employed by Resolution No. 120, and in view of the further fact of the declarations of fealty and loyalty to the A. F. of L. having been made, it was agreed among the confreres with President Gompers:

1. That a conference be held at the earliest possible time in the city of New York at which five representatives of the

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United Hebrew Trades should meet with five representatives of the Central Federated Union of New York.

2. That a representative of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall preside and participate for the purpose of endeavoring to carry out the program of unity, solidarity, as well as loyalty to the American trade union movement as represented by the A. F. of L.

3. That the representatives of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. shall report the results of the conference to the following meeting of the Executive Council.

4. That until after the conference and report as above provided, Resolution No. 120 be held in abeyance.

5. That unless a more satisfactory situation be established the Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to carry the provisions of Resolution No. 120 into effect.

The committee recommended the adoption of the agreement as a substitute for the resolution.

Delegates Hutcheson and Brindell spoke in favor of the withdrawal of the resolution.

Delegate Doyle, of the United Garment Workers, expressed the opinion that it would only aggravate the situation in New York if the resolution were to be withdrawn.

Delegate Holland: I am opposed to the withdrawal of the resolution. I believe something should be done by this convention to bring peace and harmony in New York City. If the delegates attending this convention would go to New York and stay there for a week or two and find out the number of organizations being backed by the United Hebrew Trades, they would have a different tale to tell here. I believe by the withdrawal of the resolution you are giving the organization an opportunity to go out and do as they have been doing for a number of years. Every organization in New York has been having trouble with that organization for a long time and if they want the support of the organizations that can support them, they ought to stop backing up and taking in seceding organizations.

Delegate Koveleski, in speaking on the matter, referred to the manner in which it might affect the situation in Rochester.

Delegate Gorenstein raised a point of order that the question before the house was the acceptance or rejection of the report of the committee, and that the Rochester situation should not be brought into the discussion.

Chairman Duffy ruled the point of order not well taken on the ground that the delegate was dealing in a general way with the question.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Heller (Ladies' Garment Workers') said in part: The International Ladies' Garment Workers' situation has been on the floor of this convention for years and at any time this question is brought up the United Hebrew Trades is mentioned as being responsible for that condition. I, as a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, want to protest and say that if there is some responsibility for this situation, let the gentlemen who are responsible for it take it and not throw it upon our shoulders, or upon the shoulders of the United Hebrew Trades.

The United Hebrew Trades expelled the Amalgamated and they are not with them any more. I understood that if this resolution were adopted by the convention, it would be taken as an excuse to destroy the United Hebrew Trades, and let me tell you that the United Hebrew Trades is not an imaginary organization, but it actually exists and has more than 200,000 members of the Federation. It is not an opposition organization to the American Federation of Labor, but a school—a sort of clearing house for the Federation. They don't understand the language when they come from foreign countries and are taken into the shops and various manufactories; they are taken into the Hebrew Trades and when they learn of the labor movement they are given over to the Federation. If it were not for the United Hebrew Trades in New York you would have a very bad situation to deal with.

Delegate Lennon advocated the formation of one central body in the city of New York and said there was no field wide enough in any city in the United States for two such bodies.

Delegate Goldstone, discussing the question, said in part: One thing the delegates to this convention must bear in mind is that the United Hebrew Trades was not organized by men who were enemies of the labor movement. The United Hebrew Trades is the result of the well-meaning efforts of good and honest men, men with the best desires and wishes for the labor movement. These men organized the United Hebrew Trades when there was no help coming to the Jewish workers from any side; when there was no sign or ray of the sun striking the dungeons of the

East Side, where the people were slaving and being sacrificed absolutely on the altar of Mammon. It was a blessing to those workers to have some power in that great city of New York with such a great population of immigrants and for some one to turn their eyes to them and, in time of need, give them a helping hand. We have struggled on that way for years and years and if we come down to the final conclusion and sum up the good and the bad that the United Hebrew Trades has done in New York, I defy any delegate on this floor to show that we have done more bad than good.

Delegate Schlesinger expressed the same views and opinions as Delegates Heller and Goldstone and said in part: I did not expect this debate today. That was the object of the conference President Gompers referred to—four hours last Saturday and two hours last Tuesday night.

As long as there are hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers in the city of New York, and as long as there are tens of thousands who do not understand the English language we will have to have a United Hebrew Trades, whether you like it or not. Everyone is trying to impress upon you that the United Hebrew Trades is some kind of an organization constituted along the lines of nationality or religion. It is neither; it is a language organization, and I say a great deal of credit is due to us for having organized these Hebrew Trades.

As to the charge of disloyalty, I haven't heard from any responsible officer of the American Federation of Labor any such charge against the United Hebrew Trades, but I have heard it from men who have spoken here and whose reputation has been questioned, the Hebrew Trades has not been disloyal. On the contrary, it has done everything possible to prevent secession, and for such movements the United Hebrew Trades is just as little responsible as is the Chicago Trades for the secession of the teamsters in that city.

When we were discussing the resolution introduced by the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, one of the delegates who spoke said it was "The Forward" that was killing and undermining the movement.

If it were not for that Jewish Labor Forward, that you are trying to condemn and prejudice the minds of the delegates against, I say that the hundred and ten or hundred and twelve thousand garment workers in the city of New York would not have been organized today. It is not a religious paper, it is not a nationality paper, and I challenge any one to show me a paper that has done more for the working people than "The Forward."

In closing, Delegate Schlesinger expressed the hope that the report of the committee would be adopted.

President Gompers: Delegate Brindell, the introducer of Resolution No. 120, has requested its withdrawal. Is there objection?

Objection was raised and the resolution was not withdrawn.

Secretary Morrison: The resolution was introduced by a delegate from a central body. The resolution states that the United Hebrew Trades is giving comfort and assistance to a seceding organization that the Philadelphia convention instructed affiliated unions not to recognize or support. The resolution calls upon national and international unions to withdraw their local unions from the United Hebrew Trades. The delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union favor the adoption of the report of the committee so that the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades and the Central Federated Union may reach an understanding whereby the laws and decisions of the Federation can be carried into effect. I believe that if you will adopt the report of the committee, the Executive Council of the Federation can reach an understanding that will result in the United Hebrew Trades carrying out the decision and instructions of the Philadelphia convention until the seceding organization reaffiliates with the United Garment Workers' organization.

On motion, debate was closed.

The tentative draft and the report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Delegate O'Connell: This concludes the report of your committee on Adjustment. I, therefore, move the adoption of the report as a whole.

JAS. O'CONNELL, Chairman.
JOHN TOBIN,
J. C. SHANESSY,
WM. QUINLAN,
H. J. CONWAY,
D. A. CAREY,

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MILTON SNELLINGS,
JOHN T. SMITH,
JOHN F. KENNEDY,
EDWARD FLORE,
A. W. RUSSELL,
R. H. CURRAN,
FRANK FARRINGTON,
JOHN J. MANNING,
JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary,
Committee on Adjustment.

The motion to accept the report of the Committee on Adjustment, as a whole, was carried.

Delegate Green (Wm.): I ask the privilege of the convention to draw their attention to a matter of vital importance to organized labor and to offer a motion at this time in connection therewith. Some time ago the United Mine Workers of America were sued under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law for two and one-half million dollars. The case has been heard in the Federal Court at Fort Smith, Ark., during the last few weeks and a verdict has been rendered in which the jury found that the United Mine Workers of America must respond by paying $200,000 damages. This, as you well know, is tripled under the provisions of the Sherman Law, and that makes the verdict standing against the United Mine Workers of America $600,000. In connection with this matter I read a telegram from our attorneys, which came yesterday:

"Fort Smith, Ark., Nov. 22, 1917.
"Wm. Green, Vice-President American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:
"The jury has been deadlocked since case submitted Tuesday, three o'clock. This morning Judge Elliott called them before him and stated that the conspiracy alleged in his opinion had been fully proven; that it had existed since 1898. When the jury came into court he asked if they desired any information and the foreman answered they did not. He then voluntarily made the statement above referred to. His action may influence verdict in favor of plaintiffs as he virtually told jury to return such verdict. This is the most dangerous blow labor has received in a half-century and virtually nullifies the right of trial by jury in federal court.
"COVINGTON AND GRANT."

This morning I received a telegram announcing that the jury had returned a verdict against us for $200,000 damages. Without going into detail regarding this case I merely want to state to the convention that it is the purpose of the United Mine Workers of America to appeal to the highest court in the land, and in connection therewith to call the attention of the convention to the fact that this is another instance in which organized labor has been sued under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, a law which we all presumed was intended to catch the big fellow who was combining in restraint of trade. I want to offer a motion in connection with the matter: That the Executive Council be instructed to investigate all the facts in connection with this case and that they render the United Mine Workers of America such assistance as may be within their power in carrying this case to the Supreme Court of the United States, if necessary.

The motion was seconded and carried by a unanimous vote.

Delegate McClory offered a motion that the statement made by Delegate Fitzpatrick at the Thursday afternoon session on the White Rats Actors matter be printed verbatim in the proceedings.

President Gompers: The chair, in the interests of the delegates to this convention and for their protection, will rule that that motion is not in order.

Vice-President Perham stated that on account of the lateness of the hour when the discussion on the White Rats Actors matter was nearing completion, the members of the Special Committee, who were familiar with the details, were not given an opportunity to make any sort of reply to the statement of Delegate Fitzpatrick.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Delegate Woll continued the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report as follows:

Secretary Morrison's Report.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 18-55), your committee notes with extreme satisfaction the remarkable growth of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions, as set forth in the report of Secretary Morrison. That the affiliated membership of the American Federation of Labor should have grown to a membership of 2,371,434, or an increase during the past year of 298,732 members, evidences conclusively that a condition of war, rather than proving a weakening element to the forces of labor, tends to bring about a greater concentration and a more extensive organization of the workers of our country.

Your committee is likewise pleased with the report of the financial affairs of the American Federation of Labor as recorded

in the Secretary's report. This entire report of our Secretary contains much valuable statistical information, with interesting and instructive charts, which by numerical expressions splendidly portray the wonderful growth and development of the American labor movement.

Your committee recommends approval and endorsement of the Secretary's conduct of his office as recorded in this report.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Vice-President Lennon in the chair.

Liberty Loan Bonds.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 59), your committee concurs fully in the action of the Executive Council in purchasing Liberty Loan Bonds, reported under this caption. The action of the Executive Council in this matter is considered by your committee not only an act of patriotism and a manifestation of sincere loyalty to our government and its people in the present world's crisis, but we also look upon this action as being warranted and fully justified as a sound and safe investment, judged by the prevailing business and financial standards.

Your committee recommends approval of the action of the Executive Council in this matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Report on Labor Legislation.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 105), your committee reports as follows:

The report of your Executive Council under this caption reveals the fact that many enactments of great value have been secured for the benefit of the workers of our country. This report evidences that every demand made by the American Federation of Labor on Congress, March 21, 1906, with but one exception, has been enacted into law, and that many additional remedial legislative enactments have been secured since the time of this memorial meeting of organized labor. A careful, unbiased and unprejudiced study and analysis of these legislative accomplishments must convince the most skeptical and critical faultfinder that substantial progress has been realized in the legislative branch work of the American Federation of Labor. The one proposal of the legislative program of the American Federation of Labor yet to be realized relates to the demand for the protection of free labor against convict labor and commodities made by prison labor. The practice of using convicts and articles manufactured by prison labor in competition with free labor and free industries results in evil to the convict as well as to the public; it maintains a competition which should not exist in any civilized community, and the States should no longer be permitted to exploit the inmates of prisons in the interest of contractors dealing in convict-made goods.

Your committee recommends approval of this part of the Executive Council's report and urges that every possible effort be made to secure the early enactment of a law which will prevent further exploitation of convicts.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate King of the Alabama State Federation of Labor discussed the question briefly and read an editorial from an Alabama paper explaining why the organized workers of that State had asked the Federation for some assistance.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Wage Increase of Government Employes.

In connection with the subject under the above caption (pp. 113-114), your committee also considered Resolutions Nos. 41 and 53:

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Gertrude M. McNally of Federal Labor Union No. 12776:

WHEREAS, The wages paid to women employes of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing are not sufficient to meet the increased cost of living, nor commensurate with the work performed; and

WHEREAS, Many women employes are leaving the Bureau to accept higher paid positions, and the low rate of pay makes the position unattractive to possible applicants, which condition has hampered the work of the Bureau; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers and legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exert every effort in their power to secure such appropriation from the incoming Congress as will be sufficient to increase the yearly pay of the women employes of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing the sum of $200.00.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, In the last session of the Sixty-fourth Congress, a percentage increase of 10 per cent, per annum was granted to Federal employes receiving less than twelve hundred dollars ($1200) per year, and 5

per cent. to those receiving from twelve hundred dollars ($1200) to eighteen hundred dollars ($1800), inclusive; and

WHEREAS, These increases were granted by means of addition to certain appropriation acts being omitted or largely modified in others; and

WHEREAS, The cost of living has very seriously advanced since these increases were granted; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that the rates of increase given Federal employes should be materially raised in the appropriation acts for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1918; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That these increases should be consistent throughout the Government service.

Under this caption the Executive Council relates in detail the many efforts to secure wage increases of employes engaged in the several departments of the government service. While it is gratifying to note the many increases which have been secured, your committee also regrets that through technical rulings and decisions made by the Comptroller of the Treasury, some of the government employes were denied an increase in their wage, to which they are of right entitled by reason of the constantly increasing rise in the cost of living.

Reporting upon this entire subject, including these resolutions, your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue to give whatever aid it is capable of, in securing for all public employes a wage and working condition commensurate with services rendered and adequate to meet the constant rise in the cost of living, and recommends the approval of the Executive Council's report on this subject.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Insurance for Seamen.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 115-116), your committee views with satisfaction that an amendment has been secured to the Seamen's law insuring seamen engaged in trade, in cases of death or permanent disability, from war risks as well as providing compensation during the seamen's detention by an enemy of the government during the war.

Your committee sincerely hopes that the insurance and compensation provided for the seamen during the period of the war may be extended, and your committee recommends that all possible efforts be made for the early enactment of a general compensation law covering all seamen, at all times.

Your committee recommends approval of this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Porto Rican Citizenship Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 117), we report as follows:

It is with a marked degree of pleasure that your committee commends the Executive Council for the persistent, consistent and successful demands made upon Congress, that in providing a civil government for Porto Rico the obnoxious sections in the original bill providing for a property and educational qualification to be eligible to the legislature of Porto Rico were eliminated, thus granting to the citizens of Porto Rico equal rights under the new organic law.

Your committee concurs in all the expressions of your Executive Council on this subject, emphasizing particularly that expression that the American Federation of Labor can feel justly proud of its influence in providing for the people of Porto Rico an equal opportunity to all of its citizens to participate in its government, and we recommend approval of this part of the Executive Council's report

The report of the committee was adopted.

Immigration Law.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 118), we report as follows:

The Executive Council reports the enactment of an immigration law, containing the literacy test, for which the American Federation of Labor so long and persistently struggled.

Reporting on this subject, your committee feels impelled to commend your Executive Council upon the great accomplishment achieved and directs the attention of the convention to the good that will follow the enactment of this law when normal times will again return. By force of this law immigration will no longer prove solely a question of quantity, but of quality as well. Another important element of the situation is that the mass of immigration which heretofore failed to distribute itself to the country generally, but centered mainly in our great cities and industrial communities, will under the new law make for a more intelligent and general distribution. It will check, if not totally stop, the flow of undesirable immigration.

Your committee recommends full ap-

proval of that portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Daylight Saving Movement.

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report under the above caption (p. 119), we report as follows:

In this part of the report the Executive Council briefly refers to an effort made in advancing the working day one hour earlier during the summer months and ending the working day an hour earlier by turning the clock one hour forward to save lighting bills, eyesight, etc.

Your committee is unprepared to submit a final recommendation on this question, but recommends instead that the Executive Council investigate this subject carefully. If it is found that this proposal will make for greater comfort and saving and prove helpful to the physical well-being of the workers, in that event your committee recommends that this movement be approved.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Miscellaneous.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 120-121), your committee reports as follows:

The Executive Council refers to its activities in carrying out instructions given to it by the last convention of the A. F. of L., through the introduction and approval of resolutions.

Your committee has carefully reviewed these activities and it finds that the Executive Council has faithfully responded in all matters and on all subjects submitted to it.

Your committee, therefore, recommends approval of this part of the Executive Council's report and urges continuance on the part of the Executive Council on all subjects not yet having been finally and satisfactorily disposed of.

The report of the committee was adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Legal Bureau of Information.

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 123), your committee reports as follows:

We note with gratification the establishment within the A. F. of L. of a Legal Bureau of Information, and that the work of transcribing and compiling legal decisions affecting labor and its activities in a form which will prove helpful to affiliated unions has been started. The relative value of this department to all other phases of the labor movement cannot be overlooked. In a work so comprehensive, it is also an error of judgment to anticipate too much of this department in its inception. The initial work must necessarily be executed with great caution, so that this department may be placed on a firm and sound basis and be made to serve the affiliated unions in all their trade activities essential to the welfare of the labor movement.

Your committee endorses the establishment of this department, approves the work thus far done and urges continuance of the efforts of the officers of the A. F. of L. in developing this department to its fullest capacity of usefulness.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Flint Glass Workers—Machinists.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 124-125), we report as follows:

Your committee has given mature consideration to this subject. It not only considered all that appears in the report of the Executive Council to this convention, but it has also taken into consideration the action taken on previous occasions, especially the action of the Seattle convention, where the Adjustment Committee presented a clear-cut and definite decision in favor of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

We find that while the report of the Adjustment Committee was under discussion in that convention Delegate Johnston of the International Association of Machinists offered the following substitute:

"That a committee of three be appointed, one each by the two trades in interest and one by the President of the A. F. of L., said committee to visit the shops located at Alton, Ill.; Toledo, O., and all other shops in question, if it deems it necessary; the committee to be appointed prior to the adjournment of this convention and arrange to visit such shops and render its decision on or before March 1, 1914; the committee to have full authority, and its decisions shall be in full force and effect from date agreed upon; said decision to become a matter of record and contained in the report of the Executive Council to the 1914 convention."

While the foregoing substitute was adopted over the protest of the represen-

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tatives from the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, this organization accepted the will of that convention and awaited the results of the investigation and the decision that was to follow.

A committee of three, as required by the action of the Seattle convention, was selected, an investigation was made and a decision has been rendered, copy of which appears on pages 124-125 of the report of the Executive Council to this convention.

While your committee finds that this committee had full power in making its investigation and rendering its decision—and each organization is required to abide by the decision, still our judgment warrants us in believing that a better understanding will prevail and more genuine satisfaction accrue therefrom if this convention will sanction the omission of the ninth paragraph of the decision, which reads:

That in case of demand for mouldmakers to work in mould shops covered by the jurisdiction of the A. F. G. W. U. that cannot be filled by mouldmakers members of the A. F. G. W. U., the I. A. of M. shall be requested by the officers of the A. F. G. W. U. to furnish the class of men needed, who upon being employed are to become members of the A. F. G. W. U.

With this one omission your committee approves the findings of John B. Lennon and Frederick P. Houck, as appears on pages 124-125 of the report of the Executive Council to this body, and recommends that the officers and members of the International Association of Machinists and the American Flint Glass Workers' Union be required to comply therewith.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Johnston (Machinists): Before I address the convention I would like to ask Delegate Lennon one or two questions. First, if the decision made by you means that the machinists working, for instance, in the Owens Bottle Machine Company, where they make an automatic machine, shall transfer into the Flint Glass Workers' Union?

Delegate Lennon: Are you asking a question regarding the Owens Glass Company or the Owens Machine Shop?

Delegate Johnston: The Owens Bottle Machine Company.

Delegate Lennon: They are to transfer into the Flint Glass Workers' Union under this decision.

Delegate Johnston: Then am I to understand that the machinists employed in commercial shops where there is no glass factory attached but who make moulds, they are to transfer into the Flint Glass Workers' International Union?

Delegate Lennon: They are not.

Delegate Johnston made a lengthy statement in which he contended that the work in controversy was purely machinists' work. In the course of his statement he exhibited a mould to indicate to the delegates that the making of these moulds properly belonged to the machinists. He contended that the decision reached by the investigator was based upon false premises and that it was unsound.

Delegate Clarke, of the Flint Glass Workers' International Union, responded to the statement of Delegate Johnston at some length and appealed to the convention to adopt the report of the committee and thus carry out the decision rendered by the Seattle convention and the subsequent decisions rendered by the investigating committee. He criticised the machinists for delaying the investigation from time to time and took exception to the statement made by Delegate Johnston that the findings of the investigating committee were based on false premises and were unsound. Parts of the proceedings and stenographic reports of the Seattle convention were quoted by him in support of his contentions. The further claim was made that in no place in the United States or Canada were the machinists making moulds for any company employing glass bottle blowers. During his statement he asked Delegate Johnston what would be the attitude of his organization toward the decision that would be rendered by this convention?

Delegate Johnston, in replying, said: I of course expect to know what the decision is. It is customary to obey decisions and we try to be regular. I haven't known of a case yet where we have refused and I expect we will gladly obey this decision because I expect it to be a favorable one.

Delegate Clarke then attacked the machinists for having refused to abide by former decisions rendered by the proper authorities and based upon the substitute for the report of the Adjustment Committee on the same controversy at the Seattle convention, which substitute was proposed by Delegate Johnston himself. In conclusion, Delegate Clarke appealed for a fair and impartial decision on the merits of the case as presented.

Delegate Johnston replied to the statement of Delegate Clarke and alleged that the delay in the matter was caused as

much on the part of the Flint Glass Workers, by rejecting names suggested by the machinists, as it was due to any fault of the machinists. He stated that the mould which he had exhibited and about which Delegate Clarke had expressed some doubt, had only reached him after he had appeared before the committee.

Delegate Woll, discussing the matter for the committee, said in part: The committee has viewed this situation from an entirely different standpoint, not from the standpoint of the principle involved, because if there is a principle involved your committee felt that Delegate Johnston and the machinists, as well as the other organization in question, should have had that thought of principle in mind in Seattle when it was agreed that the controversy in question should be submitted to an impartial board. The agreement to submit the matter to a committee and to abide by its findings certainly waived the thought of principle at that time, and therefore we felt that it was not within the power of the committee to enter into that phase of the question; that the committee does not have the right or authority to set aside the decision made by a tribunal constituted by the interested organizations and this convention. In the committee, particular emphasis was laid upon one section of that decision wherein it provided that if the Flint Glass Workers were unable to supply the required number of men in an establishment where moulds were made, they should then call upon the machinists for members in order that they might have preference to that work rather than trades outside, and that it would require the machinists to aid them in that direction. The machinists claimed that was a matter of agreement rather than a question of decision, and your committee agreed with that viewpoint. We requested of the Flint Glass Workers if it would be acceptable to them to omit that particular section of the decision and they agreed to it and hence your committee has reported in this way.

Delegate Lennon made a brief statement in which he said that he had investigated the matter as thoroughly and as fairly as it was within his power to do so and that his decision was rendered in harmony with the actions of the Federation and in a manner advantageous to the organizations at interest.

Delegate Voll: I did not understand Delegate Lennon's answer to Delegate Johnston and I want to ask Delegate Clarke if his organization claims jurisdiction over anything in the machinery for glassware outside of the mould that comes on the machine?

Delegate Clarke: Absolutely nothing only the making of moulds, but the answer given by Brother Lennon on the second question was a little confused and conflicts with the decision printed on page 125 of the Executive Council's report and is misleading, because the machinists do not have any commercial mould shops under their jurisdiction. We don't ask for jurisdiction over machinery but the making of moulds for moulding glassware.

On motion, debate was closed.

A roll call vote was asked for but not supported by a sufficient number of delegates.

The vote on the adoption of the report of the committee resulted as follows, on a request by Delegate Johnston for a division: 140 in favor of adopting the report; 64 opposed.

At 1 o'clock the convention adjourned to reconvene, under a suspension of the rules, at 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 p. m., Friday, November 23d, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Sovey, Shaughnessy, Tobin (S. P.), Boyer, White, Logan, MacPherson, Baker, Conway, Coulter, Kuhlman, Doyle (J. J.), Fisher (T.), Brennan (W. J.), Bechtold, Kaufman, Silberstein, Shapiro, Deutsch, Rosenberg, McCue, Humphrey, Duty, Strain, Lane, Kennedy (J.), White (J. P.), Mitchell, Moore (J.), Lewis, Loder, Weber, Weaver, Schneider (G. J.), Dold, McGovern, Donlin, Hede, George, Kearney, Anderson, Rau, Flaherty, Roth, Lyons, Berry, Orr, Sheehan, Hurley, Gavlak, Freel, Sumner, Connors, Stillman, Konenkamp, Agethen, Hatch, Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Taylor, Holland, Jarrett, Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald (T. D.), Rahele, Coughlin, Crickmore, Robinson, Harlan, Malley, Vargas, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, McDonald (J. A.), Hines, O'Dell, Hevey, McKinnon, Brindell, McAndrew (A), Hodges, Henry, Kelly (W. J.), Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davidson, Wilkinson, Traglio, Murphy, Woodmansee, South

(A. E.), Wrenn, Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Tillman, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson, Wilkie, Green (W.), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Burch, Differding, Eson, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson, Fitts, Miller, Battle, Juhl, Rincker, Lebowitz.

Secretary Morrison read telegrams from W. D. Davis, Mayor of Fort Worth, and George H. Sleter, Secretary of the State Federation of Texas, urging that the 1918 convention of the American Federation of Labor be held in Fort Worth. He also read the following telegram:

Wallingford, Conn., Nov. 22, 1917.
Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.:

To the officers and members here assembled, we, as representatives greeting, ask that you make a special appeal to the organization with a resolution to go on record that every delegate either interested directly, or indirectly, further his interests in the only union-made auger bit made in the United States which has stood the test of experts throughout the United States, and claimed to be the most efficient boring tool on the market. We need your support, as the non-union products are fighting us to kill the label. Thanking you kindly, we are ever yours. We are sitting in convention hall with our ear to the ground.

W. A. IVES MANUFACTURING CO.,
Wallingford, Conn.,
E. S. GARRETT,
Representative.

Vice-President O'Connell in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Supplementary Report of Executive Council.

(REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON CO-OPERATION.)

On that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 309-310), your committee begs to report that we have given careful consideration to the report of the special committee. We find that the report is addressed to the Executive Council, and that there is set forth in it a comprehensive plan of activity well designed to carry out the ideals and purposes intended to be secured by the establishment of co-operative institutions. We also find that the organizing of these co-operative societies are to be organized in keeping with the Rochdale co-operative plan and to be encouraged under the direction and guidance of the American Federation of Labor. In the report there is provided a voluntary method of securing funds by which the American Federation of Labor may undertake this work in connection with all other activities and without disturbing or altering the existing relationships of affiliated unions.

Your committee is therefore in full accord with the intent and purposes sought to be attained in this report, approves the submitted plan and recommends reference of the entire matter to the Executive Council with authority to make such deviations therefrom as it may deem expedient, advisable or essential.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 3—By Draftsmen's Union No. 15327, Portsmouth, Va.:

WHEREAS, Draftsmen's Union No. 15327 of Portsmouth, Va., was by charter dated Otcober 29, 1916, constituted the first Draftsmen's Union affiliated with the A. F. of L., since which time, notwithstanding strenuous opposition, there have been organized seven other Draftsmen's Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, In our application for the aforesaid charter we expressly set forth the following claims: "Designing, computing, delineating, drawing and constructing by means of plans, specifications or patterns the main features, details and calculations of machinery, ships, buildings, structures, bridges, roads, topographical plans, aeroplanes, airships, engines, submarines, automobiles, and in general any and all drawings, calculations, designs and constructions of any and all character." And following out this plan we have now amongst our various Draftsmen's Unions the following: Architectural, structural, ship, electrical, boiler, engine, ordnance and topographical draftsmen; and

WHEREAS, We recognize that the great success of the labor movements as attained by the A. F. of L. has been by co-operation of its various units whilst granting the fullest freedom and autonomy amongst the various crafts; and

WHEREAS, We feel that as especially skilled artisans it is essentially necessary that we be granted and maintain a strict drafting identity in order to not only form a stronger organization, but be enabled to render better service in the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, There are at present organized a sufficient number of draftsmen's unions to form an international, and we believe the time propitious to put into execution such a movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled hereby approves the formation of a Draftsmen's International, and instructs its President and Executive Council to take the necessary steps to constitute said Draftsmen's International, clearly defining its scope and jurisdiction.

Resolution No. 15—By Marine Draftsmen's Union No. 15388, Philadelphia, Pa.:

WHEREAS, Draftsmen are a craft or

trade separate and distinct from other trades as molders, carpenters, plumbers, etc., and have just as much right to an international union as any of them; and

WHEREAS, The Marine Draftsmen's Union of Philadelphia and vicinity No. 15388, A. F. of L., was formed for the purpose of organizing and admitting to its membership all the draftsmen employed in shipyards along the Delaware River in the vicinity of Philadelphia, consisting of those not employed by the government, as well as the government draftsmen, and now has on its roll of membership draftsmen who are not government employes; and

WHEREAS, It was the intention in forming this Draftsmen's Union No. 15388 to join with the other draftsmen's unions already organized in New York and Norfolk to encourage the organization of still other draftsmen's unions throughout this country with the ultimate object of forming an International Union of Draftsmen under the American Federation of Labor, to include all draftsmen of the United States and of Canada; and

WHEREAS, There are now organized Draftsmen's Unions at Portsmouth, N. H.; Newport, R. I.; New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, S. C., and Chicago, Ill., with still others organizing, which will have members who are not government employes; and

WHEREAS, Draftsmen from Portsmouth, N. H.; Boston, Newport, R. I.; New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk and Charleston, S. C., met in New York on September 23, 1917, and formed a preliminary international union, with duly elected officers consisting of president and secretary-treasurer, for the purpose of completing the organization of an International Union of Draftsmen; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Marine Draftsmen's Union of Philadelphia and vicinity No. 15388, A. F. of L., that the American Federation of Labor be and it is hereby requested to take the necessary steps to form an international union of all draftsmen in the United States and Canada.

Your committee finds that Resolutions Nos. 3 and 15 deal with the same subject and are practically alike in that they seek to establish an International Union of Draftsmen.

In the absence of any evidence warranting your committee to submit a favorable report, we recommend reference of these resolutions to the Executive Council for such disposition as it deems best for the interest of all concerned.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Henry Raines of Federal Watchmen's Union No. 14964:

WHEREAS, The Federal Watchmen's Union by referendum vote of its membership on October 5, 1917, adopted a resolution of the following tenor: "That this union avail itself of the moral influence and assistance of the A. F. of L., and seek the enactment of the bill before the Sixty-fifth Congress known as H. R. 4429, increasing the salary of penitentiary guards and watchmen in the government service; and

"WHEREAS, In seeking the enactment of said bill the high cost of necessities of life, and the fact that the present salary was set by Congress over 60 years ago, and is totally inadequate to meet the present cost of living, should be given full consideration"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Convention of the A. F. of L. endorses the referendum of the Federal Guard and Watchmen's Union as outlined in this resolution, and that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be instructed to assist in seeking the passage of the bill known as H. R. 4429, introduced in the Sixty-fifth Congress by Congressman Van Dyke, to raise the salaries of penitentiary guards and watchmen in the United States Government service, more in conformity with the present high cost of living.

Your committee endorses this resolution wherein it relates to approval and endorsement of H. R. 4429, and recommends its approval, with the exception of the reference to a local referendum vote.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate B. E. Moore of Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The Egg Inspectors' Union of Chicago has been striving for a number of years to organize egg inspectors throughout the United States and Canada in order to perfect a national or an international organization for the betterment and uplifting of all engaged in the craft; and

WHEREAS, This local has been unable to overcome the difficulties of bringing about the desired results principally on account of lack of sufficient funds to finance this enterprise; and

WHEREAS, We think it would be a comparatively easy matter for the regular organizers of the American Federation of Labor to organize a few more locals in the larger cities, only a few being required, as there are some five or six locals in existence at the present time; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its organizers throughout the United States and Canada to make a special effort to organize this craft in their respective localities and co-operate with the officers of the various locals aready in the field. The officers of the Egg Inspectors' Union of Chicago are in a position to furnish them with valuable information gleaned through their own efforts along these lines.

Your committee recommends approval of this resolution, and urges that every possible assistance be given this organization in question along the lines indicated in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Oscar F.

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Nelson of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, During the visit of the Hon. William Holman, Premier of New South Wales, Australia, in our country, the Chicago Federation of Labor, at the suggestion of President Samuel Gompers, arranged a meeting in Chicago which Premier Holman addressed; and

WHEREAS, Such address was replete with information regarding such important matters as the experience of the labor movement of that country during the course of the war, court procedure during strikes, compulsory arbitration, government ownership of railways, etc.; and

WHEREAS, Premier Holman, himself a trade unionist, as head of the government of New South Wales, suggested "that organized labor of the United States select a committee of their members to visit Australia, and particularly New South Wales, to secure first hand knowledge of conditions and procedure affecting labor's interests there"; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor, having heard Premier Holman, and being favorably impressed with the fact that undoubtedly much information valuable to the American Federation of Labor could be gathered by a visit of the committee, or at least a representative of the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the request of Premier Holman be and hereby is referred to the Executive Council of this body for such action as it deems advisable and expedient.

The committee recommended concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Morris Kaufman and Philip Silberstein of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada;

WHEREAS, The workers on the fur used for the making of men's hats work in factories over which the International Fur Workers' Union has jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, Several locals of these workers have already been organized by the International Fur Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, At the time the Constitution of the International Fur Workers' Union was drafted, no specific mention was made of hatters' fur workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction over these workers be extended to the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

Your committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 21, but in doing so it must be clearly understood by the International Fur Workers' Union that immediately the fur enters the hat factory its jurisdiction ends and that the process of manufacturing the fur thereafter into hats shall remain unquestioned within the jurisdiction of the United Hatters of North America.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 22—By Delegates Morris Kaufman and Philip Silberstein of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada:

WHEREAS, The workers on sheepskins are mostly unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Sheepskins are also used extensively in the fur industry; and

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada does not include workers who work exclusively on sheepskins in the manufacturing, tanning and dyeing; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That jurisdiction over these workers be extended to the International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends the extension of jurisdiction as indicated in Resolution No. 22.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate J. G. Brown of the International Shingle Weavers:

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of the State of Washington has rendered a decision which amounts to a direction to all lower courts to enjoin all strikers who engage in picketing, peaceful or otherwise, singly or in groups, which subjects all union members to liability for damages to the full extent of their individual or collective financial responsibility, and establishing at the same time the almost unheard-of principle that legal service on the officers of an organization constitutes service on all the members thereof, also reaffirming the obsolete doctrine that there exists a property right to both labor power and business; and

WHEREAS, The voters of the State of Washington repudiated by a large majority at the last general election an anti-picketing bill which had passed the previous session of the legislature, but held inoperative by the referendum vote; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. condemns the reactionary attitude of the Washington State Supreme Court and directs the Executive Council to investigate this decision and give its best counsel and advice to the affected workers who are oppressed by this judge-made law.

Your committee views with great apprehension the constantly increasing usurpation of power by our courts in infringing upon and restricting the rights of a free people. A more flagrant violation of the constitutional rights of the workers, a more deliberate disregard of the decisions of our people, expressed by them through a referendum method of legislation, which involves the right to peaceably assemble, to free association and free

speech, has never heretofore been manifested in any part of the country as has been done in the State of Washington by the approval and concurrence of the Supreme Court of that State.

Your committee holds that decisions and practices of this kind by our courts are more harmful to our government and our free institutions than any other influence or agency in our land. The time has arrived when the legislative agencies of our several state governments must be the exclusive means for the making of laws and rules of conduct. The time is here when our courts must be denied powers never intended to be exercised by the judicial department of our government. The evenly balanced checks intended by our forefathers to prevent the encroachment of one department of government upon another must no longer be disregarded. Government by injunction must end.

Your committee holds that a government of our courts by the injunction writ and for the benefit of employing interests, is in conflict with and contrary to the constitutional safeguards of the right, liberties, and freedom of our people, and, therefore, recommends that we reaffirm the declaration made a year ago, viz.:

That any injunction dealing with the relationship of employer and employe, and based upon the dictum "Labor is Property," be held and absolutely treated as usurpation, and disregarded, let the consequences be what they may.

Your committee further recommends the approval of the resolution and urges all workers and affiliated unions to spare no time or effort to secure the early enactment of laws hereafter denying our courts the opportunity of interfering with and restricting the constitutional guarantees of our people to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and to again firmly establish the right to trial by jury and the presumption of innocence in all cases of law and equity.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Duncan (James A.) discussed the resolution in a general way, referring especially to labor conditions in Seattle, and the effect of the injunction on strikes in that city.

Delegate Walker, Mine Workers, favored the adoption of the report of the committee, but urged the necessity of all local unions belonging to and co-operating with the State Federation of Labor of the various states, in order to overcome the injunction evil.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in unanimously.

Resolution No. 61—By Delegates W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, M. J. Cahill and P. F. Sheehan, of the A. A. of S. & E. R. E. of A., by instructions of their convention:

WHEREAS, A National Labor Defense Council has been organized, with Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City as chief counsel. Associated with him are Amos Pinchot of New York, Clarence S. Darrow of Chicago, Edward P. Costigan of Denver, C. E. S. Wood of Portland, Ore., and Austin Lewis of Oakland, Cal., comprising the legal staff; an editorial staff composed of Freemont Older, Lincoln Steffens, John Reed, George P. West, Basil Manley, Carl Sandburg, Sara Bard Field, Helen Marot, Ida Raub and Gertrude Barnam. The National Labor Defense Council aims to establish a National Bureau of Publicity, to investigate with competent men all important strikes and lock-outs, for the purpose of furnishing first-hand information to the Labor Press, and all other periodicals interested in an impartial statement of the facts, hoping thereby to be helpful in crystalizing public opinion sympathetic with the just demands of labor from time to time. The attorneys are prepared to give such legal opinions to our movement as may be desired, in all matters affecting the rights and interests of labor in any legal controversy, without any charge of the organization; and

WHEREAS, This Council has received the endorsement of the State Federations of Labor at their 1917 conventions in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Colorado, Kansas, Arizona, Oklahoma, Indiana, Ohio and Illinois. In addition to this, many of the Central Bodies of the large cities throughout the country have demonstrated a strong desire for a National Defense Council, in order that the rights of labor may be more adequately protected; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention at Buffalo, N. Y., endorse the National Labor Defense Council, and urge all its affiliant organizations to voluntarily subscribe an amount equal to five cents per member per year to help finance the same; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be directed to notify all affiliated organizations of this action and furnish them with a copy of this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all funds for the National Labor Defense Council be sent to William P. Harvey, Secretary-Treasurer, 307 Massachusetts Building, Kansas City, Mo.

Resolution No. 61 not only asks the endorsement of a National Legal Defense Council but also requires the American Federation of Labor to urge all affiliated unions to subscribe financially to its up-keep.

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Your committee is mindful of the fact that during the past year the American Federation of Labor has put into operation a Legal Bureau of Information to prove helpful in the defense of affiliated unions. While this department is yet in an embryo state, your committee is of the opinion that with the proper encouragement and support it can be made of incalculable value to the labor movement. To endorse and in particular to help finance another agency and institution of a similar character, would not only create confusion but prove disastrous to this much desired undertaking.

Your committee, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in this resolution, but in doing so desires also to express its highest regard for the men referred to in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate R. L. Brazzle of the Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators, No. 14605, Seattle, Wash.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has established a comprehensive labor library in the Federation Building at Washington; and

WHEREAS, The Legal Bureau of Information will be opened at the beginning of the year 1918; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the work of the Legal Bureau of Information shall also include the circulation of the list of all books, documents, papers, etc., of the library at least once a year, and supply affiliated organizations on request informational matter which may be of value in educational activities.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council, to be considered in connection with the future development of the Legal Bureau of Information of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegate C. E. James of St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly:

WHEREAS, In St. Paul, Minn., and a number of other cities in this country there are organizations of police officers who are organized for the purpose of bettering their economic condition; and

WHEREAS, These organizations are seeking affiliation with the American Federation of Labor through charters as Federal Labor Unions, to the end that they may receive the co-operation of the trade union movement; and

WHEREAS, It appears that upon making application for such charters they have been informed that such charters cannot be granted under the existing rules of the Federation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the matter be referred to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that they carefully consider the advisability of taking such steps as would insure the admission of said organizations into affiliation with this Federation.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council for investigation and such disposition as the evidence may warrant and as the Executive Council deems best to promote the interests of all concerned.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773; Harry H. Hollis, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11597, and Joseph J. Ellicott, Office Employes' Association No. 12755:

WHEREAS, There are eighteen locals of office workers in the following cities directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor: Indianapolis, Washington, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, San Francisco, St. Louis, Kansas City, Topeka, Baltimore, Denver, Oakland, Richmond, Omaha, Boston, Birmingham, Los Angeles and Fresno; and

WHEREAS, A large number of these locals, involving 80 per cent. of the membership, are petitioning for the issuance of a charter for a national organization of office workers; and

WHEREAS, Organization work is pending in Seattle, Buffalo and Little Rock; and

WHEREAS, The field of organization in this class of work is as large as that of any organization now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, No material progress can be made in organization without the aid of a national organization, and all organizations must start on a small scale, as is evidenced by the fact that there are now thirty national and international unions with a membership each of less than 1,800; and

WHEREAS, Approximately 75 per cent. of the members of the above locals are not employed in labor union offices and it is totally inconsistent and at variance with trade union principles and policies for the officers of any labor union employing office help to put any obstacle whatever in the way of the advancement of fellow unionists and thus prevent the formation of a national and its subsequent undoubted growth; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Buffalo issue a charter to the local unions mentioned with the jurisdiction now assigned to the several local unions.

Having heard all parties interested in Resolution No. 85, and having given the subject matter careful and thoughtful consideration, your committee is of the opinion that the interests of the workers represented by the introducers of the resolution can best be conserved and promoted under the form of organization at present existing, and in recommending non-concurrence in this resolution we urge that every possible effort be made

to organize these workers in all establishments wherein they are employed.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Nelson, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, stated that his organization had instructed him to favor the issuance of an international charter to the Stenographers and Office Workers. He said that the present organization in Chicago had a membership of something over 400 and they believed if they were chartered internationally they could increase their membership materially.

Delegate Anne Hogan, representing the Office Workers' Union of New York City, spoke in favor of the granting of an international charter and emphatically denied having anything to do with the circular letter distributed to the delegates and leaving the impression that the office worker delegates in the convention might have given their approval to it.

Delegate Connors proposed as a substitute for the report of the committee that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, they to arrange a meeting with representatives of the office employes now organized with a view to granting an international charter.

Chairman O'Connell ruled the motion a negative one and therefore out of order.

Delegate De Nedrey spoke in opposition to the report of the committee.

Delegate Woll, for the committee, denied an insinuation to the effect that the committee had been influenced in making its report by members of the Executive Council, and said it was the unanimous opinion of the committee that the class of workers referred to in the resolution could make the best advances for the present under federal labor union charters. He also called attention to a telegram signed by members of Stenographers' Union No. 11773 of Washington, D. C., denying any responsibility for the introduction of Resolution No. 158, and urging that it be withdrawn.

Delegate Florence Etheridge, of the Federal Employes' organization, defended Secretary Morrison against the attacks made in the circular letter.

Delegate Ellicott, of the Office Employes' Association of Chicago, denied any connection whatsoever with the circular letter signed by W. M. Pollock, as did also Delegate Hollis, of the Indianapolis Stenographers' Union. Delegate Ellicott also stated that the Chicago Union had made the request for an international charter entirely in good faith.

Secretary Morrison made a lengthy statement in which he refuted every charge made against him in the circular letter issued by Pollock. He took exception to statements published in the Cleveland Citizen derogatory to him, and challenged Mr. Pollock to name any other labor paper in the country that had carried any such statements. He reviewed in some detail the conditions leading up to the trouble in the Washington local.

Delegate Max Hayes answered the statement of Secretary Morrison relative to the article published in the Cleveland Citizen in regard to him by saying that it was a statement originally sent to the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Delegate Sweeney advocated the granting of an international charter.

Delegates Green, of the Mine Workers, and Dobson, of the Bricklayers, advocated the adoption of the report of the committee and said they were not in favor of granting an international charter to the Stenographers and Office Workers until they went out and made an honest and sincere effort to organize those workers in a general way in the commercial field.

Delegate Pollock made a lengthy statement which was largely an extension of the allegations contained in the circular letter and which Secretary Morrison had absolutely denied.

In response to inquiries by delegates Secretary Morrison informed the convention that the employes of the Federation worked seven and a half hours per day, with the Saturday half holiday the year around, two weeks' vacation with pay, time and one-half for overtime and double time for Saturday afternoon work when necessary.

President Gompers, in speaking on the subject, asked Delegate Pollock if he would repudiate the authorship of the circular headed "An Appeal for Justice," and Delegate Pollock said he would not.

President Gompers then continued his statement and told the convention something of the workings of the Federation office. He explained that it was very often necessary to have some vitally important work done after hours and that overtime work was reduced to a minimum insofar as possible. He presented evidence to show that the employes were

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now and had always been treated with the greatest courtesy and respect by their employers. He touched on the condition of the Office Workers' Unions generally and condemned in the severest terms the issuing of circular letters such as that brought out by Mr. Pollock.

On motion, debate was closed.

The report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

President Gompers in the chair.

A motion was made by Delegate Hutcheson that the rules be suspended and that a night session be held beginning at 8 o'clock this evening. (Seconded.)

Delegate Frey offered as an amendment that the rules be suspended and beginning with the afternoon session on Saturday the convention continue in session until the business had been finally completed. (Amendment seconded.)

After a brief discussion in which Delegates Tobin (D. J.), Farrington and Vice-President Duncan took part, the amendment was put to vote and carried. The original motion as amended was adopted by the convention.

Delegate Fry offered a motion, which was seconded, that the nomination and election of officers be made a special order of business for 10.30 o'clock Saturday morning.

The amendment was seconded and President Gompers stated that the matter would be taken care of on the convening of the evening session.

At 6 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 8 p. m. of the same day.

ELEVENTH DAY---Friday Evening Session

The convention was called to order at 8.00 o'clock p. m., Friday, November 23d, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Noschang, McKillop, Sovey, Reddick, Kugler, Sullivan (John), Bowen (W. J.), Shaughnessy, Price, Morrin, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Baker, Conway, Coulter, Feeney, Etheridge, Junker, Healy, Brennan (W. J.), Bechtold, Silberstein, Doyle (Frank), Daley, Deutsch, Rosenberg, Duncan, Zaritsky, Zuckerman, Margolis, Marshall, Greenstein, O'Leary, Bryan (W. E.), Gainor, Duffy, Swartz, Mugavin, Bock, Benson, O'Connor, Vaccarelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Strain, Lane, Kennedy (J.), White (J. P.), Mitchell, Moore (J.), Curran, Baumgartner, Foeder, Carey, Schneider, Bergstrom, Dold, McGivern (E. J.), Donlin, Hede, George, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Roth, Lyons, Sheehan, Hurley, Helt, Freel, Sumner, Short, Funder Burk, Stillman, Bode, Konenkamp, Williams, Agethen, Hatch, Brown (J. G.), Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Fitchie, Jarrett, Kennedy, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald, Coughlin, Malloy, Robinson, Rist, Harlein, Vargas, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, McDonald (J. A.), Hines, O'Dell, Gorman, Foster, Sellons, McKinnon, Brindell, McAndrew (A.), Hodges, Henry, Kelly (J. B.), Burch, Kelly (W. J.), Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison, Wilkinson, James, Traglio, Newman, McDonald, Murphy, Woodmansee, Wrenn, Smith, Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum, McIntyre, DeNedrey, Hester, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Tillman, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson (H.), Wilkie, Green, Quesse, Brazzo, Malone, Busch, Eson, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson, Fitts, Miller, Battle, Juhl, Rincker, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 21, 1917.

Norman Sommerville, Chief Organizer Victory Loan, Toronto, Canada:

The American Federation of Labor is in whole-hearted support with the government of the United States and Canada and their allies in the war for freedom and democracy. The Executive Council, having invested twenty thousand dollars in the United States Liberty Loan Bond issue, has just directed President Gompers to purchase ten thousand dollars of Canadian Victory Bond Loan, the thought prompting the whole procedure being the confidence of the noble cause of the Allies in this world war.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
President American Federation of Labor.

Toronto, Ont., Nov. 22, 1917.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Buffalo, N. Y.:

Your splendid message, breathing a patriotism that knows no national boundaries and no political limitation, has deeply stirred our people and strengthened the bonds of our common affection. To Canada has come a crown of glory out of the sacrifices of the sons of labor. The heritage that has been saved for us at such loss must be shared in larger measure by the men who saved it. To Labor do we accord the laurel wreath of unselfish service. We gladly then join hands with you in a common cause that shall carry us through to victory, and then to a peace in which our common sense of right and justice shall prevail. Your contribution and your message are gratefully received here, but will

be more gratefully acknowledged by the firing line in Flanders, to which it has been flashed.

NORMAN SOMMERVILLE,
Chief Organizer.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Delegate Woll, for the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 92—By Delegate W. L. Forrest, Secretary Madison Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The building of labor temples throughout the American Continent has proved very unsucccessful for various reasons, but mostly due to the lack of co-operation and the method of raising funds; and

WHEREAS, The constant appeals that have been sent out by the different labor temples committees have not only been a waste of time and energy but a great waste of money for printing, paper, stamps and labor that could or should have been saved to the labor movement if it had been handled through a United Labor Temple Department of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The labor movement should profit by its past mistakes in preventing the waste of time, energy and money in the future by adopting some method that will build a home for labor in every town and city on the American Continent and save to the labor movement the homes that have already been built but which are in danger of falling into the hands of the real estate and money sharks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That a committee of five (5) be appointed from the body of this convention to gather data with the co-operation of the Secretary of the A. F. of L.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That said committee hold at least three (3) meetings before the next regular convention and that they shall receive their regular rate of pay and expenses from the Treasurer of the A. F. of L. upon the bills being O. K.'d by the President; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the committee shall bring to the next convention such recommendations that will have for its purpose the creation of a Labor Temple Department of the A. F. of L. and the raising of funds by per capita tax or otherwise to build a chain of labor temples throughout the American Continent.

This resolution contemplates a new function and new relation by and between affiliated unions and the American Federation of Labor.

Under this requirement the A. F. of L. will be compelled to enter into a building project of gigantic proportions, altering and interfering with the autonomous rights of affiliated unions and subjecting the A. F. of L. to a new system of laws governing the co-operative ownership and conduct of realty and add to the A. F. of L. activities not only undesirable but extremely burdensome.

Your committee believes that the building of labor temples is a subject best covered by each community of workers. By that method existing relations will not become involved in difficulties regarding questions of location, size of building, character of architecture, rules and conduct of administration, etc., etc. In no other way can the establishment of local labor temples be undertaken with any degree of success.

Your committee, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson, of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor, in meeting assembled, adopted the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, The National and International industrial and political conditions which have arisen in modern society and out of the present war, present complex problems, requiring expert advice and guidance; and

"WHEREAS, Organized labor should have the benefit of the world's experts in the shaping and solution of these problems; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Chicago Federation of Labor favors the establishment by the American Federation of Labor of a Bureau of Research, manned by economists and experts"; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs its Executive Council to put the purpose and intent of this resolution into effect.

Your committee understands this resolution to imply that the labor movement, as now constituted and directed, is lacking of that expert guidance which would follow the employment of economists. Your committee dissents from this viewpoint. Even were the employment of what is commonly understood outside of the labor movement as an economist, desirable, there would immediately arise the question as to what particular school of economy he should represent. When we enter this sphere of speculation we will then find almost as many different theories of economy as there are economists.

Your committee is deeply impressed with the thought and believes that our movement is daily and yearly creating trained experts and experienced leaders, capable of solving the problems continually pressing the workers for solution, and trained to prove helpful in the guidance of labor's activities in our industrial and political life.

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Your committee, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate G. M. Bugniazet, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, Many companies that employ our members have adopted a system in the hiring of said members that includes an application and index card that shows his industrial history for five years last past; and

WHEREAS, Such cards are used by the companies only for the purpose of communicating with former employers as to the ability, temperament and union activities of applicant, and if he has been active in union circles it means his discharge as soon as report is received from his former employers, thus amounting to a blacklist of our active members; and

WHEREAS, This custom is becoming more general each year; it deserves immediate action by the International, as only by united action can this evil be curbed; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the International Brotherhood go on record as being opposed to any local union allowing her members to sign application and record blanks provided for the purpose by the corporation, except for Government, State or municipal positions, or any local allowing their members to sign individual contracts for employment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming International officers are hereby instructed to render every assistance and support to any local union forced into difficulty on account of refusing to allow their members to sign such applications or contracts; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming officers and the delegates to the American Federation and its departments be instructed to take this matter up at the coming convention and use every means to attain the co-operation of other trades in a campaign to have this system abolished at the earliest possible date.

Your committee finds that Resolution No. 118 is directed to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and not to the American Federation of Labor.

While your committee is in full accord with the desire of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in urging the co-operation of affiliated unions in a joint effort to abolish the blacklist system complained of, your committee cannot do anything else than to report its inability, or that of this convention, to take any action on this resolution, because it is addressed to and intended for action by an organization other than the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegate J. W. Hays of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, There has been some dispute as to what organization should have control over the operating of stencil and plate making machines, making stencils and plates for the purpose of addressing wrappers for mailing magazines, catalogues and similar publications; and

WHEREAS, These machines are used in connection with the mailing departments of newspaper plants, publication offices and commercial printing establishments, which departments are under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled grants to the International Typographical Union jurisdiction over all stencil and plate making machines used in connection with the mailing of newspapers, magazines, catalogues or other publications.

To avoid a possible misunderstanding among the printing trades unions, the introducer of Resolution No. 127 requested the elimination of the second preamble of this resolution.

Your committee joins in this request and recommends concurrence in the amended resolution, wherein all reference to the second preamble is entirely eliminated.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates Matthew Woll of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; James J. Freel and Charles A. Sumner of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; A. P. Sovey of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, J. W. Hays, Hugh Stevenson and Max S. Hayes of the International Typographical Union, after action taken by the Board of Governors of the International Allied Printing Trades Association:

WHEREAS, Several efforts have been made to obtain an adequate wage for compositors, pressmen and other men employed in the printing department of the New York postoffice, amendments to the postffice appropriation bill having been reported favorably at different sessions of Congress; and

WHEREAS, These amendments have been defeated on technical points of order or through the action of conference committees; and

WHEREAS, The wages paid to these employes are entirely inadequate and are less than the wages paid by all representative private employers in the printing industry in New York City; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby authorized and instructed to use all honorable efforts to obtain an amendment to the postoffice appropriation bill which will provide an adequate wage for the employes of the printing department of the New York City postoffice; and it is further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Coun-

cil of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and instructed to ascertain if Congress has provided or if the post-office department has available an emergency appropriation from which the wages of these employes may be immediately increased, in order that the extraordinary drain upon their financial resources may be relieved.

Your committee recommends the endorsement and approval of Resolution No. 135.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Geo. B. McGovern of Yonkers Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The savings of workmen are used by "captains of industry" to further their own ends; and

WHEREAS, The workers should control their own banks; and

WHEREAS, Familiarity with banking encourages thrift, will raise the status of workers, will open the door of opportunity, will promote the general welfare and insure greater liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of Liberty Bonds has placed large numbers of workmen in possession and ownership of government bonds, which are the basis of national banks; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge every workman to buy Liberty Bonds, establish national banks under the present law and endeavor to secure the amendment of the present statute so as to make a national bank a more democratic institution.

Your committee, in considering Resolution No. 137, finds that it contains one proposal which it favors and which relates to the request that workmen be urged to buy Liberty Bonds. Your committee concurs in that suggestion but disapproves of the balance of the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate McGovern spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Vice-President Perham in the chair.

Resolution No. 139—By Delegate James A. Duncan of Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Jurisdictional disputes and frequent misunderstandings arising between our various craft unions emphasizes the vital necessity of firmly instilling into the mind of every unionist that splendid principle upon which our Federation is based, namely, that the relationship of members of different craft unions is identical to the relationship of members of the same craft union; and

WHEREAS, The great distances which separate most of our international unions' headquarters presents one of the greatest obstacles to a realization of this great principle; and

WHEREAS, The present grave crisis which confronts our nation makes it imperative that international officials be within easy reach of each other, if the highest degree of efficiency is to be secured, and the greatest results attained; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, if not already doing so, be urged to establish their headquarters at Washington, D. C., and in the A. F. of L. Building, if accommodations are available.

After due and careful consideration your committee finds the purpose intended by this resolution impracticable, even were it desirable, and therefore recommends non-currence in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Duncan (Jas. A.) advocated the adoption of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 140—By Delegate Sam De Nedrey of Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The people of the District of Columbia have long suffered from inadequate and dangerous street car service, the management completely ignoring the public's demand for convenience and safety, as well as the request of employes for living wages and humane working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The uncompromising attitude of this street railway management resulted in a strike of employes and as a result of said strike the Senate of the United States appointed a committee to investigate the strike and conditions relating thereto, with the result the committee reported to the United States Senate that the complaints against the deplorable conditions alleged by both public and employes were justified and recommended government ownership; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as the District of Columbia is Federal territory and relief must come from the Congress of the United States, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is hereby directed to formulate and have introduced into the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress a bill providing for governmental ownership of the street railway systems of the District of Columbia.

Your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council with instruction to take such action it deems best and most helpful to the Amalgamated Street and Electric Railway Employes' organization.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 149—By Delegates James William Fitzpatrick and Harry Mountford of White Rats Actors' Union:

WHEREAS, There is an organization known as the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association with a membership embrac-

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ing all the vaudeville, circus and burlesque managers of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, The said association has declared a universal and international boycott against the White Rats Actors' Union, a union affiliated with and in good standing with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It is impossible for a member (male or female) of the said White Rats Actors' Union to obtain employment in any vaudeville theatre, burlesque theatre or circus because of such membership, and more particularly because such membership means and conveys that such member and such union is a part of the organized labor movement of the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, If it is discovered by the said Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association that an actor or actress is a member of the White Rats Actors' Union, they are immediately discharged from their employment; and

WHEREAS, Actors and actresses are brought under pretense of employment and an alleged form of contract many miles at their own expense, and then not permitted to work because of such membership. As for example: Miss Cora Youngblood Corson and a company of six ladies were brought from Oklahoma to Rochester, N. Y., under a contract of employment at a cost to the actresses of over four hundred dollars ($400.00), and when they arrived in Rochester to perform they were summarily cancelled and not permitted to appear by the said Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association, and the said Managers' Association publicly boasted of such conduct in the theatrical press, and also publicly and repeatedly have advertised similar actions, and that they have instituted and keep a blacklist nation-wide in scope against all members of the White Rats Actors' Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the Executive Council to take such steps, and to use such influence as may seem best, to bring before the proper authorities these criminal practices of the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association, so that they may be properly punished and these abuses terminated and that the actors and actresses of the United States and Canada may have the undisturbed right to belong to an organization or union affiliated with this American Federation of Labor.

Your committee finds that the opposition of the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association, as set forth in Resolution No. 149, is directed not only against the White Rats Actors' Union, but involves also the right of any actors' or actresses' unions to be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, which in itself and indirectly is an attack upon the A. F. of L.

Your committee, therefore, recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council with instructions that it investigate fully the practices of the Vaudeville Managers' Protective Association at the earliest possible moment and cause the several agencies of the government to take such administrative, legislative or judicial action the Executive Council deems best, to protect the right of actors and actresses to belong to an organization, and the right of any union to be affiliated with the A. F. of L., and thus prove helpful in restoring to the people of the theatrical profession a free and unmolested opportunity of employment.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 158—By Delegate W. M. Pollock, Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773:

WHEREAS, From the records of the American Federation of Labor published in the American Federationist, it appears that considerable overtime is performed by the clerks at headquarters; and

WHEREAS, The practice of working overtime is discouraged as much as possible under trade union policies, especially if members of a union are out of work; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Secretary Morrison be requested not to have his employes perform overtime unless in cases of actual emergency, but to employ extra help, such extra work to be given in preference to members of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773, who may be out of work.

Your committee strongly deprecates the introduction of Resolution No. 158 to this convention, in that it tends to create a false and unwarranted impression and reflection upon the conduct of the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

The delegate having introduced the resolution failed to inform your committee that the employes of the American Federation of Labor were required to work overtime for the purpose of preventing employment to members of the union unemployed; neither did he volunteer to present any testimony whatever showing that employes of the A. F. of L. were required to work overtime except in cases of emergency and necessity. On the contrary, your committee finds that the wages and working conditions of employes of the A. F. of L. are in advance of those granted to workers engaged in similar employment in other establishments or institutions.

Your committee not only, therefore, recommends non-concurrence in this resolution, but also urges the disapproval of the procedure followed by this organization in presenting such a resolution to the convention before having first presented its

alleged complaint to the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for attention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegates Walker (J. H.), of the Miners, and Dobson and Bowen, of the Bricklayers, opposed the resolution and again condemned the introducer of it for his previous conduct in the convention.

During Delegate Dobson's statement, in which he referred to the actions of the Office Workers' Union elsewhere than in Washington, Delegate Anne Hogan raised a point of order that his statements were not germane to the question before the convention. President Gompers ruled the point of order not well taken on the ground that the widest latitude had been given every delegate in the convention, in the matter of speaking on any subject.

President Gompers made a brief statement in explanation of the necessity of overtime work in the office of the Federation on certain occasions.

On motion debate was closed and the report of the committee unanimously adopted.

Delegate McGowan made a motion that Resolution No. 158 and all matter pertaining to the discussion on a similar subject at the afternoon session be expunged from the final proceedings of the convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Furuseth raised objection and the motion was not put.

A motion was offered by Delegate Johnson that the rules be suspended and that delegates be required to limit their statements on subjects before the convention to five minutes. (Seconded.)

Delegate Woodbury raised objection and the motion was lost on being put to vote.

Resolution No. 168—By Delegate J. M. Conley of Iowa State Federation of Labor:

The following resolution, known as Resolution No. 18, was adopted by the Iowa State Federation of Labor in session at Dubuque, Iowa, June 12 to 15, 1917:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and the Order of Railway Conductors refuse to recognize the rights of the Switchmen's Union of North America, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and refused to let the Switchmen's Union cooperate with them in making their demands upon the railroads; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen is at this time making special efforts and working against the interests of the Switchmen's Union on all railroad yards and terminals where the Switchmen's Union holds contracts, and said Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen is in the act of breaking the Switchmen's strike on the Wabash Railway; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen did conspire with the officials of the Interurban Railway at Des Moines, Iowa, to secure a contract which was held by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, We believe this an unjust policy as practiced by the four Brotherhoods and is detrimental to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Iowa State Federation of Labor in convention assembled reaffirm the action of the convention one year ago at Marshalltown, Iowa, in condemning the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen for discriminating against the Switchmen's Union of North America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Iowa State Federation of Labor go on record as protesting against any moral or financial support being given the four Brotherhoods by the American Federation of Labor until they cease to discriminate against crafts which are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Exexcutive Board of the Iowa State Federation of Labor take this matter up to further the interest of the crafts affected, and the delegate to the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take this matter up at the convention of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of eliminating this antagonism toward the Switchmen's Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention requests of the American Federation of Labor to use its best endeavor to insist that the four Brotherhoods become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee finds that Resolution No. 168 is addressed to the Iowa State Federation of Labor and is not directed to the American Federation of Labor for consideration and action.

Your committee, therefore, finds that it cannot do other than to report its inability, or that of this convention, to take any action on this resolution, because it is intended and directed for consideration to an organization other than the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 153—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, A. O. Wharton, James O'Connell, J. A. Taylor and Thos. Savage, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, At the Baltimore Convention of the American Federation of Labor, representatives of the International Association of Machinists, and Brother-

hood of Carpenters and Joiners, jointly entered into the following arrangement:

"Baltimore, Md., Nov. 20, 1916.

"To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

"The representatives of the International Association of Machinists and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, held a conference in the Rennert Hotel, November 20, 1916, for the purpose of considering the dispute between the two organizations and arriving at some understanding that may eventually lead to a satisfactory adjustment of same.

"Realizing the grave importance of the questions at issue and that several conferences may be necessary to work out an agreement, it was agreed that the International President of each organization appoint a sub-committee to confer, from time to time, until an agreement has been reached.

"The representatives present felt that it would take some time to complete this work, but to show their earnestness and determination, before the conference adjourned, each President appointed a subcommittee to immediately take up the work referred to.

"These committees are now in session in this city, laying plans for future conferences.

"It was further agreed that pending a final adjustment of the dispute in question, if local troubles or disputes arise between the two organizations they should be referred to the presidents of both organizations for settlement.

"A report giving the result of the conferences will be made to the next convention.

WILLIAM L. HUTCHESON,
FRANK DUFFY,
O. E. WOODBURY,
JAMES P. OGLETREE,
JACK FLYNN,
On behalf of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America;

WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON,
J. A. TAYLOR,
THOMAS VAN LEAR,
A. O. WHARTON,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
On behalf of the International Association of Machinists."

WHEREAS, In compliance with this agreement, the following conferences were held, without any understanding being reached:

Baltimore, Md., Nov. 21st, 1916—J. J. Keppler and William Hannon, representing the Machinists, and P. H. McCarthy and J. Flynn, representing the Carpenters.

Chicago, Ill., May 8th, 1917, Atlantic Hotel—President Hutcheson and Business Agents Oliver and Metz, representing the Carpenters, and Wm. Hannon and C. W. Fry, representing the Machinists.

Washington, D. C., June 9th and 10th, Council Room, A. F. of L. Building—President Hutcheson, Neal, Oliver, Metz and Flynn, representing the Carpenters, and President Johnston, Keppler, Hannon, Savage, Nicholson, Ames and Preston, representing the Machinists; President Gompers and Secretary Morrison of the American Federation of Labor being present.

Indianapolis, Ind., Carpenters' Headquarters, July 9, 10 and 11, 1917—President Hutcheson, Flynn, Oliver, Metz and Neal, representing the Carpenters, and President Johnston, Keppler and Hannon, representing the Machinists.

Chicago, Ill., Carpenters' Hall and Fort Dearborn Hotel, July 12 and 13—Flynn and Metz, representing the Carpenters, and Hannon and Keppler, representing the Machinists.

WHEREAS, The failure of these five conferences to bring about any adjustment proves conclusively that it is the intention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners to continue their encroachment on work coming under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the President and Executive Council to carry out the intent and purpose of Resolution No. 152, which was adopted by the Philadelphia Convention of the American Federation of Labor, without a dissenting vote, and which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, The International Association of Machinists has jurisdiction over the building, assembling, erecting, dismantling and repairing of machinery in machine shops, buildings, factories or elsewhere where machinery may be used; and

"WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is attempting to do this work and taking advantage of every opportunity to place the members of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners on same; and

"WHEREAS, Numerous protests have been made to the officers of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of the trespass on the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists, and a number of conferences have been held, all to no avail, this resulting in the International Association of Machinists appealing to the Seattle Building Trades Department Convention in the form of a resolution protesting against the infringement complained of. This resolution was adopted and the officers of the Building Trades Department instructed to use every means at their command to conserve the rights and jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists; and

"WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners is fundamentally a craft composed of men skilled in the erecting, forming and assembling of wood materials and has never been recognized as a metal craft organization or granted jurisdiction over the making, repairing, erecting, assembling or dismantling of machinery; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be and is hereby instructed to discontinue the infringement complained of; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to render every possible assistance in enforcing the intent of this resolution."

Your committee finds that the Philadel-

phia convention of the A. F. of L. gave jurisdiction over the work involved in Resolution No. 153 to the International Association of Machinists. At the Baltimore convention the two interested organizations entered upon an understanding for the purpose of adjusting differences as they might arise and to endeavor to adjust the entire controversy. Failing to agree after a number of conferences, they ceased to meet. Your committee is of the firm conviction and belief that the only possible way by which the differences between these two organizations can be satisfactorily adjusted is by their meeting with one another until a final adjustment is reached, and that if necessary an officer or representative of the American Federation of Labor should be in attendance at these meetings to prove helpful in bringing about a better understanding and avoid friction and turmoil. Your committee, therefore, recommends that the two organizations involved in the controversy be instructed and directed to meet in keeping with the foregoing suggestion and settle their differences in accordance with the understanding reached at the Baltimore convention, that in the meantime the action and decision of the Philadelphia convention be held to be in force and effect and that the Executive Council be authorized to do everything in its power to help bring about an amicable and satisfactory adjustment between the interested organizations.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Hutcheson: Do I understand the latter part of the committee's report to mean that it abrogates and annuls the action of the Baltimore convention? I would like to ask the chair that question.

President Gompers: The chair cannot answer that question intelligently.

President Hutcheson: Do I understand that the President of the Federation cannot answer that question?

President Gompers: The chair states that he has not a full grasp of the terms of the recommendation before this convention. The committee as part of its recommendation says: "Your committee therefore recommends that the two organizations involved in the controversy be instructed and directed to meet in keeping with the foregoing suggestion and settle their differences in accordance with the understanding reached at the Baltimore convention, that in the meantime the action and decision of the Philadelphia convention be held to be in force and effect and that the Executive Council be authorized to do everything in its power to help bring about an amicable and satisfactory adjustment between the interested organizations."

Delegate Hutcheson: Which will abrogate and annul the action of the Baltimore convention?

President Gompers: The Baltimore convention adopted and endorsed an agreement between the officers of the Carpenters' and the officers of the Machinists' organization, as follows: "It was further agreed that pending a final adjustment of the dispute in question, if local troubles or disputes arise between the two organizations they should be referred to the presidents of both organizations for settlement." Therefore it is the opinion of the chair that in locals where troubles or disputes arise between the two organizations they are to be referred to the presidents of both organizations for settlement.

Delegate Hutcheson: If the action of the Philadelphia convention is in effect, then how, in the opinion of the chair, would there be any necessity for a conference of the two presidents over a local situation? I want this for my guidance in the future.

President Gompers: I shall call upon the committee to answer.

Delegate Wilson, for the committee: The idea of the committee in rendering this report is based upon the history of the proceedings that had gone before the time that it came into our hands. We find that the machinists and the carpenters had a dispute, that at the Philadelphia convention a certain decision was rendered, and that at the Baltimore convention, in order to adjust the differences between the two organizations an agreement was entered into which had for its purpose an adjustment of the dispute by mutual co-operation through meetings of representatives of the two organizations. The resolution as presented to the committee at this convention contained the agreement entered into at Baltimore with the resolution adopted at Philadelphia. Now we held to the position, and we state very clearly that the only way that questions of this kind can be adjusted is for the organizations involved in the dispute to meet and try to adjust the dispute. With that in mind we emphasize and carry further in our judgment the agreement entered into by the organizations at Baltimore and ask that a representative of the American

Federation of Labor attend these meetings, and we were led to that conclusion by reason of our experience in meeting committees that had represented the two organizations. We felt that if there could be put into these meetings a sort of a balance wheel to try and iron out the rough spots they could come to an agreement as was stated by the representatives of the carpenters. With the agreement of the Philadelphia convention being in effect and with the Baltimore understanding we are in hopes that the organizations will carry out their understanding entered into at Baltimore and work it out on the lines they agreed to.

Delegate Hutcheson: The Philadelphia action of this body as set forth in this resolution was acknowledged by the Baltimore convention as being insufficient to remedy the causes of the controversy, therefore the action as per the Baltimore convention. Now I would like to have explained to me how you expect to put into effect two propositions different in their wording and in their intent as those two propositions are. As far as the organization I represent is concerned, we have no objection to meeting in conference; in fact, we contend that the only manner in which this controversy will ever be settled will be by the two organizations getting together and agreeing; but if, as the committee has recommended, the action of the Philadelphia convention is going to be in force and effect, I can't see where you can accomplish anything because of the fact that would take precedence over the Baltimore action and set that aside. As I view it, the Baltimore convention set aside the action of the Philadelphia convention, and they are two opposite actions.

Delegate Woll, for the committee: The committee had in mind that at the Philadelphia convention jurisdiction over the work in question was granted to the International Association of Machinists. At the Baltimore convention the representatives of the two organizations agreed upon a plan whereby differences in various localities might from time to time be adjusted and ultimately lead to a final and satisfactory understanding. It is the contention of the machinists that in entering into that agreement it was purely a method of procedure whereby the Philadelphia decision might become effective and provide an agency whereby the disturbances of various localities could be adjusted without friction or turmoil between respective organizations. They contend, however, that immediately upon the entering on that arrangement it was understood and interpreted as acting as a stay, or holding in abeyance the action of the Philadelphia convention. It is the action and recommendation of your committee now that the Philadelphia action and decision be considered as in full effect; in other words, that the jurisdiction of this work is that of the International Association of Machinists and carries out the same agency that was created a year ago in adjusting the difficulties as they may arise in the various localities with the smallest amount of friction possible. In other words, the committee's report simply distributes the predication placed upon that agreement by the Baltimore convention, reverses that and places the jurisdiction in the hands of the machinists.

Delegate Hutcheson: If, as stated by Delegate Woll, the Philadelphia decision is to be in full force and effect, then I would like to have explained to me what is the use of arranging for a conference?

Delegate Wilson: The very fact that after this decision in Philadelphia was rendered you did agree in Baltimore to adjust the disputes through committees was evidence of the fact that it could be adjusted and that right perhaps was not on one side or the other.

Delegate Hutcheson: Then that being the case why resurrect the action of the Philadelphia convention?

Delegate Wilson: Because it was the unanimous action of the convention.

Delegate Hutcheson: If the action of the Philadelphia convention settles the question why bother with it any further?

Delegate Wilson: Because you entered into an agreement to that effect in Baltimore after the action in Philadelphia.

Delegate Hutcheson: I would like an explanation from the chair as to how you can put into force and effect both recommendations of the committee; namely, the Philadelphia action wherein it decides that the question is settled and the Baltimore action wherein they acknowledge that the thing is not settled and that it shall go to conference.

President Gompers: The chair will make

this statment on his own responsibility. If the committee's recommendation is adopted the decision of the Philadelphia convention is resurrected and comes into full force and effect. The chair declares and he has heretofore declared that the action of the Baltimore convention was a modification of the declaration of the Philadelphia convention.

Delegate Hutcheson: Or an ackonwledgment that the other didn't remedy the situation?

President Gompers: The chair does not make that statement.

Delegate Hutcheson: I want this clearly understood and defined for the future government of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. If the Philadelphia action is in full force and effect, then in the name of common sense and reasoning there is no necessity of the Baltimore action being also in effect. If this convention says that the action taken at Philadelphia is not in force and effect then that surely settles the question once and for all. If this convention comes out and says this, that or the other thing is so, then why the necessity of acknowledging the weakness of that act by saying you should have a conference?

Delegate Clarke, for the Committee: As a member of the committee I wish to say that the purpose of the committee was to disagree with the President of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that his opinion was that the mutual agreement entered into by the sub-committee of the Baltimore convention was to stay the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention. The committee believes that the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention should be in full force and effect and that the action of the Baltimore convention was not intended to modify or prevent the application of the decision of the Philadelphia convention.

Delegate Hutcheson then made a brief statement in which he denied the assertion made by the Machinists that the failure to reach an adjustment of the questions in dispute in five conferences was conclusive evidence of the intention of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. He said the representatives of the organization were willing at any time to meet the Machinists, but that if the action of the Philadelphia convention is to be in full force and effect, he could see no advantage in holding a conference.

Delegate Baine (Chas L.) in the chair.

Delegate Johnston of the Machinists said in part: The reason for the agreement being entered into at Baltimore was because of an earnest desire on the part of the parties interested to keep controversial or jurisdictional matters off the floor of the convention, and it was suggested that we proceed to meet with a sub-committee and see if we could not come to an amicable understanding. We had in mind at all times that the understanding would be based upon the decision rendered at the Philadelphia convention; we did not consider that entering that agreement to meet in conference was to abrogate or to modify in the least degree the decision that had been previously rendered by unanimous vote. It was after we discovered at our conference in Washington that the agreement was construed to mean that the decision of the Philadelphia convention was held in abeyance and a study of the decision was entered into. That was not our opinion; it is not our opinion now, but in order to clarify the atmosphere and to eliminate any misconstruction we want this decision and the report of the committee concurred in. We are perfectly willing if some dispute arises to meet with the Carpenters and endeavor to adjust it along the lines of the resolution adopted in Philadelphia.

Delegate Duffy: In order to clarify the matters so that the Carpenters and the Machinists may get together and adjust their differences I move to strike out that part of the committee's report referring to the Philadelphia convention. (Seconded.)

Delegate Fry opposed the amendment offered by Delegate Duffy on the ground that it would leave the controversy in the same position that it was previously. He said the Machinists were only contending for work which properly belonged to the Machinists' Union.

Delegate Hutcheson: A point of order. The delegate is not talking on the motion before the house.

Chairman Baine: Your point of order is not well taken.

The motion to concur in the amendment offered by Delegate Duffy was lost.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Taylor, Machinists: I move that the Secretary be instructed to notify all central councils and State bodies of the decision of the convention.

Chairman Baine: The chair will decide

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that the motion is not in order, at least at this time.

Delegate Woll continued and concluded the report of the committee:

Conclusion.

Embodying the hopes and aspirations of years of struggle, ever adopting itself anew to changed surroundings, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions have become endowed with a purpose that is unswerving and indestructible. The conscious growth of the American trade union movement may be read in its annals, its resolutions and concerted acts. All tell the story of a valiant battle and determined opposition against oppression and repression.

The Executive Council's report of this, as in previous years, leaves no room whatever for doubt that the principles of trade unionism teach men to be loyal to each other and to the ideals and ideas of democracy and free institutions; the prudency of denying themselves something today in order that they may obtain greater advantages tomorrow; the duty of self-sacrifice by calling upon one another to contribute out of their meager wealth toward the alleviation of the sufferings of our fellow men; to obtain for the workers more leisure for recreation and study and to make men better workmen and better citizens.

One cannot help but reflect upon the established truth, to observe that high wages and short working hours and fair working conditions mean increased comforts and benefits, which are not only a social but a commercial advantage.

Underlying the progress and development of our great trade union movement, its achievements and accomplishments, its hopes and aspirations, we find throughout the courageous heart and kindly guiding hand, the clear and logical mind and the sympathetic feeling and response of our President, Samuel Gompers. Tried with a task never before equaled, burdened with problems of such gigantic proportions as never heretofore pressed upon the workers for solution, he has not been found wanting on any occasion or in any emergency. We are appreciative of his great work; we are thankful for his loyal service to our fellow workers and to our country and commend him for his devotion to our cause, to the cause of our country.

We are also appreciative and are thankful to Secretary Morrison for his devotion and unquestioned loyal service to our movement. Required to respond to the manifold duties of his office we find his work efficient and well done.

We likewise express our thanks and appreciation to Treasurer John B. Lennon and to all of the Vice-Presidents constituting the Executive Council, for the ever-ready, willing, loyal and devoted services they have rendered our movement in the past year.

Concluding, we have only this final thought to express: That it is really difficult to conceive how the trade union institution, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions, with such noble achievements credited to its past, with such lofty ideals for its future inspiration and guidance, can be anything but a blessing to our fellow workers and to the people of our country.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES WILSON,
Chairman;
GEORGE L. BERRY,
OWEN MILLER,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
T. V. O'CONNOR,
JERE L. SULLIVAN,
FRANK X. NOSCHONG,
THOMAS RICKERT,
WM. P. CLARKE,
THOMAS KEARNEY,
WM. A. CAMPBELL,
A. O. WHARTON,
JOHN WILLIAMS,
MATTHEW WOLL,
Secretary,

The report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report was adopted as a whole.

Delegate Farrington offered a motion at this time that the election of officers be made a special order of business for 10.30 o'clock Saturday morning. (Seconded.)

An amendment was offered by Delegate Barnes that the election of officers take place after all the committees had concluded their reports. (Seconded.)

Delegate Connors contended that the amendment was not in order, but Chairman Baine ruled adversely.

Delegate Farrington spoke in opposition to the amendment and Delegate Barnes in favor if it.

The amendment was lost on being put to vote and the motion offered by Delegate Farrington was carried.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK-DAY.

Delegate Deviny, for the committee, submitted the following:

Eight Hours.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 93), your committee recommends that the efforts of the Executive Council be endorsed and that it be directed to take such steps as may be necessary to accomplish the purposes outlined in the report.

The convention concurred in the report of the committee.

Special Committee on Eight Hours.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 135), your committee deems it unnecessary to make a report on the subject in view of the fact that the Special Committee will make a supplementary report.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On Resolution No. 27 your committee recommends that the second Whereas in the preamble be stricken out, the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate G. W. Helt of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America:

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record favoring the eight (8) hour working day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the actions of the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America in their efforts to secure a universal eight-hour working day on all railroads; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled pledge its moral support to the Brotherhood Railroad Signalmen of America in their efforts to secure the eight-hour day.

The report of the committee was concurred in and the resolution adopted as amended.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 39 be adopted with the following amendment: Strike out the last Resolve and insert therefor the following: "Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor continue its fullest possible support to the efforts of the International Shingle Weavers' Union of America and the International Union of Timber Workers to the end that the long hours of labor may be reduced to eight hours per day." The resolution as amended to read:

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate J. G. Brown of the International Shingle Weavers:

WHEREAS, The International Shingle Weavers' Union of America and the International Union of Timber Workers have been striving, with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor, to establish in the lumber industry on the Pacific Coast States the eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS, By the establishment of the basic eight-hour day much needed lumber supplies for the government could be made ever available and industrial discord eliminated in this industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the efforts of the above-named organizations be commended and endorsed; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor continue its fullest possible support to the efforts of the International Shingle Weavers' Union of America and the International Union of Timber Workers to the end that the long hours of labor may be reduced to eight hours per day.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Duncan (Jas. A.) discussed the resolution and told of conditions in the timber and lumber industry in the Northwest.

Delegate Bowen, Bricklayers, and Delegate William Green of the committee also spoke briefly on the resolution, after which the report of the committee was adopted.

On Resolutions Nos. 47 and 49 your committee reports jointly, inasmuch as they are similar in intent. We recommend that the words "double time" in the Resolve of Resolution No. 47 be stricken out and the words "time and one-half" substituted, the resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes, and Edw. J. Gainor of the National Association of Letter Carriers:

WHEREAS, The eight-hour law regulating the hours of work for postoffice clerks and city letter carriers provides that only in emergencies shall overtime be imposed, and for such overtime the regular rate of pay shall be paid; and

WHEREAS, In the absence of any penalty for work in excess of eight hours, the practice has developed in the postal service of imposing excessively long hours of work daily upon the experienced men instead of keeping the working force recruited to a proper standard; and

WHEREAS, This excessive overtime is breaking down the health and morale of the men in the service, it is the direct cause of the resignation of thousands of employes, and is impairing the efficiency of the service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges its support to the affiliated postal employes in their efforts to insure a more strict observation of the letter and spirit of the postal eight-hour law by securing legislation establishing a rate of time and one-half for all work in excess of eight hours.

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Resolution No. 49—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, Railway postal clerks employed in terminal railway postoffices are one of the few groups of government employes who do not receive compensatory time for holiday service or the protection of an eight-hour day law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct its Executive Council to co-operate with representatives of the affiliated railway mail clerks in their efforts to secure remedial legislation placing these terminal clerks on a parity with other postal employes with respect to an eight-hour day and holiday compensatory time.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolutions as amended.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On Resolutions Nos. 12 and 60 your committee reports jointly, with the recommendation that the resolutions be adopted when amended by striking out the words "Legislative Committee," and inserting in lieu thereof "Executive Council," the resolutions to read:

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate J. L. Johnson of the Lawrence, Mass., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Eight-hour Law, commonly known as the Adamson Bill, have been construed to include only those railroad employes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Switchmen's Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, Such construction is absolutely opposed to the first principles of justice and is a virtual discrimination against all other crafts in the railroad service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exert every effort to have legislation enacted that will bring all railroad employes under the provisions of this or a similar law.

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate Rose A. Yates, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks:

WHEREAS, The provisions of the Eight-hour Law, commonly known as the Adamson Bill, have been construed to include only those railroad employes under the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Order of Railway Conductors, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and the Switchmen's Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, Such construction is absolutely opposed to the first principles of justice and is a virtual discrimination against all other crafts in the railroad service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to exert every effort to have legislation enacted that will bring all railroad employes under the provisions of that or a similar law.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Dennis Lane, John F. Hart and John Kennedy of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America:

WHEREAS, As former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have gone on record as favoring the eight-hour day; and

WHEREAS, The Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, with but few exceptions, are working from ten to fourteen hours per day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the action of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America in their efforts to secure the eight-hour working day in all branches of their trade and in all localities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, pledge its moral support to the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in their efforts to secure an eight-hour work day.

The committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

On Resolution No. 84, your committee recommends its adoption when amended by striking out in the first Whereas the words "President Wilson's proclamation of March 1, 1917, which stated that all supplies for government work should be performed on a basic eight-hour day, with not less than time and one-half pay for over-time, has been interpreted by certain government officials in such a way that"; and by striking out in the Resolve the word "incoming" and adding after the word "proclamation" in the last line the following: "regarding the payment of not less than time and one-half for all work in excess of eight hours per day." The resolution as amended would read:

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates P. H. Jennings of Massachusetts State Branch, George H. Wrenn of Springfield C. L. U., and Edward H. McGrady of Boston C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, Many of the manufacturers supplying the government with supplies are working their employes more than eight hours each day without additional compensation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed, with the Executive Boards of the various State Branches so affected, to call this matter to the attention of the proper government officials with the view of placing all government supply contracts on an eight-hour day basis in compliance with our understanding

of the President's proclamation regarding the payment of not less than time and one-half for all work in excess of eight hours per day.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

The question was discussed by Delegates McGrady and Stremlau. Delegate McGrady referred in his statement to the proclamation of the President and to letters issued by Secretary of War Baker and by the Acting Judge Advocate General on the subject matter mentioned in the resolution.

Delegate Jennings: What is the interpretation of the chair on the President's proclamation?

President Gompers: My understanding is that when the eight-hour law is suspended by the President in any particular the basic eight-hour day shall prevail and for all work performed after the eight hours not less than time and one-half shall be paid the workers.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

On Resolution No. 90 your committee recommends that the Resolve be amended to read as follows, and the resolution be adopted as amended: "That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to have introduced and support a bill in the next session of Congress calling for a work period of not more than eight hours per day and 48 hours per week for all women and minors who are employed on products which enter into interstate trade." The resolution to read:

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates P. Harry Jennings, Massachusetts State Branch; Edward F. McGrady, Boston C. L. U., and George H. Wrenn, Springfield C. L. U.:

WHEREAS, It has been proven that a long work day is especially detrimental to the health of women and children operatives and if allowed to continue tends to incapacitate the operatives, and is further detrimental to the health and welfare of the future manhood and womanhood of our great country, the conservation of which is now a most important problem; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to have introduced and support a bill in the next session of Congress calling for a work period of not more than eight hours per day and 48 hours per week for all women and minors who are employed on products which enter into interstate trade.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Deviny: This concludes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

WM. GREEN, Chairman,
JOHN W. HAYS,
GEORGE LEARY,
THOMAS REDDING,
CHARLES F. SCOTT,
JOSEPH WEBER,
JOHN J. LYNCH,
E. J. GAINOR,
THOMAS L. HUGHES,
JACOB FISCHER,
PAUL VACCARRELLI,
E. G. HALL,
E. J. McGIVERN,
GERMAIN QUINN,
JOHN J. DEVINY, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey: The Committee on Resolutions desires to submit a matter dealing with the principles and policies which should be observed by all boards or commissions of a government character appointed by the government or otherwise during the duration of the war.

Your committee therefore submits the following:

The industrial problems arising through our nation's participation in the war and the agencies in operation to preserve industrial peace and establish an adequate degree of co-operation between the employer, whether private or governmental, and the employe, has created a condition which makes it essential that certain conditions and principles shall be clearly kept in mind and generally accepted. If justice is to be done and terms of employment and conditions of labor equitable to the employer and employe established, certain broad principles must be applied.

In determining what the wage rates should be there are several vital factors to be considered apart from the increasel cost of living.

The existing wage rate in an establishment should first be considered as to its equity:

Was it established as a result of joint conference and agreement between the employer and his employes, or was it established as a result of the employer's individual conception of what wages should be paid to those in his employ?

To what degree did the previous wage rate compare with those in establishments in the same district where wages have

been established through joint agreement between the employer and the employe?

How did the wage rate adopted through joint agreement in the district compare with the wage rates in other districts where joint wage agreement existed?

In the composition of boards or commissions which are to consider questions of terms of employment and conditions of labor, it is essential that there should be equality of representation between the employers and the wage earners.

In the event that a wage board or commission is to consist of an unequal number, then a civilian should serve as the odd man. One-half of the remaining number of this body should be the direct representatives of the wage earners, to be nominated by organized labor.

The right to organize is essential to the solution of problems arising between employer and employe. Employers apply this right, but in many instances this right has been denied to wage earners by employers. All agreements formulated by wage boards or commissions should contain a clause announcing that the right to organize is inalienable and that prevention of the exercise of this right by the employer or his representative constitutes a violation of these principles.

The nation's interest makes it essential that co-operation should exist in the industries. No efficient co-operation can exist except through organization. Co-operation presumes good will, and there can be no good will without recognition of mutual rights. Therefore, the recognition of the employes as a group having common interests is one of the fundamental prerequisites to co-operation.

There can be no true efficiency in production without good will. Good will and co-operation cannot exist where the employer exercises autocratic authority in determining the terms of employment and the conditions of labor. The highest efficiency in production can only be secured through the application of the principles of democracy. These are as essential in industry as they are in civil government.

Whenever the employes in a department or an establishment have a common complaint or grievance, it is fundamental that the employer should meet those who may be selected by the workers to represent them.

It is advisable that production should not cease because of an apparent injustice or oversight contained in an award, for it is necessary to the nation's protection as well as to the welfare of the trade union movement that there should be no cessation of work except as a last resort.

The report of the committee was discussed briefly by Delegates James A. Duncan and John H. Walker, Delegate Duncan suggesting the addition of the words "and bargain collectively" after the words "the right to organize" in the beginning of paragraph 9.

It was made clear that the sense of the suggestion was duly covered in the report of the committee.

The convention unanimously adopted the report of the committee.

At 11:15 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene at 9.30 Saturday morning.

TWELFTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

Buffalo, N. Y., Nov. 24, 1917.

The convention was called to order at 9.30 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 24th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Goldstone, Wilds, Sovey, Reddick, Baine, Shaughnessy, Logan, MacPherson, McNulty, Feeney, Healy, Bechtold, Margolis, Broening, Greenstein, Bryan (W. E.), Bock, Benson, Hogan, Kennedy (J.), White (J. P.), Hayes, Mitchell, Walker, Farrington, Moore (J.), Lewis, Curran, Baumgartner, Loder, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Dold, Kearney, Anderson, Rau, Orr, Leonard, Hurley, Helt, Freel, Sumner, Short, Konenkamp, Powers, Williams (T. J.), Agethen, Hatch, Brown (J. G.), Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, Shea, Marsh, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald T. D.), Rahele, Coughlin, Robinson, Vargas, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, O'Dell, McKinnon, Brindell, McAndrew (A.), Hodges, Henry, Burch, Kelley, Cathrall, Rander, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davidson, Martindale, Wilkinson, Tragllo, Newman, McDonald (S), Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Wrenn, Smith, Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum, DeNedrey, Casey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Tillman, Fisher, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson, Wilkie, Green (W.), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Buchbinder, Weinstock, Mulkern, Differding, Eson, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson, Fitts, Miller (F. M.), Battle, Juhl, Rincker, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines.

Delegate Franklin, of the Boilermakers, announced that Delegate McKillop was required to leave yesterday and requested that M. J. McGuire be seated in his stead. The request was granted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION.

Delegate Stillman, for the committee, submitted the following report:

The matters considered by the Executive Council which are found in its report under the appropriate sub-heads, and which were referred to this committee, are herein reported by caption with the recommendation of the committee immediately following in each case.

Direct Democracy.

The committee has considered the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 104-5), and Resolution No. 165 together, as they have to do largely with the same subject.

Resolution No. 165—By Delegate Charles E. Baird of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union:

WHEREAS, It has occurred from time to time that members of the Federal Judiciary have presumed to declare unconstitutional, laws enacted by the Congress of the United States, although neither the Constitution of the United States nor the Federal statutes specifically confer upon the members of said Federal Judiciary the right or prerogative to pass upon the constitutionality of such laws; and

WHEREAS, Some of such laws were enacted at the instance of and by the efforts of organized labor, and for the general welfare of the common people of our nation, the action of the members of the Federal Judiciary in thus nullifying said laws is subversive of the progress and best interests of humanity; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Federal Judiciary are created such by the legislative and executive departments of our government jointly, the action of the former in passing upon the validity of the enactments of the latter, constitutes an effort of a creature to approve or disapprove the acts of its creator, a condition that is inconsistent with common sense, as well as tending to undermine the spirit of true democracy by placing arbitrarily in the hands of one individual the power to nullify the laws adopted by the chosen representatives of the people; and

WHEREAS, The arbitrary assumption of such power by the members of the Federal Judiciary has in the past endangered the public welfare, and is certain to become a more serious menace to the interests of the common people and to place in jeopardy laws that have been and may be enacted for the benefit of labor and humanity, unless a timely check is placed upon the actions of the members of said Federal Judiciary, as they hold their appointments for life, conditioned only on "good behavior," they being thus amenable to no other authority; and

WHEREAS, Senator Robert G. Owen of Oklahoma has introduced in the Congress resolutions which, if adopted by said body, will constitute it a breach of "good behavior" for a member of the Federal Judiciary to attempt to pass upon the constitutionality of an act of Congress, the one making the attempt thereby automatically vacating his office, authority being given the President to make an appointment of a successor to fill said vacancy; said resolutions also reciting in detail the fact that the granting of such arbitrary power to the

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members of the Federal Judiciary is in direct and positive conflict with the best thought and opinion of delegates to the Constitutional Convention which drew up the Constitution of the United States, as same were most emphatically expressed by them in said convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the officers and the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor hereby stand instructed to use every honorable means at their command to secure the adoption of the said resolutions of Senator Owens by the Congress and their approval by the President of the United States; and, be it also

RESOLVED, That the delegates of all the international and local unions and central bodies be urgently requested to prevail upon the organizations they represent that they bring every possible influence to bear upon the Senators and Congressmen from their respective districts, with the view of aiding in the adoption of said resolutions.

Your committee reviews with gratification the history of the development of direct democracy as set out in the Executive Council's report under that head, and congratulates the Executive Council upon its alert and persistent attention to the promotion of effective initiative, referendum and recall laws as part of the Constitutions of the states of the Union. Particularly is President Gompers to be commended for his timely co-operation with the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor in forcing the Constitutional Convention of that state to make the initiative provision of the proposed Constitution apply to constitutional amendments as well as to amendments of statutes.

It is with full approval that your committee reads what the Executive Council has to say relative to the resolution pending in Congress prohibiting the United States Supreme Court from declaring unconstitutional, laws enacted by Congress. Your committee, therefore, endorses the action of the Executive Council in co-operating with the National Popular Government League in urging the adoption of the resolution and recommends that the convention adopt Resolution No. 165 as its expression thereon.

Your committee also recommends that the National Popular Government League be commended for the helpful work it is doing in promoting popular government reform, and that the Executive Council be instructed "to aid the league in every honorable way in its work in establishing those new instrumentalities of self-government which are so effective in the hands of the people in combating 'invisible government.'"

The committee further recommends that this convention urge upon all affiliated bodies the advisability of becoming members of the National Popular Government League and of lending their moral and financial support.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Second-Class Postal Rates.

Your committee has considered together the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 112-113), and Resolution No. 125, as they relate to the same general subject.

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates Matthew Woll, of the International Photo-Engravers' Union; George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union; James J. Freel and Charles A. Sumner, of the International Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union; A. P. Sovey, of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, and M. G. Scott, Frank Morrison, J. W. Hays, Hugh Stevenson and Max S. Hayes, of the International Typographical Union, after action taken by the Board of Governors of the International Allied Printing Trades Association:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States in the enactment of the War Revenue Law has placed an unwarranted tax on all publications, both in the volume of advertising, reading matter and profit by means of an increased postage rate and the application of a zone system; and

WHEREAS, The new system and rate of second-class postage constitutes a special or super tax on newspapers and magazines in addition to the large number of general taxes that publishers will pay in common with other industries; and

WHEREAS, The enforcement of this new system of postal rates on second-class matter will destroy thousands of newspapers, business papers, farm papers, medical papers, religious papers, agricultural papers, labor papers and national periodicals, thus crippling or destroying many of the printing shops in the country dependent on publications for their existence and throwing out of work many thousands of compositors, stereotypers, electrotypers, photo-engravers, pressmen, feeders, binders, mailers and other workers employed in the printing and manufacturing of the publications of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The public press, and more especially the labor press, is the bulwark of our liberty and freedom, a great source of education, information and recreation to millions of men and women, and the only means through which the Government can send its messages to the farmer, housewife, manufacturer, merchant, mechanic and the great army of workers; and

WHEREAS, The publishing industry is one that does not profit under war conditions, but on the contrary is burdened with

unusual financial obligations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in the opinion of this convention Congress should not have altered the system of rates on second-class postage; that the system of rates provided are not a legitimate war tax in that they are merely a destructive charge against a fundamental operation of a great and invaluable industry; that it will not raise revenue but actually destroy business from which the Government seeks revenue; that the system of taxes proposed are burdensome to the public press and will result in decreased publicity and materially and unwisely curtail the publication of our country; be it further

RESOLVED, That Congress be urged to amend the existing revenue law by eliminating that section dealing with second-class postage, and that this subject be then dealt with by Congress as a separate and distinctive matter viewed from the standpoint of service rather than for war revenue; that we tender to the printing trades unions and to the press of the United States our aid and assistance in any way that it can be effective in securing for them justice and fair dealing; be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to President Woodrow Wilson, Postmaster General Burleson, to all members of the President's Cabinet, and to all members of Congress.

The Executive Council is heartily commended for its long and persistent effort to prevent Congress from raising the postal rates on second-class matter and from creating a zone system of rates therefor and it is regretted that the results are not wholly satisfactory. Much credit is due the Executive Council, however, for the delay in the enactment of the legislation until the last session of Congress and for such modifications as were made in the bill; and it is fair to assume that if the proposal had not been treated as a war revenue measure it would not have been passed, even in the modified form in which it was finally enacted.

The law, as it now stands, however, is extremely harmful and unwarranted and we recommend as the expression of this convention on the matter the adoption of Resolution No. 125.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Woll spoke briefly and expressed his appreciation of the assistance given by President Gompers in the effort to prevent the enactment of the section of the War Revenue Bill, as referred to in the resolution.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was adopted.

Child Labor.

Your committee has considered together the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 117-118) and Resolution No. 59, as they deal largely with the same subject.

It is difficult for your committee to believe that the great achievement in humanitarian legislation, the Federal Child Labor Law, is in danger of being invalidated by the United States Supreme Court. But your committee does realize that the conservation of the future manhood and womanhood of the nation demands that federal legislation be supplemented by state enactments properly enforced. Therefore, your committee concurs in Resolution No. 59 as amended, and recommends its adoption. Since a special committee on the alleged shortage of labor has been appointed the preamble has been changed so that the resolution now reads:

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, In many states adequate laws governing the employment of children in industry do not exist and in others, where such laws exist, they are not properly enforced; and

WHEREAS, In consequence of the above conditions there is grave danger that children will be taken from school and put at work at an age when they are both physically and mentally undeveloped and their whole lives stunted thereby; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to the employment in gainful occupation of children under the age of sixteen years.

The report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

Industrial Education—Vocational Trade Training.

Your committee believes that present industrial and educational conditions make it necessary for the American Federation of Labor to reiterate its stand on Industrial Education. The splendid report of the Committee on Industrial Education to the 1912 convention, compiled after three years of investigation, and issued as Senate Document No. 936 of the second session of the Sixty-second Congress, makes a detailed platform superfluous. But war conditions and new developments move us to ask concurrence of this convention in certain warnings and recommendations:

1. The enactment of the Smith-Hughes Bill is an educational event of outstanding importance since the 1912 report, and the Executive Council should be given the highest commendation for its vigorous and successful campaign. The Federal Board for the administration of this Act, includ-

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ing as the representative of labor, Arthur E. Holder, can go far toward giving us a national system of education, although its functions are practically limited to determining what States have qualified under the Act to receive the Federal appropriation for vocational education. We strongly urge all affiliated bodies to see that their respective States do so qualify, but only under safeguards adequately guaranteeing that this Federal money shall benefit genuinely democratic education, and not go to reinforce any interests which may attempt to pervert industrial education to the purposes of exploitation. In the judgment of your committee the chief safeguard is the equal representation of organized labor and employers on all boards, State and local, which control the expenditure of such funds.

Of vital importance also is the avoidance of duplication of administrative machinery. Special boards may be given wide advisory and inspectorial powers, but the administration of all phases of our great educational system must be unified. Our public school system must remain essentially a unit, if we are to have a unified people.

2. We urge increased facilities in public Normal schools for men and women in the trades who desire to prepare themselves for teaching industrial and vocational subjects.

3. Vocational and pre-vocational training whenever given shall be for educational purposes only, and under no circumstances shall it be commercialized through the manufacture of products for sale.

4. We insist that in all courses of study, and particularly in industrial and vocational courses, the privileges and obligations of intelligent citizenship must be taught more vigorously and effectively than has been done in the traditional civics.

And we further insist that at least in all vocational and industrial courses, an unemasculated industrial history must be taught, which will include an accurate account of the organization of the workers, and of the results thereof, and will also include a summary of all legislation, both State and Federal, affecting the industries taught.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

The Gary Plan.

Under this heading some reference should be made to the Gary Plan and the committee asks the adoption of the following:

Industrial and vocational education and, to a lesser degree, all education, is now in an experimental stage. The public is coming to realize that changes in social and economic conditions have been revolutionary and is determined that a corresponding revolution must be brought about in our schools. All interested in democracy, and organized labor in particular, must see that this impending revolution in our schools is not carried out under the guidance of reactionaries.

Among the numerous valuable experiments the Gary Plan is practically monopolizing public attention. In the judgment of your committee this is unfortunate and dangerous. Your committee believes that, while there is something of value in the Gary Plan, the success of the remarkable propaganda for its extension can be largely attributed to considerations quite apart from any education merits it may possess. But your committee desires and knows that the labor movement desires to be absolutely fair to this or any other educational proposal. The Baltimore convention authorized the Executive Council to conduct a thorough investigation of the Gary Plan. Since the question is of even greater importance now than a year ago, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed by this convention to conduct a thorough investigation of the so-called Gary Plan, wherever it has been put into operation, and of any other systems they may deem wise, and submit its report thereon to the succeeding convention.

Under this heading the committee concurs in and recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 52, amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Florence Etheridge, National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, Systems of educating the young for specific trades in partial replacement of the general scheme of education known as "cultural," are being widely recommended, a Federal Bureau for Vocational Education has been established in the city of Washington, and preliminary surveys of particular localities are being undertaken with a view to putting these systems into operation; and

WHEREAS, Either for good or ill, it is the children of the working people who will be most affected by the establishment of such systems; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, that industrial surveys looking to the establishment of vocational education

should be made in every state in co-operation with the Federal Bureau of Vocational Education, so that the requirements of the industries will be known and authentic information secured; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That there shall be an adequate representation of members of the American Federation of Labor upon all boards or committees charged with making such surveys, and also upon all boards established in connection with any systems of vocational education.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Year Book.

Your committee expresses its approval of the steps which have been taken by the Executive Council to have the first edition of the American Federation of Labor Year Book prepared. It is the opinion of your committee that the importance of this Year Book is such that the most thorough-going research into the records of the American Federation of Labor is necessary. We, therefore, recommend that the Executive Council authorize the President of the American Federation of Labor to supervise and secure such assistance as is necessary to complete preparation and publish an American Federation of Labor Year Book during the coming year, 1918.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

President Gompers stated that satisfactory progress was being made with the Year Book and that undoubtedly it would be ready for publication perhaps by the time of the next convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice-President D. A. Hayes' Demise.

Your committee concurs most heartily in the tribute paid our deceased brother, D. A. Hayes, by the Executive Council in its report and deplores the loss to the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement in general caused by his death. His general good nature and sterling ability endeared him to all who were privileged to know him.

The committee congratulates the Executive Council upon its wise choice of Brother W. D. Mahon to fill the vacancy on the Executive Council caused by the death of Brother Hayes.

The convention unanimously adopted the report of the committee.

Special Committee on Co-operation.

Since the Special Committee on Co-operation submitted its report at the second session of the seventh day of this convention, and that report was duly referred to the Committee on Report of the Executive Council, no additional comment here would be of value.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States of America was adopted as a compromise between the two factions or schools of thought, one believing in a monarchical form of government and the other believing in a pure democracy; and

WHEREAS, The idea of having two houses of Congress; and

WHEREAS, This country has, long since, outgrown the necessity, or even the advisability, of retaining anything suggestive of or savoring of monarchies or aristocracies; and

WHEREAS, The only purposes served by having two instead of one house in the various congressional and legislative bodies are to block, delay or kill progressive legislation (especially that favorable to the working class), by having first one house and then the other vote against or "pigeon-hole" any measure of this kind; and the purpose of giving unsuccessful lawyers soft jobs; and

WHEREAS, The Senate of the United States is not so apportioned as to be truly representative of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we place ourselves on record as favoring and urging the immediate submission of the necessary amendments causing the abolition of one of the two houses of Congress; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate from this body to the American Federation of Labor convention be hereby instructed to bring this matter to the attention of that convention by means of a suitable, favorable resolution.

The committee non-concurs in the resolution and recommends that it be not adopted.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate R. L. Brazzle, of Janitors, Watchmen and Elevator Operators No. 14605:

WHEREAS, Previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor have adopted resolutions urging the collection of such existing works of labor in art portraying the spirit and struggle of the workers for self betterment; and

WHEREAS, Photo productions of subjects closely related to strikes or other activities of labor can present this historic struggle in the most impressionable manner; and

WHEREAS, The addition of such features will add to the attractiveness of labor publications; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all organizations of labor publishing magazines of approximately the same size as the official organ of the American Federation of Labor (the

American Federationist) be requested to co-operate in the gathering and printing of the above mentioned subjects; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the President to appoint a committee to assist in the development of this or additional features of the trade union journals.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it deems advisable.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 81 when amended by striking out the word "pond" in lines 4 and 9 and substituting therefor the word "all" in line 9. The amended resolution would read:

Resolution No. 81—By delegates representing the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There are thousands of tons of fish destroyed in the different lakes during the fishing season through the small mesh used in nets; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor use its best endeavors for the enactment of a law requiring the fish producers of the Great Lakes to use a larger mesh in all nets.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Edward J. Gainor, of the National Association of Letter Carriers, and Thos. F. Flaherty, of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, The salary standard of letter carriers and post office clerks fixed by Congress, more than ten years ago, still remains the same; and

WHEREAS, The cost of living during this period has advanced an average of approximately one hundred per cent.; and

WHEREAS, This increase in the cost of living has operated to all intents and purposes exactly the same as a fifty per cent. reduction in wages; and

WHEREAS, The postal employes were the only class excluded from the horizontal wage increase granted to Government employes by the last Congress, notwithstanding the fact that the post office is the only governmental department operated upon a self-sustaining basis, its most recent audit showing an annual surplus in excess of $9,000,000; and

WHEREAS, Postal employes are highly specialized workers, functioning in a government monopoly, performing a service which gradually unfits them for employment elsewhere, with no hope of selling their skill to a competing private industrial establishment; and

WHEREAS, Despite this fact there have been resignations from the service in such numbers as to seriously cripple its efficiency, delaying the dispatch and delivery of all classes of mail, imperiling the business efficiency of the country at a time when such business efficiency is most needed; and

WHEREAS, Because of its oppressive labor policy the Post Office Department has been unable to keep its working force recruited to a proper standard; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, deeply deplores this self-evident injustice to a deserving class of public employes, and it urges upon Congress the immediate enactment of a law increasing the pay of these employes not less than twenty-five per cent. (25 per cent.); and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to co-operate with the officers of all affiliated postal organizations to have the justice of this case brought forcibly to the attention of Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be mailed to each Congressman and Senator by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty and Edward J. Gainor:

WHEREAS, The Federal civil service laws are defective in not making provision for granting employes the right to appeal from the judgment of officials in disciplinary cases involving demotion or dismissal; and

WHEREAS, This lodging of arbitrary power in the hands of officials frequently results in injustices being inflicted upon employes and tends toward the upbuilding of a bureaucracy in our government institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of affiliated organizations of civil service employes in securing the enactment of legislation granting civil service employes the right to a hearing and to an appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving demotion or dismissal.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 116 by substituting for the words "two fraternal delegates," the words, "a representative of the American Federation of Labor." The resolution would then read:

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates R. P. Brindell of the Central Federated Union of Greater New York and vicinity, and Ernest Bohm of the Grain Workers' Union No. 11407:

WHEREAS, The National Labor Publicity Organization was organized on January 16, 1917, in the City of New York, with

the object of distributing correct union labor news of interest to the American labor movement, to the labor press and newspapers generally; and

WHEREAS, President Gompers by invitation addressed the convention and approved its purpose and object; and

WHEREAS, The second annual convention of the National Labor Publicity Organization will be held in the city of Newark, N. J., beginning January 21, 1918; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize the President of the American Federation of Labor to appoint a representative of the American Federation of Labor to attend the said convention.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Lennon offered an amendment, which was accepted by the committee, that the matter be referred to the Executive Council and, if the Council finds it to be of merit, they then carry out the action suggested by the committee.

The report of the committee as amended was adopted.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Thos. F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, Rural letter carriers receive no money allowance from the Postoffice Department for the purchase and maintenance of the equipment they must have in delivering rural mail; and

WHEREAS, The costs of said equipment, both for horse-drawn and motor vehicles have greatly increased, which operates as a wage reduction for this group of postal employes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council to give all aid possible in securing favorable action by the Congress on legislation granting rural letter carriers an equipment allowance.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Thomas F. Flaherty of the National Federation of Postal Employes:

WHEREAS, As a result of reorganizations, reclassifications and arbitrary transfers many railway mail clerks have suffered wage reductions in the past few years, thereby lowering the wage standards in this important branch of the postal service; and

WHEREAS, The upward trend of living costs has further operated to reduce the wage standards, fixed five years ago, in the railway mail service, and there is a widespread unrest and dissatisfaction among the clerks because of this condition; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention endorse the Austin bill (H. R. 391), which seeks to materially increase the entrance and the maximum wage for railway mail clerks, and instructs its officers to co-operate with affiliated railway mail clerks in attempting to secure favorable action upon this measure at the next session of Congress.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 126, when amended by substituting the words and figures "three dollars and fifty cents ($3.50)" in place of the words and figures "three dollars ($3.00)," to conform to the facts. The resolution would then read:

Resolution No. 126—By Delegate Florence Etheridge of the National Federation of Federal Employes:

WHEREAS, Inspectors of Customs, classified as inspectors, deputy collectors and clerks, assigned to duty on the Canadian border, receive but three dollars and fifty cents ($3.50) per day, which amount is insufficient to adequately support them, and are granted but fourteen days' vacation, and are required to work Sundays and holidays; and

WHEREAS, The New York customs collectors, appraisers, examiners and inspectors, with the single exception of night inspectors, receive double the amount paid the men along the frontier; and

WHEREAS, by the act of March 4, 1909, the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to fix and increase the compensation of inspectors of customs at a sum not to exceed six dollars ($6.00) per day; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges that the Secretary of the Treasury use his discretionary power to increase the salaries of the above described employes of his department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 128—By Delegate Sam De Nedrey of Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, The residents of the District of Columbia are not citizens of the United States, in the sense of possessing the elective franchise; and

WHEREAS, Former conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly gone on record as favoring suffrage for the residents of the District of Columbia; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, again affirms the Federation's endorsement of Congressional legislation granting elective franchise and home government to the citizens of said District, and pledges its hearty endeavor to the accomplishment of the same.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends that it be adopted and referred to the Executive Council with instructions to have a bill drafted conferring upon the citizens of the District the elective franchise, and have it introduced in the second session of the Sixty-fifth Congress.

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A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Johnston spoke briefly and urged the adoption of the report.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 129—By Delegate George B. McGovern of Yonkers Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Many workmen are incapacitated and prevented from following their chosen trade or calling by industrial injuries; and

WHEREAS, Society owes a duty in payment for incapacity in its service; and

WHEREAS, The crippled workman would be cheered by a helping hand, such as a bureau of cases of like nature informing him how they worked it out, or an opportunity to learn a new business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert all efforts to secure for the unfortunate so incapacitated legislation or such other assistance as may enable them to re-establish their independence and, if possible, greater opportunity.

Since the government is now working on the subject of re-education, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it may deem wise.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegates Curtis and McGovern spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution, and said the fact that many men did not receive compensation when injured was due to their failure to report the injury in accordance with the law.

Delegate Curtis further stated, in answer to inquiries made by a number of delegates as to the manner of reporting accidents, that the man who is injured must send in writing a report to his employer and also one to the Commission within ten days from the date of the accident.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate George B. McGovern, Yonkers Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Compensation to an orphan is often less than the amount necessary for maintenance of children in institutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor promote legislation which will establish a minimum compensation in excess of the cost of institutional maintenance.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it may see fit.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate McGovern spoke briefly in favor of the report of the committee.

The convention concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, It is extremely important that the educational side of the Federation's work receive all possible attention, particularly at this time, in order that our membership may receive proper information upon matters pertaining to their economic and political welfare; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor each month issue to the labor press of the nation a list of standard books and new publications dealing with matters of vital importance and interest to the workers; also that the same be published in the Federationist.

The committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it may deem wise.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 141—By Sarah Shapiro, Delegate of I. L. G. W. U., and Anna Weinstock, Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200 of Boston:

WHEREAS, The adoption by the voters of New York State of the amendment enfranchising women has added the fourteenth State to the total of States where women are now accorded full citizenship rights; and

WHEREAS, The splendid services of the womanhood of all the warring nations since the outbreak of the world-war has fully demonstrated woman's capacity to take a full share in the responsibilities and duties of citizenship; and

WHEREAS, The increasing employment of women in industry makes imperative the organization, economic and political, of women workers for the protection of their rights, and in order that standards established in industry by long struggle of organized workers may not be broken down under the stress of war conditions; and

WHEREAS, The Governments of England and Russia have extended the franchise to their women during the world-war; and

WHEREAS, The time is now ripe when this nation should recognize the right of its women to the franchise; and

WHEREAS, The Constitutions of many States make it a practical impossibility for woman suffrage to be secured by State action, and much time, effort, and money will be wasted by a separate appeal to each State to grant the franchise to its women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled in convention, reaffirm its consistent stand in favor of woman suffrage, and demand that Congress, at its December session, shall submit to the States the Federal Woman Suffrage Amendment for ratification in order that complete political democracy shall prevail in the United States of America.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 157—By Delegate D'Alessandro of International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, Senate Bill 2854 to amend the naturalization laws, now pending in the Congress of the United States, provides a method for the immediate naturalization of thousands of our foreign-born loyal residents who have entered our army and navy and offered their lives to fight for the life of our democracy, and who are barred from receiving the full citizenship for which they are pleading because the present naturalization law under no construction can conform to the war conditions of our nation; and

WHEREAS, there are nearly ten millions of foreigners in our land who have never felt the Americanizing influence of our society and institutions of freedom, and the Bureau of Naturalization of the United States Department of Labor has been endeavoring for three years under the provisions of the present naturalization law, in co-operation with the public schools throughout the United States, to break through this barrier and lead the hundreds of thousands of seekers after American citizenship who annually take the solemn oath to become American citizens into an understanding of their rights and responsibilities as American citizens, ninety per cent. of whom are wage earners who are struggling to a comprehension of their rights as such; and

WHEREAS, Senate Bill 2854 has been prepared to overcome the obsolete provisions of law and provide funds for the expansion of this work of the Bureau of Naturalization and the public schools throughout the United States without making any real call upon the citizen taxpayers, since the revenues derived from the naturalization fees paid by the applicant for citizenship have paid all of the cost of Federal supervision and have piled up a surplus of over $660,000 in the Treasury of the United States above all cost of administration; and

WHEREAS, This is a distinctly necessary protective war work of the National Government, and this bill has been pronounced by the Senate Committee on Immigration as a "war emergency measure," with the recommendation that it be passed at an early date; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in national convention, that in the interests of organized labor and for the further protection of the citizenship of the United States of America during this war, Senate Bill 2854, to amend the naturalization laws, should immediately be passed by the Congress and become law; and this convention calls upon all affiliated international unions and locals of its membership to immediately petition their respective Senators and Congressmen to push this bill to passage.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 172—Introduced by Typographical Union delegation:

WHEREAS, The reactionary Los Angeles Times, in this hour of stress and peril to our national solidarity, continues to attack the laboring classes daily, thereby inciting class hatred; and

WHEREAS, This reactionary newspaper has violently opposed woman's suffrage, all eight-hour laws, workmen's compensation laws and every other law for the advancement and betterment of the man who toils, as well as every honest and progressive measure for the benefit of the general public as against the public plunderers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby brands the Los Angeles Times as one of the most reactionary papers in America and denounces its ridiculous and futile attempts to stir up hatred against workingmen as extremely disloyal and seditious at a time when national unity and unanimous support of our government are vital necessities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the disloyal utterances published in the Los Angeles Times be at once called to the attention of the authorities at Washington.

The committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was adopted.

In addition, your committee feels that it would be remiss in its duty if it did not emphasize the following:

1. We believe that the national crisis requires increased emphasis on the value of our schools and should lead to a coordinated; genuinely national and democratic system of education. Child labor and school attendance provisions should not be suspended. Conditions also in higher education are not reassuring. Those on the point of graduation, the country may perhaps use now. But it is reported that in some colleges eighty per cent of the students have been permitted to enlist. This enthusiasm is admirable but in many lines of work an additional two years of training would double or treble a student's value to the nation, even from a purely military point of view. May we not hope that this shortsighted waste of human ability will be checked?

Against this misguided diversion of our boys and girls and young men and women from the schools and colleges to the industrial and military field, President Wilson, Secretary of War Baker and Commissioner of Education Claxton have vigorously protested. But in many sections a headstrong public opinion has overridden their protests and appeals. Your committee asks the convention to endorse and do everything in its power to drive

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home into the public consciousness this principle:

Educated manhood and womanhood is the nation's greatest asset in both peace and war. And we must not sacrifice, even to an emergency, the increased national efficiency which can be attained only through organized educational training.

2. This convention urgently calls upon International and Local Unions, State and Central Bodies, to work actively for adequate representation of organized labor on all Boards of Education.

3. The free text book system should be extended to such states as have not adopted it.

4. Teachers should be secured tenure of positions during efficiency. There should be no dismissals without a full and fair hearing. And, in this connection, it is timely to insist that while actual disloyalty to our country cannot be tolerated in our public schools or anywhere else, the public must carefully assure itself that charges of disloyalty, or of any other nature that may be peculiarly effective at the time, are not cloaks under which official superiors may attempt to secure retaliation for a self-respecting lack of subserviency on the part of teachers under them.

5. Through the Committee on State Organizations, the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have been instructed to aid in securing immediate increases in teachers' salaries. Your Committee on Education heartily concurs and urges on all affiliated bodies active co-operation. One of the most flagrant injustices and most dangerous weaknesses in our national life is the continued neglect of these valuable public servants.

6. Your committee is alarmed by the lack of democracy in the conduct of our schools. Our American school system is administered autocratically, the teachers actually on the job in the class rooms having a negligible voice in the determination and carrying out of policies. Self-governing school and district councils of teachers should be established for the purpose of utilizing the experience and initiative of the teaching body in the conduct of the schools and the recommendations of such councils should be made a matter of official record. When consideration is given the effective part played by the Prussian school system in the development of the habit of instinctive, unthinking obedience on the part of the masses of the people, the vital importance to American institutions of breaking away from Prussian methods in our school system is driven home.

7. Your committee believes that the most effective guarantee of democracy in our schools is the affiliation of the teachers of the country with the great democratic force of organized labor. This committee joins with the Committee on Organization in urging that the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated bodies give every support to the American Federation of Teachers in the work of organizing the teachers.

8. Finally, the committee asks that the Executive Council be instructed to send copies of this report to all affiliated bodies with the request that Educational Committees be created.

Respectfully submitted,

JOS. F. VALENTINE,
Chairman.
L. G. DOLLIVER,
WM. L. HOEFGEN,
THOMAS J. CURTIS,
MARGARET DALEY,
JOS. OBERGFELL,
CHAS. A. SUMNER,
JOSEPH C. ORR,
JOHN J. SULLIVAN,
PETER SHAUGHNESSEY,
JOHN C. STRAIN,
G. H. BROWN,
FLORENCE ETHERIDGE,
OSCAR NELSON,
CHAS. B. STILLMAN,
Secretary.

On motion, the report of the Committee on Education was adopted as a whole.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

President Gompers: During the nomination and election of the President of the American Federation of Labor I will ask Delegate James Wilson, of the Pattern Makers, to preside.

Delegate James Wilson in the chair.

The Chairman announced that nominations were in order for President.

Delegate Perkins (Cigarmakers) was recognized by the Chair and placed in nomination for President for the ensuing year Samuel Gompers of the Cigarmakers' International Union. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Michael F. Kenney, of Grocery Handlers' Union No. 14960.

Delegate Woll (Photo-Engravers) moved that the Secretary cast the ballot of the convention for the election of Samuel

Gompers for President for the ensuing year. The motion was seconded and carried. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention, and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected for the ensuing term.

The following delegates asked to be recorded as voting against the re-election of President Gompers: Buchbinder, of the Neckwear Makers' Local 11016; Halonen, of Federal Labor Union No. 14653; Kaufman and Silberstein, of the International Fur Workers' Union, and Voigt, of the Central Labor Council of Oakland, Cal.

President Gompers in the chair.

President Gompers: To me the making of a speech by me as a result of your action in re-electing me to the Presidency seems entirely superfluous, but I cannot refrain from feeling deeply and gratefully this manifestation of your continued and renewed confidence. Years ago, when you did not know me quite so well as you do now, and have known me in recent years, it was necessary to pledge myself to you, and through you to the rank and file of the great labor movement; yes, of the growing labor movement, and it was necessary then to try and open to you my heart and my mind and to say then, as I have tried to carry into effect ever since, that I have no other ambition in life than to serve my fellowmen with whatever ability or energy I may have and without the slightest consideration for self.

Now and in recent years I have been vain enough to think that I had to a considerable degree made good; that even if in particular attempts or efforts success may not have crowned the effort, that you knew I tried my level best, so that that is the reason why, when I was declared elected just now, I tried to proceed with the regular order of business without any remarks being made on my part. But I wouldn't want you to believe for a moment that I am lacking in appreciation of your vote and confidence. On the contrary, as you know, often among men and women the deepest expression is silence; the deepest thought is meditation; and so I was fully impressed from the bottom of my heart, from the innermost recesses of my being. I say to you, fellow-delegates, that in giving me your confidence and asking me to preside over the affairs of the American Federation of Labor for the coming year, I can only hope that I may have the light to guide me; that I may have the strength and health to help me in the work. As to my faithfulness to the fundamental principles and the highest aspirations of labor and the labor movement I here voluntarily pledge to you, and through you to the men of labor and the women of toil and to the children who are to take their places as they grow, that there will be neither a wrongful nor a dishonorable act on my part that shall in the least detract from the greatest triumph which can come to labor and to the cause of labor.

In this great crucial time in the world's history, comparable with no other incident in the history of the human race, men must take their side; no man can be neutral in this world war. Our country has allied itself to the great nations contending against the imperial German government, and until the object of this war has been achieved no self-respecting, self-thinking, liberty-loving man can hope for peace until the purposes for which we have entered into the war have been accomplished. The nation of my adoption, the adoption voluntarily, has in due and proper form, as provided by the people of the United States, declared that the safeguarding of life and property shall be secured; that wholesale, premeditated murder shall not be committed, or if committed the offender shall be duly punished for his crime. And when, under the leadership and direction—the compulsion—of the Emperor of Germany, the imperial government of Germany has murdered innocent people deliberately and advertised it in the newspapers in advance; when this murder deliberately was repeated and then a pledge that this heinous crime would not again be repeated was given and the government of our country accepted that pledge, and then the announcement was given by the imperial German government that they revoked that pledge and that they would proceed upon a larger scale in premeditated killing of innocent human beings, I haven't the slightest hesitancy in believing—it is the result of my best judgment—that the purpose was, on the part of the German imperial government, to drag the United States into the war for several reasons, two of which I shall give.

First. That if the United States would be in the war, at the final peace meeting American representatives would be less insistent upon punishment of Germany than the other countries might be, and for the reason that, first, the large Teutonic population, native and by extraction, in the United States; second, because the Republic of the United States has been an idealistic and

altruistic government and an unselfish government.

The other reason which I believe the German imperial government counted upon was that, inasmuch as that government was militaristic and autocratic, it had the belief that a democracy was inefficient; that we could not fight and that we would not send our men over there; that we could not raise an army in any event and so we could inflict little if any injury or damage upon them. Whether my diagnosis of the situation is right or not, this is fact: that the people of the United States, in Congress assembled, believed that it was sufficient cause to enter into that struggle to safeguard our Republic, to safeguard democracy. The question is now before the world for decision, and in that fight I am with those who are fighting for freedom and democracy.

I want to thank you again for your manifestation of renewed confidence and I shall do anything and everything that I possibly can to help put into effect the declarations of this convention.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association, was placed in nomination for the office of First Vice-President by Delegate J. P. Frey.

Upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, casting the unanimous vote of the convention, and James Duncan was declared elected to serve as First Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Vice-President Duncan very briefly thanked the delegates for the renewed expressions of confidence reposed in him and pledged himself to give his best efforts in the interests of the movement in the coming year.

For the office of Second Vice-President the name of James O'Connell, of the International Association of Machinists, was offered by Delegate Johnston of the Machinists' organization.

No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for James O'Connell for Second Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and James O'Connell was declared unanimously elected to serve as Second Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Joseph F. Valentine, of the Molders' Union of North America, was placed in nomination for Third Vice-President by Delegate John Williams, of the Steel and Tin Workers. No further names were presented and the chairman declared nominations closed.

The Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph F. Valentine for Third Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Joseph F. Valentine was declared unanimously elected Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

For the office of Fourth Vice-President the name of John R. Alpine, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steamfitters and Steamfitters' Helpers of North America, was offered by Delegate Woll, of the Photo-Engravers. There were no further nominations offered and nominations were closed.

On motion of Delegate Stremlau, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John R. Alpine for Fourth Vice-President. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention and John R. Alpine was declared unanimously elected Fourth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

H. B. Perham, of the United Order of Railroad Telegraphers, was placed in nomination for the office of Fifth Vice-President by Delegate Gorman of the same organization. Nominations were closed and on motion of Delegate Bode, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for H. B. Perham for Fifth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and H. B. Perham was declared unanimously elected Fifth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Frank Duffy, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, was placed in nomination for the office of Sixth Vice-President by Delegate Hutcheson of the same organization. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion by Delegate Curtis, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy for Sixth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Frank Duffy was declared unanimously elected to serve as

Sixth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America, was placed in nomination for Seventh Vice-President by Delegate Hughes, of the Teamsters. No further names being presented, the chairman declared nominations closed.

Upon motion by Delegate Koveleski, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William Green for Seventh Vice-President. Secretary Morrison complied with the instructions of the convention and William Green was declared unanimously elected to serve as Seventh Vice-President for the ensuing term.

William D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, was placed in nomination for the office of Eighth Vice-President by Delegate Nelson. (Seconded by Delegate D'Alessandro.) No further names being presented, upon motion of Delegate McAndrew, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William D. Mahon for Eighth Vice-President. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and William D. Mahon was declared duly elected to serve as Eighth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

For the office of Treasurer, John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors of North America, was placed in nomination by Delegate Thomas Sweeney of the same organization. The nomination was seconded by Vice-President Duncan.

Delegate Daniel J. Tobin, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, was placed in nomination by Delegate Frank J. Hayes.

Delegate Hutcheson seconded the nomination of Delegate Tobin.

No further names being offered, nominations were closed and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll. The vote resulted as follows:

For Lennon—Mullaney, Myrup, Schneider (R. C.), Goldstone, Kline, Van Dornes, McGrath, Franklin, MacGowan, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Brown (Walter), Gillen, Ryan (M. F.), Hyland, Shoemaker, Thompson (Theo.), Beuloin, Perdins, Gompers, Barnes, Campbell, Sexton, Johnson (J. L.), Yates, Baker, Coulter, Kuhlmann, Meyer, Feeney, Woll, Brady, Etheridge, Junker, Kaufman, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Shapiro, Deutsch, Heller, Gorenstein, Rosenberg, Voll, Clifton, Eames, Clarke (Wm. P.), O'Brien (J. B.), Kennedy (J. F.), Duncan (James), Russell, Will, Zaritsky, Zuckerman, Margolis, Etchison, D'Alessandro, Moreschi, Carley, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), McSorley, Duty, O'Connor, Vaccarelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Hogan, Hart, Lane, Kennedy (John), Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (44 votes), United Mine Workers' delegation (990 votes), Valentine, Frey, Curran, Baumgartner, Loder, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Weaver, Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers' delegation (568 votes), Wilson (James), Forrest (J. S.), Bergstrom, McGivern, Doulin, Hede, George, Alpine, Rau, Flaherty, Menge, Owen, Roth, Lyons, Suitor, Furuseth, Flynn, Brown (G. H.), Cartledge, Conway (Thos.), Switchmen's delegation (68 votes), Sweeney, Lennon, Sillinsky, Stillman, Perham, Ross (L. J.), Bode, Gorman, Golden, Conboy, White (Geo. H.), McMahon, Powers, Williams (T. J.), Morrison, King (B. W.), O'Hara, Villeneuve, Bowen (L.), Hayward, Crickmore, Haugh, Hartman, Smith (J. T.), Johnson (J. L.), Forrest (W. L.), Stremlau, Repsher, Martindale, McDonald (Steve), Duncan (James A.), Sondemann, McNally, Teitelbaum, Ellicott, representing 9,102 votes.

For Tobin—Noschang, Fischer (Jacob), Shanessy, Feider, Foley, Scott (C. F.), McGuire, Proebstie, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Bowen (Wm. J.), Preece, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Jones, Price, McClory, Morrin, Tobin (S. P.), Butterworth, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Hemsell, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), Conway (H. J.), Doyle (J. J.), McNulty, King (G. C.), Fisher, McAndrews, Bugniazet, Snellings, Hannahan, Comerford, Edgerton, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan (W. J.), Rickert, Larger, Altman, Doyle (Frank), Daley, Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, Dwyer, Marshall, Broening, Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Gainor, Duffy (Chas. D.), Swartz, Mugavin, Johnston (W. H.), Wharton, O'Connell, Savage, Taylor (J. A.), Fry, Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (132 votes), Moyer, Davidson, Rankin, Cannon, United Mine Workers' delegation (2530 votes), Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers' delegation (284 votes), Kearney, Anderson (Charles), Britton, Leary, Diehl, Deviny, Berry, Orr, Herman, Scherm, Leonard, Burke (J. P.), La Belle, Mahon, Quinlan, Sheehan, Cahill, Gavlak, Fleming, Shay, Dolliver, Barry, Suarez, Welsh (W. M.), Griggs, Short, Switchmen's delegation (34 votes), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie, Decker, Curtis, Kinskey, Hayes (M. S.), Stevenson, Hays, Hatch, Mountford, Sullivan (D. D.), Anderson (J. L.), Fitchie, Sebree, Conley, Shea, Jennings, Murphy (D. J.), Donoghue, Burgess, Holland, Boyle, Kennedy (Thomas), Ogletree, Spencer, Bentley, Sheck, Caraway, Banz, McGrady, Malloy, Doyle (F. E.), Nelson, Rist, Harlin, Williams (Harold), McManus, O'Brien (J. S.), McSpadden, Blakely, Foster, Quinn, Sellons, Brindell, Voigt, Henry, Clark (E. A.), Kelly (Wm. J.), Grace, Davison, Wilkinson, Baird, Hoefgen, Murphy (D. C.), Nevin, Eberly, Hogan, Moore (B. E.), Burk (Hugh), Bohm, Kenny, Quesse, Buchbinder, Weinstock, Differding, Eson, Hollis, Pollock, representing 13,478 votes.

Not Voting—Wilds, Sovey, Reddick, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Bechtold, Greenstein, O'Leary, Bryan (W. E.), Bock, Benson, Strain, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Hannah, Dold, Hurley, Helt, Freel, Sumner, Funder Burk, Konenkamp, Agethen, Evans, Brown (J. G.), O'Neal, McHenry, Taylor (C. O.), Hall, Jarrett, Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald, Rahele, Coughlin, Robinson, Maley, Vargas, Bryan (F. L.), McAndrew, Hagberg, McDonald (John A.), Hines, O'Dell, Brislin, Hevey, Gorman, McKinnon, Hodges, Draper, Kelly (J. B.), Burch, Cathrall, Rander, Young (W. H.), Bennett, Bower, James, Traglio, Newman, Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Wrenn, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Black, Hannum, Lemke, McIntyre, De Nedrey, Hester, McGovern, Casey (P. F.), Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Tillman, Halonen, Fisher (J. H.), Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson (Herman), Wilkie, Green (Walter), Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Mulkern, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson (E. D.), Fitts, Miller (F. M.), Battle, Juhl, Rincker, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines, Hill, Hayday and Lodge, representing 730 votes.

Delegate Daniel J. Tobin, having received the majority of all the votes cast, was declared duly elected Treasurer for the ensuing term.

Treasurer-elect Tobin: It is almost impossible for me to find words to express my gratitude to the convention for its election of me to the office of Treasurer. All I can say is this: That I will do my best to fill the office as it should be filled to the best of my ability. I will work faithfully in the interests of the trade union movement of America.

I want to make a statement at this time, Mr. Chairman, and I want to state my position because of a certain misrepresentation that has gone out during the past week, and in order that there may be no misunderstanding in the mind of any one, especially our trade unionists, I want my people to know just exactly my position. It has been stated that I have been the candidate of the opposition to the administration, and other statements of a similar nature have been made. The press has contained statements that were absolutely untrue, all of which I refused to recognize until after the election, and as I know that after this election the wires are going to be busy I want to leave no doubt in the minds of the people of our country as to my position and my ambition to become an officer of the American Federation of Labor.

On Friday morning and nearly every morning of this week, some reference has been made to my candidacy, nearly all of which contained something of a similar nature. On Friday morning the Buffalo Courier contained this statement:

"John Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union, will again be a candidate. Daniel J. Tobin, President of the International Brotherhood, who opposed the action of labor leaders in outlining labor's plan of action in war a month before its declaration, probably will oppose him. Because of his stand it is said the United Mine Workers of America, the largest organization in the movement and a controlling factor in the movement, has swung over its support to the Lennon camp within the last few days. The pacifists and Socialist Party delegates will back him, however, because Mr. Lennon will have the support of President Gompers."

I want to say first, you have noticed the vote and that every vote cast in this convention, whether pacifist or Socialist, has been cast as the vote of a trade unionist. In reference to the leading part of the statement that I opposed the declaration of the labor conference a month before the declaration of war, I have this to say: That I received a letter from President Gompers and a telegram urging me to attend the conference. The telegram stated that the conference was called for the purpose of advising with, consulting with and helping the Executive Council to prepare a statement declaring the position of labor. Just as soon as the conference was organized I made a motion in that conference that everything said there would be taken down verbatim. That motion is on the records of the conference and everything said by me and every other delegate is a matter of record. Now, then, during the conference this declaration was read by Vice-President Duncan and I want to say it was some surprise to me. There had been no declaration of war at this time and in thinking over our invitation to attend the conference I could see the effect of immediate action on this declaration. I arose on the floor and, as the President must remember, the first statement I made was that we heartily subscribed to and endorsed every sentiment and statement contained in that declaration. That is a matter of record, but I said: "Mr. Chairman, we came here not understanding what our duties would be. I offer an amendment that action be deferred on the manifesto for twenty-four hours or until

such time as we can get in touch with the general executive boards in our respective organizations." And I pledged the international executive board of our international union to subscribe to and endorse that document. The amendment was defeated; the majority believed it was better to go right ahead with this declaration and when the final vote was taken on the declaration it was the unanimous action of the conference and I voted for it.

Considerable capital has been made of that position concerning me which is absolutely unjust, and I want to repeat the statement I made then, that I heartily endorsed and subscribed to, and every member of our general executive board did likewise, every sentiment and statement contained in that manifesto. Since the declaration of war I have endeavored as President of our organization to carry out the desire and the wish of not only the President of the American Federation of Labor, but of the President of the United States. I am the editor of our official journal, which we mail to the homes of our members each month, 55,000 copies. I try to reach the minds and the hearts of our members and their families through my statements in the Journal, and while nearly every one of the publications contained some reference to the war since the declaration of war, I will just read one or two extracts in order that there may be no misunderstanding as to my position since the declaration of war. In the month of August—and this issue went to press on July 20th—in an editorial written by me, after describing what I thought was the position of our government, I went on to say:

"Every man and woman in our country must be loyal to our government during this crisis, which is, perhaps, the most trying experience that this country has ever been confronted with. In the days of the Revolution English officers and soldiers refused to murder in cold blood neutrals or persons not taking part in the war. No civilized nation has attempted to slaughter innocent women and children until the German nation introduced this cruelty into the present war, so that while we do not intend to recite here what has been done, our membership must understand it because they read of it every day, but it cannot be denied that the conflict in which we are now engaged is the most serious, the most tremendous and the most trying conflict that our nation has ever taken part in. This country refrained from entering into the war until there was no possible chance to stay out of it any longer. The President of the United States did everything that human nature could possibly do in order to save our country from participating in this slaughter, but to no avail. Therefore, now that we are in it, now that we have been forced into it, all men and women in this country should stand loyally by the government."

And then I go on to speak of certain elements that ought to be taken care of; by that I meant those who were giving expression to questionable sentiments, especially in the Middle West. I know that everything I say is going to be wired to different parts of the country for a special purpose and I want to make my position clear. In the month of November—this issue was mailed out on the 29th of October and went to press on the 20th—I tried to carry out the instructions obtained from the American Federation of Labor. Our membership is rather an impulsive membership and it becomes necessary to advise them occasionally. In that issue, I said:

"Strange as it may seem, we still lead all international and national unions in having the lowest number of men on strike throughout the nation, not only at this writing, but since the declaration of war by our country against Germany. Surely no one can say but what we are doing our level best to carry out the wishes of the President of the United States in endeavoring to have harmony and peace prevail within our organization, or between our organization and our employers. It is true that a few slight disturbances have arisen here and there, but nothing of any serious consequence has taken place insofar as a strike or lockout is concerned since the first day of February of this year. At this writing we have not one man on strike throughout the length and breadth of our great country, and with almost 70,000 members this is something to be proud of. We hope and trust that our members will make their friends and the public acquainted with this fact. The one organization that has loyally carried out to the letter the request made of us by our national government is the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs. It is true that there are times when

strikes cannot be avoided, but there are other times when strikes can be avoided by using diplomacy; by bearing with patience some of the hardships that are imposed upon us until such time as every means has been exhausted to straighten out the problem. It is true that sometimes those problems and disagreements cannot be straightened out without entering into a strike, but we are doing it, and we have done it, and we will continue to do our level best while our country is at war and while our brothers are offering up their lives on foreign soil in defense of our nation. No one can point to the fact that because of our hot-headedness or because of our poor judgment, we crippled any industry in any particular city or any section of the country during the period of war. We believe that this is our duty, and we must do our duty, and more than our duty, if we can. From latest reports that have come into our office from our unions we believe that our organization is up as high as any of the other organizations insofar as our local unions purchasing Liberty Bonds are concerned, besides what is being done by individual members. Each of us and all of us individually and together are first, last and all the time true Americans and we are doing our share in our humble, quiet way, without having any brass bands announcing the fact or making believe we are the only patriots in the world; nor have any bribes been offered us by any one to do what we have done. We simply and solely are doing our share of the work and every one should do his share, because in the whole history of the nation we were never confronted with a similar situation. In the days of the Revolution, when we were fighting against England for our liberty, we were not fighting an enemy half as dangerous as the enemy we are now fighting."

I want to ask this convention if there is any thought in your mind that the man who wrote these editorials has one symptom of "pacifist" or anything else that is un-American within his being. I want to say to you that I am not, and I want the members to understand that I am not an anti-administration man; that for years, which fact will be testified to by President Gompers, I have faithfully and honestly, to the best of my ability, worked in harmony with the members of the Executive Council, but that I reserve the right as a man and a trade unionist to disagree with the Council or members of the Council when in my judgment my position is right. I want to ask the different men here from international unions if you believe that a man who has no opinion of his own, a man who is willing to subserve without at least exercising his own judgment, if he is the proper man to serve in any official capacity of the labor movement. I don't believe he is and I believe the President of the American Federation of Labor will agree with me. If we stand for freedom at all we must stand for freedom of expression.

While I endorse the stand of the President of the American Federation of Labor since the beginning of the war and will continue to do so, just as soon as I think any act of the Executive Council or member of the Executive Council is wrong, I am going to disagree and leave it to the rank and file to decide whether my position is right or wrong. There is no "antiism" about me and no pacifism about me, and I say in closing that is going to be my position during the rest of the time I am in the labor movement. I have no feeling in this matter and I have admiration for those who voted against me. I appreciate the confidence reposed in me and I promise the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council, its President and the membership thereof that I will put forth every honest effort in holding your office to serve you as a real trade unionist.

Treasurer Lennon: I don't rise to question a single thing that Brother Tobin has said. I simply want to inform the delegates that at the time the March meeting was held and the manifesto was issued, it was expected every minute that I would die in the hospital in my home city. I was not at the conference; I had nothing to do with putting the article in the paper, I told Dan Tobin I hadn't and he said to me that he believed what I said. I had nothing to do with putting any articles in the paper and I have done nothing in this campaign that any one can possibly criticise. I have asked a few delegates to vote for me, but that I had the right to do.

I want to say to the convention that possibly I have had greater honors at the hands of the trade union movement than any man in the United States, barring our President. I became a trade unionist in 1870 and in 1884 I became the

chief executive officer of our international union. I held that office for many years and I will have been Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor on the first of January next twenty-eight years. I believe that the record I have made has been clean, upright and honorable. I believe it is a trade union record which neither myself nor any other man in a like place need be ashamed of.

I don't believe Dan meant to apply to me the sentence which he used in his talk. There was a sentence, however, that seemed to indicate that there were men who take their views entirely from some one else and have no idea of acting themselves. President Gompers is there, Jim Duncan is here, and the other members of the Executive Council —there is John Alpine, Brother Green and Brother Valentine—anybody who knows me knows that I am not that kind of a man. I think for myself, act for myself, and reach the judgment that my own conscience and mentality dictate. I stand for it and have stood for it in the meetings of the Executive Council as well as elsewhere. I have absolutely no feeling of resentment of any kind or description against any one because of my defeat. I have been a trade unionist, as I told you, since I was comparatively a boy, and I am going to be in the trade union movement and fighting for it up to the time the undertaker comes to the house for my body.

I don't believe there is any man in this convention or out of it who has any idea that I am not loyal to my country. My grandfather was one of the men who at Concord Bridge and Lexington fired the shots that were heard around the world. At the end of the Revolutionary War he was a staff officer on the staff of Lafayette. My father, although we lived in a slave State, was an abolitionist, and he went to the war and fought as a brave man for liberty and freedom for the chatteled slaves of the South. Were I young and able sufficiently to do so I would go into this war, but not being young enough, I advised my grandson to go, and he is on the Pennsylvania, a member of the United States Navy. I would not have said this except that possibly the newspapers or some one may indicate that there was something in Dan's talk that included me. I don't believe he meant to do so; I am confident he did not, but I desire to say this to the convention: That I am a trade unionist; I accept the will of the trade union movement as to my own conduct, and I will be found as I have always been found a supporter of the trade union and the American Federation of Labor.

Treasurer-elect Tobin: I want to apologize for getting up the second time, but I want to say to John Lennon that I had no intention of casting out any insinuations when I made my statement that might be construed as being against his courage, his trade unionism or his loyalty to this movement, and I am sorry if any one here understood it that way. I made the statement because of certain reports that were circulated about me. My statement to the convention was that you would have no use for a man unless he had an opinion of his own. It was in reference to myself; I had no thought of directing it against John Lennon, and I wouldn't want any one to think so, for I have the highest respect and consideration for him. I, too, am in the field of labor, and I am somewhat human, and I don't consider that I have done anything wrong in aspiring to a position on the Council of the Federation. I just wanted to add these few words; I don't feel that I have done anything wrong, I wouldn't do anything wrong, and I have now and always have had and will continue to have the highest respect and regard for John B. Lennon.

President Gompers: Just a word is in order from the chair in regard to the subject matter brought up by Treasurer-elect Tobin as referring to the newspaper. Delegate Tobin came to me and said: "I come to you, Sam, to tell you that I am a candidate for membership on the Executive Council." My answer to him was: "It is an honorable ambition for any loyal trade unionist to aspire to membership on the Executive Council." A day or two later he came to me and mentioned that the newspapers were publishing some statements reflecting upon his course and conduct. I assured him then, as I now publicly state, that so far as I was concerned or knew there was no responsibility, either directly or indirectly, for those statements published in the newspapers.

I can, too, verify the statements made by Mr. Tobin of his loyalty to the trade union movement, of his loyalty to the government of our country, and whatever feeling there may have been caused, if any, by the campaign for the treasurership of the American Federation of Labor, I trust, as I am confident, that it will be dissipated and, regardless of consequences, we

may go ahead and unitedly do our work.

Some of you will recall from your own participation, as well as the records of our Federation, that at the convention of 1894 at Denver, Mr. John McBride, now deceased, was elected President of the American Federation of Labor. Immediately after the election I arose and made a motion, the nature of which is not necessary to state, but declared to the newly elected President my faithful service to him and to the Federation. During that year when Mr. McBride was President I acted as zealously as my time and opportunity afforded to serve the American Federation of Labor and the trade union movement, whether in any particular trade or generally. I may say this to you in letting you in on a piece of information not generally known. It was my purpose never again to aspire to the office of the presidency of the American Federation of Labor, and it was only due to what a number of trade unionists and I believed was an erroneous course on the part of Mr. McBride—to the fact that he was an advocate of compulsory arbitration and of a compulsory arbitration law in the establishment of relations between workers and their employers. It was at the earnest solicitation of the trade unionists who were opposed to compulsory arbitration that I again became a candidate at the following convention and was elected. I merely make this statement so that there may be no erroneous impression go forth.

It is an honorable aspiration for any man to desire to serve in any official capacity in the American trade union movement and no opprobrium attaches thereto. The delegates to this convention representing their organization had decided, and that is the course to be pursued. We will stand together in the future just as solidly as we have in the past and give a good account of ourselves.

The chairman called for nominations for the office of Secretary.

Frank Morrison, of the International Typographical Union, was placed in nomination by Delegate Berry of the Printing Pressmen. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Kenny of Grocery Handlers' Union No. 14960.

No further names being offered nominations were closed and upon motion President Gompers cast the vote of the convention for Frank Morrison for Secretary for the ensuing term.

Delegate Pollock, of Stenographers' Union No. 11773, asked to be recorded as voting against the re-election of Secretary Morrison.

Secretary Morrison: I desire to express my appreciation for the kindly feeling expressed at various times during the convention to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. I have only this to say: That as in the past I will give all the time I have to assist in organizing the unorganized workers and retaining the standards established by the trade union movement, and I hope that during the coming year the organized forces of the Federation will capture the last trench of the unorganized workers and organize the employes of the United States Steel company and the Bethlehem Steel company. We come to this convention with over a quarter of a million increase in membership and I am certain that we will come to the next convention with an additional quarter of a million organized workers with which to carry on the splendid work of organization.

Election of Fraternal Delegates.

President Gompers: We will now proceed to the election of two fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and one to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, one delegate to be elected at a time.

Treasurer Lennon: May I call the attention of the President to the fact that the change in the law will cause the convention to take place in June before the delegates have time to act.

Delegate MacGowan offered a motion that the convention proceed to the election of fraternal delegates. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Wilson arose for the purpose of making a nomination.

Delegate Sillinsky: A point of order—I want to talk against the election of fraternal delegates at this time.

President Gompers: The point of order is not well taken.

The name of Delegate Joseph A. Franklin, International President of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders of America, was offered by Delegate James Wilson of the Pattern Makers.

A motion was made by Delegate Sillinsky that the election of fraternal delegates be postponed until the next convention. The

motion was seconded and lost on being put to vote.

Upon motion of Delegate Woll, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Joseph A. Franklin. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and Joseph Franklin was declared duly elected a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate William J. Bowen, of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America, was placed in nomination for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress by Delegate D'Alessandro, of the Hod Carriers. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Dobson, of the Bricklayers.

The name of John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, was offered by Delegate John Tobin, of the Boot and Shoe Workers. Delegate Lennon expressed his appreciation of the courtesy, but declined the nomination.

Upon motion by Delegate Shamp, nominations were closed and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for William J. Bowen. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention, and William J. Bowen was declared duly elected a delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Stuart A. Hayward, of the Buffalo Central Labor Council, was nominated for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress by Delegate McGrady, of the Boston Central Labor union. There being no further nominations, upon motion of Delegate Koveleski, the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Delegate Hayward for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. The Secretary complied with the instructions of the convention and Delegate Hayward was declared duly elected.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY.

Cincinnati, Ohio, was nominated by Delegate James Wilson, of the Pattern Makers.

Ft. Worth, Tex., was nominated by Harry L. Spencer, of the Texas State Federation of Labor.

St. Paul, Minn., was placed in nomination by Delegate Hall, of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor.

Providence, R. I., was placed in nomination by Delegate Grace, of the Providence Central Federated Union. (Seconded by Delegate D'Alessandro and Delegate Johnston.

Fraternal Delegate Arthur Hayday in the chair.

A roll call on the selection of the convention city resulted as follows:

Cincinnati—Mullaney, Myrup, Schneider (R. C.), Goldstone, Kline, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Brown (Walter), Gillen, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, McClory, Butterworth, Perkins, Gompers, Barnes, Campbell, Sexton, Johnson (J. L.), Yates, Baker, Conway (H. J.), Coulter, Doyle (James J.), Meyer, Snellings, Hannahan, Comerford, Edgerton, Woll, Brady, Etheridge, Junker, Schlesinger, Shapiro, Deutsch, Heller, Gorenstein, Rosenberg, Voll, Clifton, Eames, Flint Glass Workers' Delegation (66 votes), Duncan (James), Russell, Will, Zaritsky, Zuckerman, Margolis, Marshall, Broening, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Gainor, Duffy (C. D.), Swartz, Mugavin, Hart, Lane, Kennedy (John), Hynes, Redding, Ryan (James J.), Frayne, Moyer, Davidson, Rankin, Cannon, United Mine Workers' Delegation (440 votes), Valentine, Frey, Curran, Baumgartner, Loder, Musicians' Delegation (302 votes), Wilson (James), Forrest (J. S.), Britton, Leary, Diehl, Flaherty, Menge, Owen, Roth, Lyons, Deviny, La Belle, Furuseth, Flynn, Brown (G. H.), Cartledge, Conway (Thos.), Shay, Dolliver, Barry, Suarez, Griggs, Short, Heberling, Welch, Connors, Sillinsky, Perham, Ross (L. J.), Bode, Gorman, Evans, Hays (J. W.), Hatch, White Rats Actors' Delegation (23½ votes), King (B. W.), Villeneuve, Shea, Murphy (D. J.), Holland, Boyle, Kennedy (Thomas), Sheck, Caraway, Nelson, Rist, Bryan (F. L.), McAndrew, McManus, Hartman, McSpadden, Gorman, Sellons, Repsher, Baird, McDonald (Steve), Nevin, Sondemann, Hogan (Anne), McNally, Pollock, representing 6,462½ votes.

Fort Worth—Franklin, Scott (C. F.), McGuire (M. J.), MacGowan, Ryan (M. F.), Hyland, Shoemaker, Thompson (Theo.), Beuloin, Kuhlmann, Flint Glass Workers' Delegation (32 votes), Taylor (J. A.), United Mine Workers' Delegation (440 votes), Street Railway Employes' delegation (553 votes), Sullivan (D. D.), O'Hara, Anderson (J. L.), Spencer, Bentley, Bowen (L), Haugh, Hines, O'Brien (Jas. S.), Davison, Hoefgen, Murphy (D. C.), Eberly, Moore (B. E.), Ellicott, representing 1,947 votes.

St. Paul—Noschang, Fischer, Shanessy, Feider, Foley, Van Dornes, McGrath, Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Hemsell, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), Cigarmakers' delegation (249 votes), McNulty, King (Geo. C.), Fisher (Frank), McAndrews, Bugniazet, Rickert, Larger, Altman, Doyle (Frank), Daley, Ladies' Garment Workers' delegation (400 votes), Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, McSorley, Duty, United Mine Workers' delegation (2,640 votes), Skemp, Guerin, McKeon, Lynch, Mooney, McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Berry, Orr, Herman, Scherm,, Leonard, Burke (J. P.), Suitor, Fleming, Welsh, Funder Burk, Sweeney, Stillman, Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie, Decker, Williams (T. J.), Kinskey, Hayes (Max S.), Morrison, Stevenson, Fitchie, Sebree, Conley, Hall, Donoghue, Burgess, Ogletree, Banz, Doyle (F. E.), Smith (J. T.), Forrest (W. L.), Blakely, Foster, Quinn, Henry, Kelly (Wm. J.), Martindale, Burk (Hugh),

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Bohm, Differding, representing 9,910 votes.

Providence—Bowen (Wm. J.), Preece, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Jones, Price, Morrin, Tobin (S. P.), Feeney, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan (Wm. J.), D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, Flore, Koveleski, McDevitt, Johnston (Wm. H.), Wharton, O'Connell, Savage, Fry, Hogan (S. C.), Musicians' delegation (302 votes), Bergstrom, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Chas.), Rau, Street Railway Employes' delegation (184 votes), Gavlak, Lennon, Golden, Conboy, White (G. H.), McMahon, Powers, White Rats Actors' delegation (23½ votes), Mailey, Johnson (J. L.), Stremlau, Grace, McGovern, Kenny, Weinstock, representing 5,911½ votes.

Not Voting—Wilds, Sovey, Reddick, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Bechtold, Kaufman, Silberstein, Greenstein, O'Leary, Bryan (W. E.), Bock, Benson, O'Connor, Vaccarrelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Strain, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Hannah, Dold, Hurley, Helt, Freel, Sumner, Konenkamp, Agethen, Curtis, Brown (J. G.), O'Neal, McHenry, Jennings, Taylor (C. O.), Jarrett, Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald, Rahele, McGrady, Coughlin, Hayward, Malloy, Crickmore, Robinson, Harlin, Vargas, Hagberg, Williams (Harold), McDonald (J. A.), O'Dell, Brislin, Hevey, McKinnon, Brindell, Voigt, Hodges, Draper, Kelly (J. B.), Burch, Clark (E. A.), Cathrall, Rander, Young (W. H.), Bennett, Bower (A. P.), Wilkinson, James, Traglio, Newman, Duncan (James A.), Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Wrenn, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum, Lemke, McIntyre, DeNedrey, Hester, Casey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Tillman, Halonen, Fisher (J. H.), Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson (Herman), Wilkie, Teitelbaum, Green (Walter), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Buchbinder, Mulkern, Eson, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson (E. D.), Fitts, Miller (F. M.), Battle, Juhl, Rincker, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines, Hill, Hayday and Lodge, representing 1,079 votes.

Inasmuch as none of the cities nominated had received a majority vote a second vote was taken. Delegate Bowen, of the Bricklayers, expressed a desire to change the vote on behalf of his organization from Providence to St. Paul.

President Gompers: Without unanimous consent the chair cannot agree to it.

Delegate Woll offered objection and the request was not granted.

The city of Providence was withdrawn from the contest by consent of the convention and the second roll call on the choice of Cincinnati or St. Paul resulted as follows:

Cincinnati—Mullaney, Myrup, Schneider (R. C.), Goldstone, Franklin, Scott (C. F.), McGuire, MacGowan, Tobin (J. F.), Baine, Anderson (Mary), Brown (Walter), Gillen, Proebstle, Kugler, Rader, Sullivan (John), Obergfell, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation (34 votes), Butterworth, Regan (M. F.), Heyland, Shoemaker, Thompson (Theo.), Beuloin, Cigar Makers' delegation (167 votes), Johnson (J. L.), Yates, Meyer, Snellings, Hannahan, Comerford, Edgerton, Woll, Brady, Etheridge, Junker, Kaufman, Silberstein, Schlesinger, Shapiro, Deutsch, Heller, Gorenstein, Rosenberg, Voll, Clifton, Eames, Clarke (W. P.), O'Brien (J. B.), Kennedy (J. F.), Duncan (James), Russell, Will, Zaritsky, Zuckerman, Margolis, Marshall, Broening, Flore, Sullivan (J. L.), Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Williams (John), Sullivan (J. J.), Gainor, Duffy (C. D.), Swartz, Mugavin, Johnston (W. H.), Wharton, O'Connell, Savage, Taylor (J. A.), Fry, Hogan (Stephen), Hart, Lane, Kennedy (John), Hynes, Redding, Ryan (James J.), Frayne, Moyer, Davidson, Rankin, Cannon, United Mine Workers' delegation (440 votes), Valentine, Frey, Curran, Baumgartner, Loder, Weber (J. N.), Miller (Owen), Carey (D. A.), Weaver, Carey (J. T.), Schneider (G. J.), Wilson (James), Forrest (J. S.), Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (Charles), Rau, Britton, Leary, Diehl, Menge, Owen, Roth, Lyons, Deviny, Furuseth, Flynn, Brown (G. H.), Cartledge, Conway (Thos.), Shay, Dolliver, Barry, Suarez, Griggs, Short, Tailors' delegation (40 votes), Perham, Ross (L. J.), Bode, Gorman, Golden, Conboy, White (Geo. H.), McMahon, Powers, Evans, Typographical Union delegation (123 votes), Fitzpatrick, Mountford, King, (B. W.), Shea, Murphy (D. J.), Holland, Boyle (James), Kennedy (Thos.), Sheck, Caraway, Bowen (L.), McAndrew, Hartman, McSpadden, Johnson (J. L.), Blakely, Sellons, Repsher, Grace, Baird, Hoefgen, Sondemann, McGovern, McNally, Buchbinder, Pollock, representing 9,804 votes.

St. Paul—Noschang, Fischer, Shanessy, Feider, Foley, Bowen (W. J.), Preece, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Jones, Price, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' delegation (66 votes), Hutcheson, Duffy (Frank), Woodbury, Hemsell, Van Duyn, White (Bob), Ross (J. A.), Cigar Makers' delegation (249 votes), Doyle (J. J.), McNulty, King (Geo. C.), Fisher, McAndrews, Bugniazet, Feeney, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan (Wm. J.), Rickert, Larger, Altman, Doyle (Frank), Daley, Lawlor, McCue, Humphrey, D'Alessandro, Etchison, Moreschi, Carley, Dwyer, McSorley, Duty, United Mine Workers' delegation (3,080 votes), Hedrick, Skemp, Guerin, McKeon, Lynch, Mooney, Bergstrom, Berry, Orr, Herman, Scherm, Leonard, Burke, La Belle, Suitor, Mahon, Quinlan, Sheehan, Cahill, Fleming, Welsh, Tailors' delegation (80 votes), Tobin (D. J.), Hughes, Neer, Gillespie, Decker, Williams (Thos. J.), Typographical Union delegation (493 votes), Hatch, Sullivan (D. D.), Sebree, Conley, Donoghue, Burgess, Hayward, Doyle (F. E.), Smith (J. T.), Forrest (W. L.), Quinn, Henry, Kelly (Wm. J.), Martindale, Murphy (D. C.), Burk (Hugh), Bohm, Kenny, Differding, representing 11,849 votes.

Not Voting—Wilds, Kline, Van Dornes, McGrath, Sovey, Reddick, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Baker, Conway (H. J.), Coulter, Kuhlmann, Bechtold, Greenstein, O'Leary, Bryan (W. E.), Bock, Benson, O'Connor, Vaccarrelli, Harrison, Chlopek, Strain, Hannah, Dold, McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Flaherty, Hurley, Gavlak,

Helt, Freel, Sumner, Funder Burk, Heberling, Welch, Connors, Stillman, Konenkamp, Agethen, Curtis, Brown (J. G.), O'Neal, O'Hara, Anderson (J. L.), Villeneuve, Fitchie, McHenry, Jennings, Taylor (C. O.), Hall, Jarrett, Ogletree, Spencer, Bentley, Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald, Rahele, Banz, McGrady, Coughlin, Malloy, Crickmore, Robinson, Nelson, Rist, Harlin, Malley, Vargas, Bryan (Frank L.), Haugh, Hagberg, Williams (Harold), McManus, McDonald (J. A.), Hines, O'Brien (J. S.), O'Dell, Brislin, Hevey, Gorman, Stremlau, Foster, McKinnon, Brindell, Voigt, Hodges, Draper, Kelly (J. B.), Burch, Clark (E. A.), Cathrall, Rander, Young (W. H.), Bennett, Bower (A. P.), Davison, Wilkinson, James, Traglio, Newman, McDonald, (Steve), Duncan (James A.), Nevin, Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Wrenn, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum Lemke, McIntyre, Eberly, De Nedrey, Hester, Casey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Hogan (Anne), Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Moore (B. E.), Morris, Tillman, Halonen, Fisher (J. H.), Da Costa, Pennywitt, Longley, Burk (Hugh), Johnson (Herman), Wilkie, Teitelbaum, Green (Walter), Quesse, Brazzle, Malone, Busch, Weinstock, Mulkern, Ellicott, Eson, Hanrahan, Burt, Thompson (E. D.), Fitts, Miller (F. M.), Battle, Juhl, Rincker, Hollis, Lebowitz, Grimm, Raines, Hill, Hayday, and Lodge, representing 1,657 votes.

President Gompers declared St. Paul, Minn., the city in which to hold the convention of the American Federation of Labor in June, 1918.

At 2:50 p. m. the convention adjourned to reconvene under a suspension of the rules at 4:30 p. m.

TWELFTH DAY—Saturday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 4:30 o'clock p. m., Saturday, November 24th, President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees—Schneider (R. C.), Goldstone, Foley, Wilds, Sovey, Reddick, Brown, (W.), Kugler, Sullivan (J.), Bowen (W. J.), Preece, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Price, Boyer, Logan, MacPherson, Johnson (J. L.), Yates, Baker, Conway (H. J.), Coulter, Kuhlman, Junker, Healy, Bechtold, Kaufman, Larger, Doyle (F.), Daley, Shapiro, Deutsch, Heller, Rosenberg, Marshall, Greenstein, O'Leary, Bryan (W. E.), Gainor, Duffy (C. D.), Swartz, Mugavin, Bock, Benson, O'Connor, Vaccarrelli, Harrison, Chlopek, O'Connell, Strain, Lane, Kennedy (J.), Cannon, White (J. P.), Mitchell, Walker, Moore (J.), Lewis, Valentine, Curran, Baumgartner, Weber, Weaver, Lynch, Schneider (G. J.), Hannah, Dold, McGivern, Donlin, Hede, George, Alpine, Kearney, Anderson (C), Rau, Menge, Owen, Roth, Deviny, Berry, Orr, Burke, (J. P.), Mahon, Quinlan, Sheehan, Cahill, Hurley, Helt, Freel, Sumner, Short, Funder Burk, Heberling, Welch (M. R.), Connors, Stillman, Konenkamp, White (G. H.), Powers, Williams (T. J.), Agethen, Hatch, Brown, (J. G.), Fitzpatrick, Mountford, O'Neal, McHenry, Taylor (C. O.), Murphy (D. J.), Holland, Jarrett, Boyle, Marsh, Sprouse, Paulsen, Mehner, Fitzgerald, Rahele, McGrady, Coughlin, Malloy, Robinson, Harlin, Vargas, Bryan (F. L.), Hagberg, McDonald (J. A.), Hines (J. B.), O'Dell, Smith (J. T.), Johnson (J. L.), Foster, Quinn, Sellons, McKinnon, Brindell, McAndrew, Hodges, Kelly, Burch, Cathrall, Rander, Grace, Young, Bennett, Bower, Davison, Wilkinson, Traglio, Newman, Hoefgen, McDonald, Nevin, Murphy (J. M.), Woodmansee, Wrenn, Smith (A. E.), Gafney, Warren, Black, Hannum, Lemke, McIntyre, DeNedrey, McGovern, Casey, Iglesias, Reinhard, Depp, Allwine, Spellacy, Allison, Oden, McCahill, Mezzacapo, Morris, Tillman, Halonen, DaCosta, Pennywitt, Longley, Johnson (H.), Wilkie, Green (W.), Bohm, Quesse, Malone, Busch, Buchbinder, Weinstock, Mulkern, Eson, Hanrahan, Burke, Thompson (E. D.), Fitts, Miller (F. M.), Battle, Juhl, Rincker, Pollock, Liebowitz, Grimm.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS.

Delegate Altman, for the Committee, submitted the following report::

Union Label Trades Department.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (pp. 145-146) your committee fully concurs in the views expressed by President J. W. Hays, of the Union Label Trades Department, and we recommend that the A. F. of L. Executive Council issue instructions to all organizers under its jurisdiction to further the work of popularizing the union label in all meetings they address, and also by writing special articles for the labor and friendly press dealing with that subject, and by co-operating with local organizers and committees to increase the demand for labeled goods. We further recommend that representatives of all international unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. be urged to expound the advantages of purchasing union labeled products.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 7—By Flour and Cereal Mill Employes' Union No. 13227, New Athens, Illinois:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor shall permit bag companies to print the union label on the bags and barrel labels of such flour mills that employ union labor exclusively.

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Your committee non-concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is assumed, and the assumption confirmed by statistical calculation, that the purchasing power of the organized workers of this country is of tremendous proportions, reaching into billions of dollars in the course of a calendar year; and

WHEREAS, The practical application of our purchasing power as trade unionists has been sadly neglected through the indifference of the members of organized labor. Information gathered from dealers is to the effect that too few union men insistently demand products bearing the union label, except it be when such articles have some coupon scheme attached to them; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union is one of the organizations that is suffering from this condition of indifference and neglect, with the result that members of our union have been walking the streets, while those employed in the trust and non-union factories are working overtime; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That as the Tobacco Workers' Blue Label has for many years been extensively advertised among all the unions now in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, it is therefore entitled to a fuller co-operation from our fellow trade unionists in the demand for union labeled tobacco, cigarettes and snuff; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November 12, 1917, declare that we will use every effort through our international unions to co-operate and assist the Tobacco Workers' International Union in creating a greater demand for union label tobaccos, snuff and cigarettes.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The convention concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The United States is at war in the defense of democratic institutions, and is mobilizing its land and naval forces in training camps in this country and abroad; and

WHEREAS, Every American is pledged to do his bit in helping to bring about the quickest, successful result; and

WHEREAS, Included in these mobilized forces are thousands of members of organized labor, who will be compelled to forego the pleasure of smoking and chewing their favorite brands of tobacco and cigarettes, unless they are supplied from private sources; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Trust has put on a great newspaper campaign, appealing to the patriotic feelings of the soldiers' relatives and friends to send them a kit containing an assortment of tobacco and cigarettes, not through any patriotic desires, but for the purpose of increased revenue for this powerful corporation, one of the most antagonistic monopolies by which organized labor is opposed; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union, desiring to furnish trade unionists who are now serving their country in the army and navy and in cantonment camps with tobacco and cigarettes bearing the union label, have established a fund for that purpose, inviting the trade unionists, who desire, to contribute to this Patriotic Union Label Tobacco Fund; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Buffalo, November 12th, 1917, endorse the patriotic movement established by the Tobacco Workers' International Union, and that the International Unions, Central Bodies, Building Trades, State Federations and Federal Unions, will co-operate, through voluntary subscription, to this fund and prove to the American people the loyalty of organized labor for their fellow members who are now at the front in defense of their country and the fundamental principles for which they are organized.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates A. Weinstock of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200, Boston, and I. Buchbinder of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 11016, New York City:

WHEREAS, The union label is an important factor in the maintenance of the union shop, good wages and healthful working conditions; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor should devote more time and energy to promote a demand for all union label goods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be requested by the delegates of this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention, to request the Label Trades Department to put sufficient representatives on the road to create a greater demand for union label products.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Label Trades Department for their consideration.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates A. Weinstock of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 15200, Boston, and I. Buchbinder of Neckwear Workers' Union No. 11016, New York City:

WHEREAS, There are a number of local unions in this country who are struggling to create a demand for the union label on the articles that they produce; and

WHEREAS, The struggle to get better working conditions through this channel has proven to be a financial burden on these new unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor be instructed to furnish union

labels free of charge to local organizations who have no international union.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Label Trades Department for their consideration.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 131—By Delegate James A. Duncan, Seattle Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Union labels have played a great part in the upbuilding of many labor organizations and it is extremely desirable that their use should be developed to the highest possible degree consistent with reasonable cost; and

WHEREAS, The vast number of different designs of labels makes it exceedingly difficult for the most ardent union enthusiast to become familiar with all of them, to say nothing of the great army of our friends whom we desire to interest in the use of our labels; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Buffalo, N. Y., instruct its Secretary to call upon unionists throughout the nation to submit to the Federation proposed designs for a universal union label that will be suitable for use by all the label trades by the addition of the craft's name making use of same; and further be it

RESOLVED, That the designs so obtained be submitted to the next annual convention for further action.

Your committee nonconcurs in this resolution.

It was explained that Resolution No. 131 had by error also appeared in the proceedings of the second day as Resolution No. 106. (Resolution No. 106 is covered in the report of the Committee on Report of Executive Council (p. 262, sixth day's proceedings.)

After Delegate James A. Duncan had spoken in advocacy of the adoption of a universal union label the motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

Recommendation.

Your committee recommends that wherever practicable unions that have labels arrange that they be manufactured of cloth and be sewn rather than pasted in garments and other materials, to the end that they will adhere permanently to the product bearing small labels and in order to make the use of unauthorized labels and counterfeits impossible.

This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

VICTOR ALTMAN, Chairman,
R. S. SEXTON,
J. GOLDSTONE,
E. LEWIS EVANS,
JACOB FISCHER,
JOHN WILDS,
CORNELIUS McCUE,
E. W. VAN DUYN,
HENRY F. BROENING,
MICHAEL J. O'LEARY,
WILLIAM S. SHEA,
PHILIP BOCK,
WALTER BROWN,
M. ZUCKERMAN,
MAX S. HAYES, Secretary,
Committee on Labels.

Delegate Altman, speaking on the above recommendation, said that a resolution was passed by the Label Trades Department two years ago instructing the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor to furnish cloth labels upon all products where cloth labels can be used, in order that the label may be permanent on articles purchased and not so liable to loss or removal. He explained further that where paper labels are used it was sometimes the practice of one manufacturer to loan labels to another and urged that the delegates carry back to their respective organizations the necessity of obtaining these cloth labels from the Secretary of the Federation.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted and on motion of Delegate Altman the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR OFFICE BUILDING

Delegate Suarez, for the committee, reported the following:

Your committee upon the American Federation of Labor Office Building has given careful consideration to the report of the trustees of the building, which appears on pages 57 and 58 of the report of the Executive Council to this convention, and the committee fully concurs in the views expressed by the trustees.

It is unnecessary for your committee to refer to the purchase of the plot of ground upon which the home of the American Federation of Labor stands or the construction and opening of the same, as these matters were all reported to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention. Therefore, it would appear to your committee that the only question to be considered by it in relation to the building is that of the outstanding indebtedness and its maintenance, and as the report of the

trustees shows that the indebtedness was reduced $24,240.00 during the past year and that the income over the cost of maintenance was $3,585.80, in the opinion of your committee there is no necessity for any change in the present plan of management. Therefore your committee recommends that the same be continued.

Your committee understands that the Executive Council has authority to apply any funds that may be available from time to time toward liquidating the outstanding indebtedness on the building; and feeling confident, as we do, of the continuous growth of the American Federation of Labor, which means an increase in its revenues, your committee believes that it will be possible to continue, under the present arrangements, to reduce the indebtedness during the ensuing year, and we therefore advise that all resolutions providing for an increase in the Federation's revenues for office building purposes be not concurred in. Resolution No. 102 is as follows:

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate W. M. Pollock of Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Association No. 11773:

WHEREAS, There has been erected at Washington a magnificent building devoted to the interests of labor, on which building there is yet a considerable indebtedness; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all affiliated unions, national, international, local and federal, be requested to appropriate at the rate of 5 cents per member to liquidate the debt in question.

The trustees of the building report that five-sixths (5-6) of the office rooms are now occupied and yet there are only a few of our Internationals which have established their headquarters in the building; but if, as the trustees believe and we fully agree with them, the grouping of the organizations now in the building has resulted in promoting the common interest of all, then how important is it that all Internationals should establish their headquarters, if not in the home of the American Federation of Labor, at the nation's capital! We suggets that all affiliated Internationals give this matter their serious consideration. Most of the members of your committee have had the opportunity of personally visiting and inspecting the building and have no hesitancy in giving their full approval to those who have been charged with its care. As was well said by the committee reporting to the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention, it presents a monument to the American labor movement, and further emphasizes its stability and importance as an institution of permanency in the affairs of not only the workers of this country but of the Government itself.

Very respectfully submitted,

CHARLES H. MOYER, Chairman,
C. L. SHAMP,
J. B. ETCHISON,
CHARLES D. DUFFY,
O. J. SHOEMAKER,
ANDRIES MEYER,
C. F. FOLEY,
M. R. WELCH,
THOMAS D. FITZGERALD,
GAD MARTINDALE,
JOHN SUAREZ, Secretary.

On motion, the report of the committee was adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES.

Delegate Griggs, for the committee, submitted the following:

Resolution No. 160—By Delegates J. E. McClory, P. J. Morrin and S. P. Tobin, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers was temporarily suspended from the American Federation of Labor and its Building Trades Department; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers was not represented in the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Building Trades Department and, therefore, was not in a position to protect and defend its established and recognized claims of work; and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 14 was introduced by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, and Resolution No. 21 was introduced by the Wood, Wire and Metallic Lathers' International Union, both of which resolutions requested the Building Trades Department to annul decisions that had been rendered by the Department a number of years ago and that had been sustained by the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor and which had conceded to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers full and complete jurisdiction over the work, as set forth in both of the above resolutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department be instructed by this convention not to annul the decisions as set forth in resolutions Nos. 14 and 21.

Inasmuch as the matters complained of in this resolution have been referred to the Executive Council of the Building Trades by the Building Trades Department, there-

fore your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department for consideration.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate McClory: Before entering into a discussion on the merits of this resolution I desire to have the chair set forth whether or not this is a legal procedure in accordance with your Constitution. I further desire to know whether or not the reinstatement of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers brought with it the rights and privileges that were formerly enjoyed previous to our temporary suspension. Now the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, Section 11, of Article III, reads:

"No grievance shall be considered by any convention that has been decided by a previous convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto had not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves."

Section 4, of Article XV, reads in part as follows:

"The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor."

I waht to know whether a procedure adopted by a Department of this Federation can take action that will nullify a decision that was rendered at a previous convention and which has not been nullified?

President Gompers: The chair can answer in only one way: That he is not conscious, nor is this convention conscious, that any violation of the laws of the American Federation of Labor has been committed by the Building Trades Department. The delegates from the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers brought in a resolution alleging that such a violation had taken place. The proper course as provided by law is that an appeal be taken against that alleged action to the Executive Council, and if either party be dissatisfied or unsatisfied with the action of the Executive Council an appeal properly lies then to the convention proper of the American Federation of Labor. The situation in this case is most peculiar and unprecedented. The fact was that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were for a time suspended from the Federation and became reinstated just within a day of the opening of this convention. As a consequence there has been no time to appeal to the Executive Council. The appeal was made in an inverse ratio, rather than the proper. The appeal should have been made to the Executive Council, and the chair understands that the committee recommends that the subject matter go before the Executive Council.

Delegate McClory: I repeat again that when our association was reinstated, did that reinstatement not bring with it all the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed previous to our suspension?

President Gompers: The chair does not want to make any statement in regard to this matter except as to the parliamentary situation. In the matter of the jurisdictional rights the chairman of this convention is not required and should not be asked as to the merits of a jurisdictional controversy.

Delegate McClory: Realizing as I do the unfortunate position that our International Association has been placed in, due to our zeal and earnest desire to safeguard the interests of our association, I desire on behalf of myself and co-delegates to set forth the reasons why we introduced that resolution.

The Building Trades Department convention which met a week previous to this Federation's convening, did deprive us of representation at that convention, due to the fact that our association was temporarily suspended from affiliation with this body. We have been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for fourteen years and during that entire period we have been faithful, loyal and obedient insofar as carrying out what we thought to be and honestly considered to be the laws and decisions of this Federation.

Due to our temporary suspension and being denied the right of representation at the Building Trades Department convention, undue and unfair advantages have been and are being, in our estimation, attempted on the part of two of the Building Trades organizations. The two organizations in question introduced a resolution which has for its purpose the nullifying of decisions handed down in favor of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, one as far back as 1909 and the other as far back as 1913, wherein after a considerable investigation those conventions in question saw the right and proper legal procedure and handed down decisions guaranteeing and recognizing the jurisdictional rights over certain

branches of work, namely, the right to install and set what is known as reinforced concrete blocks made out of steel. The decisions of the Building Trades Department convention at Seattle conceded and recognized that our association had the right to install solid steel and metal window frames and sash, which is purely a structural iron proposition, and the right to install and set what is known as reinforced concrete blocks made out of steel. The decisions of the Building Trades Department convention at Seattle conceded and recognized that our association had the right to install solid steel window frames and sash.

The resolution in question cannot be contradicted, and recognizes the right of the Iron Workers and its members to do this class of work. That decision has been recognized since 1913, was reaffirmed by the Baltimore convention, yet despite that fact there never has been a time during that interval when the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, who have asked through resolution that the Building Trades Department nullify that decision, did not attempt to claim this work.

Having in mind that on the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department there are two representatives who have a desire to take away from our association the work in question, we believe in justice to our organization that this convention should not permit the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department to take such action. We have a strong and logical reason to believe that if this convention does not instruct the Building Trades Department Executive Council to refrain from nullifying those decisions that the work in question will be taken away from our association. Therefore, the injustice to our association, and we come here to ask that the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, do instruct the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department not to nullify the decision referred to. It is purely structural iron work, fabricated in structural steel shops, and cannot be in any way classified as work coming within the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. Our association has at least 2,000 expert workmen going all over the United States installing this class of work, men who receive all the way from 75 to 80 cents per hour, and we believe it would be a rank injustice, in view of the fact that we were unable to protect our rights and establish our claims, if we were to be deprived of this work.

Not alone have we sacrificed at least 1,200 men involved in the question of the dock building and pile driving dispute in New York City and vicinity, but we have at the expense of over $1,200 brought delegates here from different parts of the country and have sat here for the past ten days hoping and waiting for an opportunity to present our claims to this Federation. We are not as large numerically as some other organizations, having less than 15,000 members, who have been battling against the most powerful corporation in this country for the past twelve years, and who have by the sacrifice and devotion to the principles of unionism been able to maintain an organization that has at least 75 per cent. of the practical workers in this line of industry in our organization. Believing that the spirit of justice prevails among the delegates to this convention, we respectfully ask, despite the well meaning intentions of the Committee on Building Trades, that the delegates to this convention non-concur in their report and give us a chance to defend our rights and our established claims in the Building Trades Department six months hence.

If the Carpenters have a right to do this particular class of work, let them present their claims at the next convention of the Department, when our association will be in a position to defend those decisions which have been recognized by all the building trades in this country and the building trades councils, with the exception of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

Not a carpenter's tool is used in the installing of this work; it is manufactured in structural iron shops by structural iron workers, and the manufacturers have, ever since the work came into vogue, stood willing and are now willing to employ our men at the highest possible wage, notwithstanding the fact that the wages of our members who do this class of work are from fifteen to twenty per cent. more than the wages of the carpenters engaged on the same work.

Delegate Morrin: I desire to submit the following as a substitute or amendment for the report of the committee: That inasmuch as the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union was not represented in the Buffalo 1917 convention of the Building Trades Department, the subject matters contained in Resolution No. 160 be referred by this conven-

tion to the next convention of the Building Trades Department.

Delegate Morrin then discussed the matter at some length, corroborating in a general way the statements made by Delegate McClory and stating that all they desired was to retain control over work which they contended properly belonged to them. He referred to the decision rendered at the Tampa convention of the Department and confirmed at later conventions, conceding to the Iron Workers full and complete jurisdiction over reinforced concrete construction work. He stated that at the St. Louis convention the Lathers withdrew their appeal in this connection and agreed with the decision of the convention in awarding the work to the Iron Workers. Referring to the St. Louis decision, Delegate Morrin said in part: The matter of reinforced concrete was referred to the Adjustment Committee by mistake. That mistake was called to the attention of the convention by Delegate O'Connell, who was a member of the committee, and after he had announced that there was nothing referred to any committee, Delegate McSorley took the floor and stated that he had intended to ask for the withdrawal of the appeal, but did not think he had that right. He further stated that "inasmuch as the Executive Council has recommended to the convention that they give the subject matter thorough consideration, as far as my organization is concerned we are perfectly willing to withdraw the appeal."

Referring to the dock builders and pile drivers' controversy in New York, Delegate Morrin made the statement that the Iron Workers had suspended an additional local in that district so that their organization might have representation in the Buffalo convention of the American Federation of Labor. In closing, he said: I would like to have the matter sent to the Department convention, because we feel that is the place to make the fight. We feel that there are a number of members on the Executive Council of the Department who are familiar with the case, and while I don't want to reflect on the integrity of any man on that council and I don't want to pre-judge, I think I have a right to presume that there are at least two who sit on that council who are vitally interested, and it is not a very good place for an appeal to go.

Delegate McSorley: The representative of the Iron Workers lays wonderful stress upon the action of the Building Trades Department. As one of the organizations interested in this matter I want to state that we were not to blame for the Iron Workers being out of the Department or the Federation. The iron worker was on the outside for the simple reason that he refused to abide by a decision which he desires to impose upon others. It is all right for others to live up to that, but it is fundamentally wrong when it affects the Iron Workers.

This matter was taken up in the Department, considered by a convention of purely building tradesmen and the two subject matters referred to were referred to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department without one dissenting vote. I contend that for this convention to ignore the action of the Building Trades Department in permitting this matter to be referred to the Executive Council is abridging the action of the Department, and it will be possble in the future for any one to come in here who has a decision rendered against him in the Department and by changing the phraseology of the resolution get it changed to suit his purpose. This resolution has nothing for its purport other than to prejudge what the Executive Council is going to do, and as the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor plainly states that the Building Trades Department shall be a medium for the transaction of building trades matters, I contend that the matter should be left to them and them alone, and you other gentlemen who are not familiar with these building trades subjects should not attempt to abridge the action of the Building Trades Department.

The iron worker was suspended because he resorted to all kinds of subterfuge in order to evade the decisions of the American Federation of Labor. He comes here and pleads that he has made a mistake. Sure he has made a mistake by his own admission, but if he made a mistake it is not justifiable that this convention should attempt to abridge the action of the entire building tradesmen of this country.

This same resolution known as Resolution No. 21 was introduced at the San Francisco convention of the Building Trades Department and the resolution was withdrawn because of the fact that the Iron Workers and the representatives

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of our organization sat down and entered into an agreement which stated that the agreement would be subject to ratification by both executive councils. The Executive Council of the Lathers approved it and the Executive Council of the Iron Workers approved it, but later on repudiated it. So this practically is the same resolution that was introduced at San Francisco while the iron worker was seated in the convention, and I assure you it was not done or introduced in this convention of the Department for the purpose of taking advantage of the Iron Workers. It was for the purpose of presenting to the building tradesmen of this country our grievances against the Iron Workers in reference to this particular class of work, and not for the purpose of trying to steal anything away from him.

I contend that this matter should go to the Executive Council of the Department, and if the decision is against either myself or the Iron Workers, then we should take an appeal to the next convention of the Department, and if not satisfied with their decision we should then take an appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and from them to this convention, which is the final court of appeals. This subject matter has just started on its route, and I contend that this convention has no business whatsoever to prejudge the action of the Building Trades Department.

Delegate D'Alessandro spoke in favor of giving the iron worker an opportunity to state his case. He said that if the report was adopted and the subject matter went back to the convention it would suit him perfectly.

Delegate Duffy said in part: I want it distinctly understood that no one wants to take advantage of the Iron Workers. As far as the Carpenters were concerned we did not want them on the outside. We wanted them in and we did not impose the penalties on them that Delegate Morrin would make this convention believe. It is only right that the things should be made known as they exist. This trouble that existed between us and which is now settled should not be brought into this matter, as this is a different question altogether.

The fact of the matter is this: The men in dispute in New York City were at the San Francisco convention and at the Baltimore convention divided into two local unions by the Iron Workers. One was established in Jersey City and one in New York City, and instead of only taking the charter away from the one in New York City we said: "That doesn't clear the matter up; now take the one away from Jersey City." The Iron Workers finally agreed to do that; they agreed to the decisions of the Baltimore convention, and there is no credit given them for doing so.

I was a delegate to the Department convention before this convention met. The Lathers introduced a resolution relative to a dispute with the Iron Workers over reinforced concrete. The Carpenters introduced a resolution relative to a dispute with the Iron Workers over the setting of window frames and sash. When that matter went before the committee to which it was referred it came back and reported that these two resolutions be referred to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department. We don't know what action the Executive Council may take. It may reaffirm the former decisions or it may change them, but no matter what action it takes the Executive Council will have to report the matter to the next convention of the Department in June, and it would be either approved or disapproved by the convention. The Iron Workers are back in the Department and in the Federation, and they would have their chance of being heard on the floor. Nobody raised any objection in the Department to the reference of these resolutions to the Executive Council.

When you get down to the laws of the Department, it says that each department shall be the official source in settling the disputes in that Department, and the right to appeal afterwards to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor is given, and finally an appeal to this body. I can't imagine who the third party is on the Executive Council of the Department who the Iron Workers think will vote with McSorley and Hutcheson. Of course, McSorley represents the Lathers, and Hutcheson the Carpenters, but there are five other men on that Executive Council. The Iron Workers are prejudging; in other words, they are supposing that the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department will render a decision against them, and they come in here and ask you to prevent that Council from taking any action whatsoever.

Delegate Hynes, in discussing the question, said in part: Regardless of what the iron worker has done in times gone by, perhaps he felt he was doing the best he could for his organization. He is back here now,

and it seems to be the general sentiment that we are going to get together in the very near future, and we are all going to forget our cheating practices of times gone by. I contend that it is unjust, unfair and unpatriotic, and that the Iron Workers should not be crucified. Give them what belongs to them.

Delegate Hutcheson: As a member of the committee, also as a member of the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department, and one of those who have been accused of trying to do something unjust, I want to call the attention of this convention to the fact that Brother Hynes, who has just expressed himself, is a member of this committee, and has signed the report and recommendation of the committee. He did not express himself in that committee meeting as he just expressed himself on the floor of this convention.

If this convention has any desire to take from the Department the right and authority and privilege of conducting its own affairs, then adopt the substitute as presented. If, on the other hand, the delegates desire to give to the Building Trades Department, which is recognized as the most militant part of the labor movement, the right to conduct its affairs as per the laws of the labor movement, then vote down the substitute and concur in the recommendation of the committee. The law clearly states the procedure that must be taken before an appeal can come before this body. My opinion is that the entire discussion on the subject is out of order and should have been so declared by the chair, inasmuch as it has not come before this convention in proper form and in accordance with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Tobin, of the Iron Workers, discussed the matter briefly and said the only desire of the Iron Workers' delegation was to get some action whereby the opening up of more jurisdictional disputes could be prevented. He said that at the Baltimore convention the representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters had agreed that the Seattle decision on solid steel window frames was to be carried out by their organization and that the same thing applied to reinforced concrete work.

Delegate McNulty opposed the adoption of the substitute on the ground that it would destroy the principles laid down by the American Federation of Labor for the government of its various departments. He said further he believed it would be a dangerous action if this convention should prejudge what the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department would do.

Secretary Morrison read the substitute offered by Delegate Morrin.

Delegate Hutcheson requested a roll call vote on the adoption of the substitute, but the request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates. The vote on the adoption of the substitute resulted as follows: 113 in favor; 29 against.

The report of the committee was adopted as amended.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ALLEGED SHORTAGE OF LABOR.

Delegate John Tobin, for the committee, gave a synopsis of the following report:

Report of Special Committee on Alleged Shortage of Labor.

The entire labor policy of the United States during the war depends upon the supply of wage-workers. If there is a sufficient number of men to answer the demands of any branch of industry usually employing men, there is plainly no need to call upon women to replace men. If by efficiently distributing the unemployed to the points where labor is actually needed the supply can be made to equal the demand, no extraordinary measures need be taken anywhere to obtain needed human power.

It is of fundamental importance to this country to start right in this matter of national policy. Every step to be taken now and in the future in the course of the war depends on getting at the undeniable facts relative to the supply of labor. So long as there is an unemployed, or partially unemployed, reserve to be drawn upon, there will evidently be no need to depart from the present standards of wages, hours, conditions and undilutions, as recognized by organized labor.

On this great problem the trade unions have begun fair. By resolutions formally adopted at their conventions, and by their consistent action since the outbreak of the war, they have placed their membership in a patriotic attitude toward the Government. Their officials have without exception continually assisted the public authorities by every means possible in the great work of preparation for the war. The departments of the Government at Washington and in the various states have called upon the trade union officials for the service of information, advice and supply of wage-workers. There has come from the ranks of the wage-workers no demand for exemption from draft by class, nor for any exceptional advantage.

On the other hand, it is regrettable to record that a sufficient number of employers, aided by those newspapers which act as their publicity agents, and also by superficial newspapers which habitually sacrifice truth for sensation, have hastened to misrepresent the volume of the labor supply of the country and to assume that

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our Government must hurry on to the point at which, in imitation of Great Britain, male labor must be replaced by female, skilled labor diluted by unskilled, the age at which children may be employed reduced, and the workday for all classes of labor extended to a point which would break down the health and efficiency of the workers. Proceeding with their baseless assumptions and selfish arguments, these spokesmen are today talking of conscripting labor; of putting labor in uniform; of placing all labor under the same discipline and regulation as the soldiers at the front.

The uninformed and to a considerable extent the uninquiring public is in danger of being deceived by the employers' cry of shortage of labor. Legislative bodies may be influenced in turn by what may appear to be a general conclusion that there is such shortage. The time for organized labor to fight to get at the truth and before the country is now!

The only correct interpretation of the term "labor shortage" is that situation in which the number of positions to be filled exceeds the number of applications for work in all classes.

Your committee herewith submits a body of facts to show that not only is there not in any degree a labor shortage according to this definition, but with the exception of a few classifications, brought into existence through war conditions, there is in no region of the entire country a lack of labor seeking employment.

To come at once to the facts: The October number of the American Federationist contains a review of the labor situation of the country, made up of the substance of reports from Federal Departments, State Labor Bureaus, State employment agencies, and competent public observers, which warranted the conclusion that the cry of a scarcity of labor was false, lacking in particulars that could be substantiated, and untruthfully promoted for selfish purposes. Further, to ascertain the facts in the matter, President Gompers sent out a letter on October 12th to a certain number of Central Labor Unions, especially in the industrial cities, and to international unions, particularly those making war supplies.

Replies have been received to date from twenty-eight international unions, with a paid-up membership of 922,400 in the American Federation of Labor. Members of your Committee of Inquiry have also consulted, during the sessions of this convention, with the delegates of unions probably representing 500,000 other members. The written replies, without exception, state that there is no shortage of labor among their membership. The great unions whose members are to supply the skilled labor in construction, in making uniforms and in transportation, all declare that they have unemployed members who may be turned to the service of the Government at any point at any time. There are mining districts on partial time, many boot and shoe and other factories either closed or on part time, cantonments and other building operations just finished or nearly finished, garment factories with tens of thousands of unemployed, manufactories avoiding the employment of skilled machinists, while each of the trades concerned stands ready to supply labor from the ranks of its unemployed.

From sixty-six cities the Central Labor bodies report no shortage of labor supply. These cities represent all parts of the country, from coast to coast, and on estimate of the wage workers in the area of each city the total number reaches nearly one million. Not represented in this list are the largest cities: New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, St. Louis, in each of which laborers by the thousands can be gathered at any time for any work. One New York daily newspaper last Sunday contained 700 "situations wanted" advertisements, not counting the employment agencies.

Only three replies to the letter of inquiry brought reports of local shortage, and two of these were in the vicinity of cantonments under construction. One of the smallest international unions, the Wire Weavers, reported all its members at work and a need of more.

A reply from one of the organizers of this Federation tells the story of 700 men in Newark, N. J., hired by a bogus employment agent to perform work at an imaginary aeroplane factory in Baltimore. These men paid their transportation and agent's fee to find themselves in a strange city without employment. A reply from Denison, Texas, tells of the employment of women at $30 per month to replace men doing the same work at $60 a month. Lewiston, Mont., reports farm hands of all kinds in good supply. Shoe workers in Salem, Mass., are on half time. Oshkosh, Wis., reports no shortage in woodworking, the main local industry. Roanoke, Va., reports women garment workers working ten hours for $1. New York, the women's garment workers' local unions report factories 75 per cent. closed. Gloversville, N. Y., reports glove cutters out of work. Hudson, N. Y., reports that if an American applies for a job there is no work; if a poor foreigner applies, there is work at low wages. Connellsville, Pa.: In a strike of railway clerks the newspapers reported: "All places promptly filled in one day." Kansas City, Mo.: "All vacancies promptly filled." Detroit, Mich.: "Thousands of workers walking the streets." Dayton, O.: "The scarcity of labor cry is another trick of the common enemy to tear down standards." Canton, O.: "Carpenters and painters are taking jobs at common labor." Fitchburg, Mass.: "The only firm advertising is one notoriously opposed to organized labor. A foreman stated that the only reason women were being employed was dollars and cents; that his firm could employ women at $1.50 where they would have to pay men $2.25." Camden, N. J.: "The potters of this city are only working half time." Norwich, Conn.: "Any fair-minded employer will tell you he can get all the help he wants." San Antonio, Tex.: "Absolutely no foundation for the assertion that a shortage of men exists." The foregoing are examples of reports coming from all parts of the country in the letters from the Central Labor Unions.

Letters from State labor bureaus and employment agencies and other authoritative sources fully confirm the statements of the labor organizations. From Ohio comes: "The Ohio employment bureaus raised 20,000 men for building the Chillicothe cantonment; practically all of these men were secured from the State of Ohio and without exception the industries of the State were not at all disturbed. If Ohio can take 20,000 men and center them in one place in the course of a few weeks without dislocating the industries of the state, there is no reason why the Federal Government should not be able to raise 100,000 men in the same time." During the month of September the twenty-two state employment offices in Ohio received 45,796 applications for work from the unemployed, of whom 26,576 were placed, leaving nearly 20,000 on the registry. A Federation organizer reports that at one of the munition plants in New Jersey between 200 and 300 men can be seen any day waiting at the gates to apply for work; one morning 318 were counted. At the office of a Newark evening newspaper, at the time of the issue of the noon edition, 108 men were counted, waiting to be first to answer the "help wanted" advertisements. Several of the reports from organizations declare that companies are by settled policy hiring foreign labor and refuse to take on Americans. From our Building Trades Department in Washington the statement comes that a local contractor and builder who advertised for 600 carpenters, when waited upon by a labor representative said: "We have 100 now and we do not want any more."

The Commissioner of Labor of California and the President of the California State Commission on Housing and Immigration both reported in the summer no lack of labor in California for permanent employment; for the brief periods of seasonal employment some care in distribution was necessary. The editors of labor papers in fifty of the leading cities of the country recently sent in testimony uniformly to the effect that thousands of persons were advertising in those cities every week seeking situations. The Director of the New York State Bureau of Employment says: "There is plenty of labor in this country to do the work there is to be done, and there will be plenty of labor as long as the war lasts, even if it lasts five years." The Public Employment Bureau of Newark, N. J., was recently asked to furnish 1,000 men for skilled and unskilled work at a cantonment. Within forty-eight hours the needed men were gathered and on their way to the work.

Nothing more significant in the abundance of unemployed labor in this country can be had than what is shown in the "labor turn-over" of many of the large firms which strive to obtain and overwork cheap labor. (Labor turn-over is a soft phrase meaning the merciless hiring and firing of workmen). The following testimony has come from the managers of works, from employment agencies, from trade union officials, from published reports of labor inspectors and similar authoritative sources:

Curtiss Aeroplane Company of Hammondsport and Buffalo, N. Y.: A labor turn-over of 30 per cent. a month during several months preceding November 19, 1917. Pierce-Arrow Automobile Company of Buffalo, N. Y.: A labor turn-over from 15 to 22 per cent. a month, for a period covering nine months, previous to this date. The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company of Manchester, N. H., employing from 22,000 to 25,000 help, has a labor turnover averaging over a period of the past five years from 54 to 79 per cent. The G. E. Keith Company of South Boston, Mass.: One of the plants of this corporation, on the testimony of its treasurer, has a labor turn-over of 20 per cent. a month. The Denison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Mass., manufacturers of tags and paper accessories, reports a labor turnover, after several years of very careful efforts to reduce it by employment management, of 46 per cent. a year. The records of a firm reporting from Des Moines, Iowa, show that 14,000 help were employed in one year to maintain a labor force of 3,000. The Fore River Shipbuilding Corporation of Quincy, Mass.: Hired 5,200 men between May 14, 1917, and August 14, 1917, to increase its labor force from 3,600 to approximately 7,000. The Austin Company Building Corporation: Following an efficiency system suggested by the Curtiss Aeroplane Company, for which it is building a plant in Buffalo, it has employed as many as 80 skilled mechanics in a single day to increase its working force 9 men. This practice was kept up over a period of several months. So common in Buffalo was the practice of advertising for the semi-skilled, or unskilled, to come to fill places—presumably available—that skilled mechanics, of which there were an abundance in that city, were forced to find employment two thousand miles away on Government jobs. The Detroit United Railways in nine and one-half months engaged 2,612 men, a labor turn-over of 300 a month, the men usually leaving because of unsatisfactory working conditions. In the same city, at the Ford plant, employing 38,000 men, the labor turn-over is only seven a month.

That which employers and their public spokesmen represent as "shortage of labor" is, when sifted to the truth, almost invariably A SHORTAGE OF OTHER ESSENTIALS in industry. For example, a shortage of materials in the navy yards during the last year has been translated by the press into a shortage of labor. In the new munitions works in the course of construction, or nearly finished, there is frequently a shortage of the machinery necessary to put labor at work. Great new manufacturing establishments have been erected at points to which the transportation of the employes is most difficult or impossible. Uniforms are not finished at the time expected, simply because of a lack of dyes or looms to produce the duck for tentage and leggings.

The lack of HOUSING, and not the lack of unemployed labor, keeps men and women away from the manufactories and farms, which have joined in the shout of the shortage of labor. The following are extracts from testimony taken before the Housing Committee, Committee on Labor, Advisory Commission, Council of National Defense, October 3, 1917:

Owing to the lack of housing, the Remington Arms Company, Bridgeport, Conn.,

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lost two to three hundred men every week and had to send agents out to replace them. A man would come in with his kit, work for two days and leave. Some men would not even open their kit; would sleep in the station over night and leave. To keep a force of 10,000 men the plant had to go through the employment bureaus of 20,000 to 25,000 men. A superintendent of the Sparrows Point plant, Maryland, Bethlehem Steel Company, said that to keep 3,200 men they had to get 12,500 through employment agencies. The Pennsylvania Railroad built temporary shacks in good sanitary condition and brought 16,000 negroes from the South at a cost of $200 each. Two thousand left because they would not live that way. President Gompers told this committee that nearly sixty per cent. of the men in the building trades were out of work. A witness said: "Brick can be gotten. I had a survey east of the Mississippi made and we can get 90,000,000 bricks for from $9 to $14 per thousand. The bricklayers are here." The head of the Industrial Service Department, Emergency Fleet Corporation, testified: "I have just returned from a two days' conference of shipbuilders in Boston. Every time the question of shortage of labor and labor turn-over came up, the argument went around in a circle and always landed on housing conditions. This large turn-over is due to inability of men not only to get decent accommodations, but any accommodations." A representative of the Navy Department employes at Newport, R. I.: "We have been handicapped greatly in production from lack of machinists. We could get plenty to come if we had the proper housing facilities." The Chairman of the Advisory Commission stated: "On January 1st we are told that 5,000 more men will be needed at Bridgeport with absolutely no place for them to live." The chairman of the Sub-Committee on Emergency Construction and Contracts, General Munitions Board, said: "The labor turnover at Hampton Roads is enormous. Steady men stay and they get the housing. The floating element get hired and fired, and there is that exchange all the time. There is a general complaint in all kinds of business about the large turn-over of labor at present."

The president of the Sparrows Point Plant, Bethlehem Steel Company, testified: "Our facilities, our mechanical equipment, are adequate for the employment of double the number of men we have been able to gather and maintain. At present we have a working force of 3,200 to 3,500, but could keep employed to advantage 7,500. The chief handicap to securing and maintaining more men is our location. It is eleven miles by steam car from Baltimore to the plant, twelve by trolley, but because of the frequent stops it takes from thirty-five to forty-five mintues to make the trip, and to this must be added the time for the men to go from their homes to the station or street cars. In this shipyard, with a present working force of about 3,500 men, we had on January 1st, about 2,900. Since that time we have actually engaged and set at work 11,000 men, with only an increase in the permanent force of 300 to 400. We engaged more men than that—actually engaged 18,000—but some never turned up."

The following cases in which the shortage of housing causes the shortage of labor come from a special investigator of the Committee on Labor, Council of National Defense:

"The Lincoln Motor Company wants twenty-five hundred to four thousand operatives. Its machinery is not on hand; it cannot use any operatives at this moment. If fortunate, it may begin taking them on in considerable numbers in a couple of weeks. Two weeks ago I saw acres of floor space with only here and there a machine. The buildings were just finished." "A Rochester firm wants about three thousand workers. The Director of the New York State Employment Bureau on having inquiry made at the company office was informed, 'We want three thousand people.' Being told, 'Give me an order and I will get them quickly,' the answer was, 'We don't want them now but very soon.'" "The Dayton-Wright Aircraft Company, Dayton, Ohio, call for very many people. Two weeks ago their buildings were just completed and their wood-milling room was pretty well manned, but the rest of the factory was just beginning to take on people. A representative of the Hog Island Ship Building plant recently said: 'We want twenty-five thousand men.' A government agent replied: 'I'll get them for you right away.' (Answer.) 'We don't want them now, but soon. We want only one hundred immediately.'"

While it is true that the poorest classes of foreign-born wage-workers, mostly those arriving in the two or three years previous to 1914, avoid the murderous conditions of work which their extreme poverty at first obliged them to accept, the proportion of them still constantly unemployed or partly employed is large. Investigation in American cities, some twenty in all, from Boston, Mass., to Kansas City, Mo., disclose the fact that the Greek restaurant keepers, pool room operators, boot black managers and fruit hucksters, find no difficulty in keeping their working forces, even at long hours and comparatively low wages, or to get such labor as they need, in the face of the declaration of great labor shortage in these cities. Officials of the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers assert that from their union thousands of men, usually Italians, can be offered to contractors at the present time providing that the conditions of labor are fit for human beings. Officials of the needle trades say that from their Hebrew ranks they can place in light war supply works without difficulty one hundred thousand men and women accustomed to skillfully operating sewing machines. The investigations carried on in the steel industry, oil industry, and in the mining and ore handling occupations disclose the fact that up until quite recently large gangs of unskilled immigrant laborers were used at great risk to life and limb, and danger to communities and consequent increased expenses to the taxpayers, because of increased compensation demand and hospital and other expenses, where the introduction of machinery—which is now being used—would have easily replaced, as it now has, these laborers, and if skilled mechanics would have been put

in charge, as they now have, of this machinery.

The EXAGGERATION of the numbers wanted or the INDEFINITENESS as to the time when wanted, as well as REPETITIONS in advertising, especially in Government work, add confusion in the problem of labor supply. Examples:

The New York State Industrial Commission, Bureau of Employment, November 1, 1917, says: "The New York City newspapers published (apparently under the authority of the United States Shipping Board) the fact that the Port Newark Terminal shipyards were ready to employ 12,000 workers. A specific offer of the State Employment Bureau to furnish a number of men resulted in the discovery that the Port Newark Terminal yards did not need men; that they were daily turning away a great many, and had on their registration lists the names of several thousand available workers. These unwarranted publications cause great loss of time and also the opportunity on the workers' part to secure actual positions. Further, they create a great deal of unrest, causing workers to quit their positions because they believe that the scarcity of labor will give them an opportunity to secure a position at a high wage. A great loss of man power takes place while this hunt is going on, and thus the apparent scarcity is augmented." The United States Civil Service Commission authorized a statement in the "Official Bulletin," October 31st, that 10,000 typewriters and stenographers and typewriters, both men and women, were needed in the departments at Washington, salaries ranging from $1,000 to $1,200 a year. This announcement was followed in a few days by an appeal from the Chairman of the Women's Committee, Council of National Defense, to young women of the country to qualify themselves as rapidly as possible for stenographic and typewriting work. No time was given in these announcements as to when the 10,000 young persons were needed. As a fact, they are not needed at once, and when any particular number is to be engaged has not been made public. Moreover, the housing situation in Washington is such that no young woman should go to the city unless a shelter is secured for her beforehand, and the Government thus far has not completed any means for the accommodation of persons joining its clerical staffs. The morning papers at this writing reiterate the same story, coming from the New York Civil Service Commission, which calls for 5,000 typists and shorthand clerks for Washington, the dispatch serving no purpose but to exploit the shortage which has been assumed by so great a part of the press. In the Navy Department, by arrangement with the trade unions concerned, there was opened up in connection with the war needs a list of trained wage-workers who had expressed a willingness to enter Government service, although in many cases already in regular employment, yet the men on this list witnessed branches of the department going on in the usual perfunctory manner advertising for help, through a period extending over months, leaving the men offering their services uncertain as to who were wanted to fill jobs or whether there really were jobs ready to be filled. The Secretary-Treasurer of the National Federation of Postal Employes reports: "Our postal administrators have seemingly proceeded on the theory that there was an unlimited supply of labor anxious to step in and fill up the gaps left by those who quit in disgust. There need be no cry of "labor shortage" in the postal service if those in control of it would join with the organized employes and make the entrance conditions more attractive, promotions more certain, the maximum wage substantially higher (it is the same now as ten years ago) and offer something other than the scrap heap when old age incapacitates the workers."

The general situation relative to FARM LABOR is not of sufficient departure from the normal to cause any loud complaint. On this point, the President of the Commission of Immigration and Housing of California writes: "For months now we have had to listen to all kinds of general statements alleging farm labor shortage in this State. Not one of these statements has been supported by what even gave it the appearance of being evidence in fact." From the city employment bureau of Portland, Ore., is this statement: "We can positively state that at no time this year have we been unable to fill any position offered where the wages and working conditions were at all reasonable. There is no labor shortage." The Commissioner of Labor of New Jersey made the public declaration on November 4th: "The Department is prepared to furnish workers for the farmers in any county in the state. Farmers can get all the men they can use. We are receiving applications for work at the rate of 300 to 400 a day. The farmers must be prepared to pay for transportation, for adequate housing and the wages which the men are demanding." From North Yakima comes: "There was an over-supply of labor in hop picking time; people were enticed by false promises." From several points in Utah and adjacent states organizers report that for the sugar beet crop Japanese and Mexicans have this year supplanted the whites. From Albion, N. Y.: "Canners and farmers have had no trouble in getting all the help they wanted this season." Oklahoma reports upon the abundance of unskilled labor. The Department of Labor at Washington has stated, with respect to the gathering of the wheat crop: "Replies have been received from practically all of the States and indicate that the harvest help situation has been carefully and efficiently handled. No reports whatever have been received of failure to gather the cereal crops in any part of the country." In a letter, October 6th, the Secretary of Agriculture writes: "The Department is greatly extending its facilities for dealing with the farm labor problem, and a conference of the farm help specialists of the Department, who have been assigned to the various states, will be held in the near future, primarily to discuss plans for the next season." The Assistant Secretary of Labor states: "Seasonal agricultural work can be met to a large extent from efforts being put forth by the Boys' Working Reserve, which is being used by the Department to secure the services of boys from sixteen years of age up."

The year's farm work, consisting as it

does of two rush seasons and two dead seasons, presents a permanent problem all over the country, which until recently the indivdual farmer had been left to work out for himself. Therefore, his cry for labor customarily becomes acute at least twice a year.

The SNAPSHOT STATISTICIAN is responsible to a considerable degree for the assumption of the country's shortage of labor. His argument is: "For three years there has been an annual net shortage of a half-million immigrant workers. A million men have entered the army; enormous demands are being made by the Government and its contractors for workers in the war supplies and shipbuilding plants." But this argument by figures must give way to the plain evidence of another set of figures. It fails to take proper account of the falling off of employment in many occupations, especially the building trades, the clothing trades and in transportation, but what is more important it fails to take account of the statistics of population for the country as a whole. Every year nearly two million young Americans arrive at the age of 15; between the ages of 15 and 20 there are eight million young Americans capable of going to work. By estimates of the Department of Labor at least two million men were at times out of work in the United States. The Director of the New York State Bureau of Employment says that, even if the country drafts three million men, it will not exhaust the labor supply; that the absurdity that the draft has made deep inroads on the labor of the country is seen in the fact that whereas New York has three million laboring men the war has not taken more than 100,000 of them; the draft has taken only about 60,000 from all walks of life in the Empire State.

What has occurred in this country relative to labor supply has been the development of a slight opportunity for a laborer to choose the conditions in which he will take employment and the shifting of the common labor supply from economic slaves to relatively free men.

The immigrant of five years ago, or even three years ago, is well on the way to being Americanized. The new laborer, through the growth of population, is American. All of this labor now refuses to perform the most repugnant work under the worst imaginable conditions, such as was undertaken by the penniless immigrant and which so heavily contributed in bringing to American industry 35,000 to 40,000 deaths by accident and more than two hundred thousand serious injuries annually. No longer will the foreign-born workers consent to live in unhealthy industrial villages where there are no civilized conditions—no churches, no sewerage, no prospects of homes, only partial employment and the wages of slavery. Young Americans refuse to do the hot, dirty, coarse and dangerous work which formerly was left to the helpless and ignorant outlander. Among all this great class of labor, the teachings of trade-unionism are spreading, and the employing class is awake to the fact. The least scrupulous among them are promoting the cry of a scarcity of labor for the purpose of breaking down the trade unions, of extending the women's workday to hours beyond the strength of women and of bringing into the ranks of the wage workers children of tender years. "My experience," writes the manager of one of the largest public employment systems in America, "has taught me that the average large employer of labor figures that in order that wages may be maintained to the point of his satisfaction, there should be two workers for every job." This kind of manager is today manifesting his dissatisfaction of a better state of things for the laborer by an attempt, skillfully conducted through the press and otherwise, to deceive the entire country with respect to the supply of labor.

With regard to particular calls for certain minor or strictly war-time classifications of labor, no intelligent observer in the ranks of labor will assert that there is in every case an immediate and full supply. Of course, there is somewhat of a shortage of tool and die makers; of course, there are not endless regiments of stenographers at Washington headquarters; of course, there are not thousands of women ready to walk into a factory to make time fuses for Russian shells; of course, there are not within easy reaching distance the men fully instructed to act as foremen and workmen in aeroplane establishments; of course, shipbuilding at certain points needs more perfectly qualified men. And equally, of course, the employers who are calling for Mexican, Japanese, Hindoo and Chinese labor are disappointed in not having their million of immigrants from southeastern Europe in the year 1917. But for all the kinds of labor to be performed in war needs, there are today seeking employment somewhere in this country tens of thousands of men of the building and other skilled trades whose training for the ordinary tasks of shipbuilding or new machinery would be only a matter of a few weeks or even of a few days.

These are the outstanding facts of the case as collected and viewed from the standpoint of American organized labor. Where else has any person or any institution, public or private, gone to the trouble to get at the facts broadly? Who else has attempted to sum them up; to consider the question as a whole, in a word, to get at the truth? The problem of labor supply and the conditions of American employment is the very first question of the day in importance after, if indeed it does not precede, that of our military organization. It is one of the urgent patriotic duties of every citizen of the country to understand this problem, to work it out patiently in his mind, and reach in regard to it a clear, just and honest conclusion.

The American Federation of Labor may therefore justifiably sound a note of warning to the employers of this country, calling upon them not to arouse too deeply the resentment of the laboring classes by the promotion of an untruth which may affect the nation detrimentally for years to come. Here is a call to duty. The truth in this case constitutes in itself a call on every man in influential position to examine his conscience and to act accordingly. The truth here calls on all the officials of the Government not to countenance misstatements of selfish employers meant to swell the cry of a scarcity of

labor which does not eist. The truth calls loudly to newspaper managers not to speak on the subject without well grounded information; it calls on fair-minded employers not to join wealth-seeking conspirators in misleading public opinion. It calls on every agent of publicity, on every man cherishing his rectitude as a citizen, on every employe, whether organized or unorganized, to perform the duty of helping to consolidate the country as a whole in the presence of a world's disaster which menaces the democratic principles of our Republic. The hope of a future society founded upon economic justice and the essential equality of man lies in the success of democracy in this war.

JOHN L. LEWIS,
JOHN F. TOBIN,
J. E. McCLORY,
MARGARET DALEY,
CHARLES FRY,
BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
JOHN J. McDEVITT.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate John Tobin asked unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution. Objection was interposed after several delegates, including Delegates Furuseth and Lewis, had discussed the matter informally, and the resolution was not introduced.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES.

Delegate Griggs continued the report of the Committee on Building Trades.

Slate and Tile Roofers—Carpenters.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (page 126), your committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council. In conjunction with this report the committee also took into consideration Resolution No. 156:

Resolution No. 156—By Delegate J. M. Gavlak of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America:

WHEREAS, By the direction of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor (San Francisco, Cal.,) a conference was ordered of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, in compliance with Resolutions Nos. 84 and 85 of said convention, the conference was held, thereby a satisfactory agreement between the two International Unions drawn on March 6, 1916, and approved by the Executive Boards of the two organizations; and

WHEREAS, This agreement was submitted to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and approved by the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Baltimore, Md., and thereafter the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners' Executive Board cancelled said agreement to take place on April 1, 1917, which cancellation was protested by the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; and

WHEREAS, The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, wishing to set claims to the application of Asbestos and Asphalt Slate Shinglers to roofs of buildings, thereby transgressing on the jurisdiction claims of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be instructed by this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention to refrain from infringing on the jurisdiction claims of the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Mutual Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners be directed by this convention to live up to the agreement drawn on March 6, 1916, between their brotherhood and the International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America.

Resolution No. 156 was withdrawn owing to the subject matter contained in the Executive Council's report being referred to the Building Trades Department.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegate J. M. Conley of the Iowa State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The National Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor was organized for the purpose of settling jurisdictional claims and for the purpose of enforcing the same; and

WHEREAS, Said National Building Trades Department never enforced their laws only on the small crafts, thereby favoring large per capita tax organizations; and

WHEREAS, The Department has failed to accomplish the purpose that it was organized for; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That unless the said National Building Trades Department enforces its laws on all crafts alike, that the same be abolished.

The introducer of the resolution appeared before the committee and failed to substantiate any of the statements contained in the resolution, therefore your committee recommends non-concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Carpenters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above cap-

tion, (pp. 127-128), we report as follows: Inasmuch as this contention has been satisfactorily adjusted through the efforts of the Executive Council and ratified by the convention, your committee took no further action on the matter.

The report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

Carpenters—Sheet Metal Workers.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council, under the above caption (p. 127)), your committee would recommend that the presidents of the two contending organizations meet at an early date, with the purpose in view of arriving at an amicable adjustment of their differences. Failing to reach a settlement we recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor and the President of the Building Trades Department meet in conference with the Presidents of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers and use their good offices in assisting the presidents of the two contending organizations to come to a final adjustment of this long drawn-out controversy.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Griggs: This completes the report of the Committee on Building Trades, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JOHN DONLIN,
P. J. GUERIN,
CHARLES M. RAU
JOHN J. HYNES,
J. T. HURLEY,
D. D'ALESSANDRO,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
WM. J. McSORLEY,
J. M. GAVLAK,
THOS. J. WILLIAMS,
SAM GRIGGS,
F. J. McNULTY,
JOSEPH D. WILL,
THOS. R. PREECE,
FRANK FEENEY,
Committee on Building Trades.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS.

Delegate Felder, for the committee, submitted the following report:

We recommend the adoption of Resolution No. 13 by striking out the word "advertise" and substituting the word "notify" in the resolve, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate B. E. Moore of the Egg Inspectors' Union No. 8705, Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, A controversy has existed between the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company and the Egg Inspectors' Union of Chicago for some time because of the insistence of this company in employing unorganized help in their egg department in the City of Chicago, employing mostly girls at a standard of wages far below the union scale and decent living conditions, and inasmuch as the United States Government through the National Council of Defense has declared that no discrimination in wages shall be between women and men employed in the same industries; and

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been made by committees composed of officials of the Egg Inspectors and the Chicago Federation of Labor to bring about an amicable adjustment of the existing difficulties; and

WHEREAS, Chicago officials of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company assumed a very hostile attitude toward our committees and declared themselves indifferent toward any action taken by organized labor, inasmuch as they were satisfied that union men and their wives would continue to purchase their goods on account of so-called attractive prices in preference to others, thereby intimating that most union men were traitors to the cause; and

WHEREAS, This great corporation operates in a great many cities in the United States and a large percentage of their trade is derived from working people throughout the country,; and

WHEREAS, This company was placed on the unfair list by the Chicago Federation of Labor, at their meeting held on August 5, 1917, also by the Illinois State Federation of Labor on October 18, 1917, on account of the attitude of the officials of this company; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instructs the Executive Council or proper officials to make another effort to reach an agreement with the directors of this company at their headquarters in Newark, N. J., and if a settlement cannot be effected within sixty days the Executive Council be authorized to notify all affiliated unions and other workers throughout the United States and Canada of this company's attitude.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 30—By Delegate R. G. Fitchie of the Illinois State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, A resolution introduced by Metal Polishers' Local No. 111 at the Thirty-fourth Annual Convention of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, held at Quincy, October 16-20, 1916, provided for the adjustment of differences of the metal polishers and stove mounters of Quincy and the Excelsior Stove and Range Company, also of Quincy, makers of the National stoves and ranges, which was referred to a sub-committee of the Committee on Organization; and

WHEREAS, After repeated attempts to secure a conference with J. J. Fisher, the president of the above named firm, had failed, and after a promise of Mr. Ohnemus, the manager of the firm, on the last day of the convention that he would arrange a conference as soon as Mr. Fisher returned, no definite action was taken by the convention, and further attempts after adjournment of the convention resulted in failure to secure a conference of any kind, with the result that this firm still continues to discriminate against union polishers and mounters; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Excelsior Stove and Range Company of Quincy, Ill., makers of the National stoves and ranges, be placed on the unfair list of this Federation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention brings to the attention of that body the unfair attitude of the Excelsior Stove and Range Company.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for whatever action it deems best.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate Patrick E. Lyons of the National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States:

WHEREAS, The National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States is striving to improve the conditions in the wall paper industry and build up its organization; and

WHEREAS, Through a general strike of the wall paper trades in 1912, caused by a refusal of the wall paper manufacturers to grant a reduction in the hours of labor, the following firms, the Vornhold Wall Paper Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; the Wallace Wall Paper Co. of Cortland, N. Y.; the Premier Wall Paper Co. of Philadelphia, Pa.; the Star Peerless Wall Paper Co. of Joliet, Ill.; the Joliet Wall Paper Co. of Joliet, Ill.; the Prager Co. of Brooklyn, controlling owners of the Jacob Thomas Co. of Newark, Del., and the E. C. Baeck Corporation of Brooklyn, N. Y., who were and are foremost in antagonizing our efforts and who persistently refuse to employ union labor, have been declared as unfair to organized labor by the Machine Printers and Color Mixers' Association in convention assembled, and are at present operating under conditions which are a decided menace to the welfare of our association; and

WHEREAS, Every opportunity offered to those firms to sign our agreements has been refused absolutely by them; and

WHEREAS, The members of all organized bodies are interested directly or indirectly in the use of wall paper in the decoration of their homes, whether as owner or tenant; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorses the action taken and pledges its moral support to the National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers of the United States in its efforts to organize these mills.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate E. Lewis Evans of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, During the past fifteen years the Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company and the Burley Society Tobacco Company (successors to the Strater Brothers Tobacco Company) have been employing union men and women, and their products bearing the union label, have through concerted action, on August 28th, 1917, declared for a non-union shop, with the understanding that a 40 per cent. reduction in wages would take effect immediately, notwithstanding the high cost of living; and

WHEREAS, After repeated conferences with committees of the local union, these firms issued the ultimatum that the reduction would take place August 28th, 1917, and their severance with the Tobacco Workers' International Union, thereby locking out all their employes and members of the Tobacco Workers' International Union and supplanting them with cheap labor from Nashville, Tenn.; and

WHEREAS, The twist tobacco on which they demanded a reduction of 40 per cent., formerly sold for five cents, has now been increased to ten cents to the consumer, showing conclusively that the consuming public will have to pay more profits notwithstanding the reduction of wages. In conference, they refused even arbitration, declaring for the non-union shop; and

WHEREAS, The Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company's principal brands of twist are: Allen County, Shepherd, Safety First and Railroad; and

WHEREAS, The Burley Society plug brands are: Kismet, Index, On the Square and Day's Work, Twist, Natural Leaf. The principal brand of smoking, put up in cans, is known as "City Club"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November 12th, 1917, declare the products of the Ryan-Hampton Tobacco Company and the Burley Tobacco Company, of Louisville, Ky., are non-union, and that we will use our best effort with our International Unions, State Federations of Labor and Central Bodies, to discourage the sale and consumption of the products of these aforesaid firms, proving that organized labor is unitedly opposed to wage reductions or the imposition of non-union conditions, more especially at this time when the spirit of co-operation and patriotism for the country's good should prevail.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to take whatever action it deems necessary in regard thereto.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary and H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, In the spirit of fairness, a strict adherence to the fundamental principles of keeping the mills, mines and factories of our country in the fullest output, and in the language of our beloved President, who so forcibly proclaimed in his address to the convention as follows: "To stand together means that nobody must interrupt the progress of our energy"; and

WHEREAS, Thomas A. Edison did on the 21st day of February, 1917, discharge from his plants in Orange, N. J., one hundred and eight union men, members of the Metal Polishers' International Union, for no other reason than the fact that they refused to work on Washington's Birthday; and

WHEREAS, Our International and Local Union have done everything within their power to bring about an honorable adjustment of the differences existing between our organization, the members thereof, and the Thomas A. Edison Phonograph Company, even to the extent of soliciting and securing the co-operation of the Department of Labor in a conciliatory spirit, and in compliance with the spirit of the time, to which Mr. Edison, the supposed great American patriot, has turned a deaf ear; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, declare that the action on the part of the Edison Company is not in keeping with the principles enunciated by the Chief Executive of our great nation, and that this convention in conformity with the recommendations and the advice given us by our President, namely, to "get together" and settle all such troubles, be the desire of this Federation with the Edison Company and the Metal Polishers; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That failure on the part of the Edison Company to comply with the request of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, in carrying out the policies of the President of the United States, that we declare the actions of the said Edison Company as being both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor and the spirit of co-operation.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the above resolution.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates W. W. Britton, George Leary and H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Franz Premier Company of Cleveland, Ohio, manufacturers of the Franz Premier vacuum cleaners, locked out all the union metal polishers, buffers and platers in their employ because they were members of said union, and have for several months past waged a fight against the members of said union, and have persistently refused to meet either local or international representatives of said organization for the purpose of discussing terms of settlement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the actions of the Franz Premier Company be considered both antagonistic and unfair to organized labor.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the above resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Chairman Lennon stated that under the laws of the American Federation of Labor the resolution should first be referred to the Executive Council to give them an opportunity to reach an adjustment.

On motion it was decided to refer the resolution to the Executive Council.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Charles Baird, Central Trades and Labor Union, St. Louis:

WHEREAS, The Pullman Company are operators of railway sleeping cars which are largely patronized by the representatives of organized labor when they are traveling about the country; and

WHEREAS, The said Pullman Company has let a contract to the Arnold Company, general contractors, for the erection of a plant on Bircher street and the Belt Line Railroad tracks, in the city of St. Louis, Mo., which plant is being erected with non-union labor; and

WHEREAS, Repeated attempts have been made by committees from this Building Trades Council to have the representatives of the Arnold Company meet with them to discuss the possibility of having union men employed in the erection of said plant without avail; and

WHEREAS, Communications sent from this council to the Pullman Company for the purpose of having them direct the general contractors, the Arnold Company, to employ union men to erect the plant, have been unanswered; and

WHEREAS, Communications sent to the Arnold Company at the plant have been unanswered, and conveyed to this Building Trades Council the advice that the Arnold Company was capable of managing its own affairs in a satisfactory manner; and

WHEREAS, The Arnold Company, general contractors, continue to employ non-union labor on the erection of the plant, notwithstanding the many protests from this council against same; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Arnold Company, general contractors, be placed on the "We Don't Patronize List" of this council, there to remain until such time as they see fit to agree to employ union men, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to complete whatever work they have under contract, or sub-contract, in any part of the United States or Canada; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Pullman Company, operators of railway sleeping cars, be placed on the "We Don't Patronize List" of this council, there to remain until such time as they agree to insert a clause in their contracts to the effect that all work under said contracts must be done by regu-

larly recognized union labor, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and also to direct that the plant at Bircher street and the Belt Line Railroad tracks in the City of St. Louis, Mo., be completed with recognized union labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Building Trades Council respectfully request the Central Trades and Labor Union of the City of St. Louis, Mo., to take similar action at its meeting on Sunday, October 28, 1917; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Building Trades Council respectfully request the Building Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor to take similar action at their conventions to be held in the City of Buffalo, N. Y., in November, 1917, and then and there request all representatives of organized labor to refrain from patronizing the Pullman Company until such time as that company agrees to specify and insist that union labor shall complete whatever building or alteration work that is in operation at the present time, and for which they may contract to have done in the future.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to be taken up with the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. and all other affiliated unions interested.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate W. J. Kelly of the Iron City Central Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America has been forced into a severe contest with the organized bread trust of our country, known as the General Baking Company, with numerous plants in different parts of our country; and

WHEREAS, The above named concern has declared for the open shop, which means closed to trade unionists of our country, especially the members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The members of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America vigorously, manfully and in a straightforward American trade-union way stand opposed to the open-shop policy of this gigantic pool system; and

WHEREAS, As the situation presents itself we picture it with serious alarm and apprehension, for we recognize in it an insidious attack upon the principles of organized labor and the placing of our organization at stake; and

WHEREAS, The Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union, through its international officers, committees from State and Central Bodies, did try to settle this unpleasant controversy, but were unsuccessful in bringing about a mutual understanding; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, in session at Buffalo, N. Y., of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its President to arrange for a conference not later than sixty days after the convention between the aforesaid concern, the President of the American Federation of Labor or such representative as he may designate, and the officers of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union; and, be it further

RESOLVED, In the event that they are unsuccessful in bringing about a settlement, that then the products of the General Baking Company, known as Butternut, Butter-Krust, Pan-Dandy, Mothers and Bond brands of bread be placed on the unfair list of organized labor through the length and breadth of our country

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The American Band Instrument Manufacturers' Association, composed of the following firms: C. G. Conn, Ltd., Elkhart, Ind.; Buescher Band Ins. Co., Elkhart, Ind.; Martin Band Ins. Co., Elkhart, Ind.; Elkhart Musical Ins. Co., Elkhart, Ind.; Emil K. Blessing Co., Elkhart, Ind.; Frank Holton & Co., Chicago, Ill.; Taylor & Horn Co., Chicago, Ill.; Frank B. Jay Co., Chicago, Ill.; J. W. York & Sons, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Grand Rapids Musical Ins. Co., Grand Rapids, Mich.; H. M. White Co., Cleveland, Ohio, have been fighting organized labor for two years past and were at the time of the Thirty-sixth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. in the midst of a bitter fight with the Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, Brass and Silver Workers' International Union, which union, with the valuable assistance rendered them by the American Federation of Musicians, was on the verge of victory in its fight to maintain union conditions in these plants, but the causes that forced this country's entry into the European conflict made necessary the placing of large orders for supplies in order to carry on the war successfully. Among those were large orders for band instruments, the greater part of which were contracted for with these unfair concerns, and thereby placing these manufacturers in position to continue their fight against organized labor indefinitely; and

WHEREAS, Present conditions in the band and musical instrument industry are such that we feel assured that all musical instruments needed in the future by this government can be secured from firms other than those herein mentioned; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be requested to use their influence with the proper parties connected with the United States Government to the end that all contracts in the future for musical or band instruments will be placed with firms that are not antagonistic to organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be requested to use their best endeavors to bring about an adjustment of

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the trouble now existing between the Metal Polishers' International Union and the concerns herein mentioned.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for the purpose of bringing about an adjustment.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

On Resolution No. 155 your committee recommends the changing of the reading of the second Whereas, the amended resolution to read as follows:

Resolution No. 155—By Lancaster (Pa.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Central Labor Union of Lancaster, Pa., has taken up the fight of the cigarmakers against the firm of Otto Eisenlohr & Bros., Inc., who locked their employes out without a moment's consideration; and

WHEREAS, This is the biggest fight of the organized and unorganized cigarmakers in years against this firm, and further, Otto Eisenlohr & Bros., Inc., have nineteen (19) factories in nineteen (19) different towns in the state of Pennsylvania and employ 5,000 cigarmakers; and

WHEREAS, This is a corporation capitalized at nine million dollars ($9,000,000); therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, in accordance with the foregoing resolution, do, and will hereby pledge our moral support to the Central Labor Union of Lancaster, Pa., to bring this firm to terms with their employes; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend to all our affiliated unions to appoint a committee to visit the retailers in their respective localities to induce them to discontinue handling or selling the product of this firm, brand name, "Cico Cigar."

Endorsed by Central Labor Union, Lancaster, Pa.; Cigarmakers' International Union of America; Blue Label League of Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor; American Federation of Labor and the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.

Your committee further recommends that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted, after the introducer of the resolution had spoken briefly on the subject.

Delegate Feider: This concludes the report of the Committee on Boycotts, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

W. D. MAHON,
JAS. J. FREEL, Acting Chairman.
WM. H. JOHNSTON,
W. W. BRITTON,
W. L. FUNDER BURK,
WM. DOREY,
JOHN W. CLIFTON,
J. L. JOHNSON,
JOHN W. CLIFTON,
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,
MAX ZARITSKY,
P. HARRY JENNINGS,
W. J. HEVEY,
FRANK L. RIST,
C. M. FEIDER, Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

Delegate Woll, for the committee, submitted the following:

International Labor Relations.

Your committee having under consideration subjects referred to it, begs leave to report under the caption, "International Labor Relations," (pp. 59-62) of the Executive Council's Report:

We hold and declare that no movement can properly function, regardless of whether it be economic, social or political, in the absence of free speech, free press and the constitutional rights of the people to exercise self-government.

After all, democracy is the first essential in the lives of the peoples of all nations. No movement of any nature can properly function without freedom of action and self-government, which are inseparably associated with democracy. The trade union movement, first in importance in the economic field, is necessarily dependent on democracy in the organic form of governments. There was no real trade union movement in Russia, nor can there be in any other country that is burdened with autocracy. Upon these fundamentals rest the successful achievements of human rights, freedom and liberty, economic, social and political justice.

Under this caption, several subjects interesting and of vital importance to our movement and to our country are set forth wth accuracy and clearness, and are worthy of the fullest perusal and keenest thought. We urge all delegates and all others to carefully read all that is said on this subject. It particularly refers to the change in Russia from despotism to opportunity for freedom; the declaration of basic principles and policies of the provisional government of Russia and the appointment of a commission by President Wilson to visit Russia on a diplomatic mis-

sion on behalf of the Government of the United States.

We note with keen interest the appointment of James Duncan, First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor and President of the Granite Cutters' Interantional Association of America, upon this important commission. We appreciate the action of President Wilson and felicitate the American people upon the wisdom of his selection. Upon this important mission full recognition was given to the trade uinon movement, to the workers—the masses—and it required one who possessed an intimate basic knowledge of the rise and development of the labor movement of our country, its achievements, its hopes and its aspirations, all of which are possessed to a remarkable degree by our esteemed fellow trade-unionist, Brother Duncan. We moreover congratulate Brother Duncan upon his selection and for the eminently successful manner in which he discharged the obligations resting upon him.

We declare that had there been a trade union movement in Russia it would have had a stabilizing force and a far-reahing beneficent effect in the crisis now resting so heavily upon the Russian people. The Russian people have lived for centuries in one of the most brutalized autocracies that has ever disgraced the pages of history; they were denied the right of self-government, the right to congregate for any economic or political purposes, the right to attain an education, and because of these limitations there existed a lack of experience that would have been of priceless value now in stabilizing and maintaining their new-found freedom.

The trade union movement, had it existed in Russia, would have developed discipline and a central power not of an autocratic nature, but a power rather to execute and carry into effect the democratically expressed will of the majority of the people.

We note with the greatest satisfaction the cable messages of fraternity and good will sent to the people and the provisional government of the new Russian democracy by President Gompers and by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Upon the question of conferences held and proposed by the International Federation of Trade Unions and other associations, we shall have more to say under a separate caption. Suffice it at present to say we concur and recommend for endorsement the action of our officers and the Executive Council in connection with these important conferences.

The convention unanimously adopted the report of the committee.

Peace Terms.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 62), your committee reports as follows:

There can be no true co-operation from an interantional standpoint except where the elected and responsible representatives of the workers participate under an agreement which recognizes and safeguards the rights of each nation to fix and declare its own destiny, and yet broad enough, big enough and intelligent enough to submerge selfishness and non-essentials to the common good of the workers of all nations.

Peace terms should presage a condition tending to a lasting peace grounded upon conditions that are just, fair and honorable to the peoples of all countries.

We agree with the Executive Council that "The government should be only an instrumentality of the people instead of dominating and actuating their lives," and further, that "This terrific war must wipe out all vestiges of the old concept that the nation belongs to the ruler or government," and moreover, "There is no element in all nations more concerned in the achievements of conditions making for permanent peace between nations than the working people, who constitute the majority of every nation. The future must be constructed upon broader lines than the past. We insist, therefore, that the Government of the United States provide adequate and direct representatives of wage-earners among the plenipotentiaries sent to the Peace Congress, and urge upon the labor movements of other countries to take like action."

The Executive Council offers the following declaration as a basis upon which peace should be negotiated:

1. The combination of the free peoples of the world in a common covenant for genuine and practical co-operation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

2. Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed.

3. No political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.

4. No indemnities or reprisals based upon vindictive purposes or deliberate desire to injure, but to right manifest wrongs.

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5. Recognition of the rights of small nations and of the principle, "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live."

6. No territorial changes or adjustment of power except in furtherance of the welfare of the peoples affected and in furtherance of world peace.

In addition to these basic principles, which are based upon declarations of our President of these United States, there should be incorporated in the treaty that shall constitute the guide of nations in the new period and conditions into which we enter at the close of the war the following declarations, fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage-earners:

1. No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 have been employed or permitted to work.

2. It shall be declared that the basic workday in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours.

3. Involuntary servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

4. Establishment of trial by jury.

Your committee concurs in the foregoing with a clear understanding that it is submitted as a basis upon which peace terms may be negotiated.

In addition to the peace terms which the Executive Council recommended in its report, the following proposal should be incorporated: The governments of the various nations shall exchange labor representatives, according to them the same authority and honor that is given to any other diplomat. Governments have long been accustomed to exchange commercial, industrial and financial representatives, and we submit that this concept ought to be widened to include not only the above-named interests but also those who furnish the human labor energies essential to co-ordination for production.

One of the paramount facts which clearly stands out, above all others, in this unprecedented world war is that labor is a basic force in producing the materials of civilization and is co-equal with all other essential elements in national life.

It is not only fitting that labor should be given this merited recognition, but no other single policy would contribute more effectually to the democratization of relations between nations, thereby strengthening forces and conditions that make for permanent peace based upon essential human justice.

If a labor conference is held prior to the war's close or prior to a time in which the belligerent nations are to participate in a peace conference, labor would be forced to declare specific terms presaging the conditions upon which peace should rest; this implies an inadvisable attitude not only for labor but, moreover, for our country as well. Neither American labor nor the American Government should now state the final binding terms of peace. Both, however, can be instrumental and exercise a potential force at the proper and opportune time.

This is a world war in which seventeen nations are allied against the central powers. Our government did not start this war. We should not, in the light of present events, call a peace conference or arbitrarily name inflexible peace terms. Such a responsibility rests upon our government and is a prerogative and responsibility it should first assume and exercise.

We concur in the action of the Executive Council in refusing to be led into a premature peace conference, whether emanating from Germany or originating with her sympathizers here or elsewhere, and congratulate it upon its sagacious judgment in refusing to participate or becoming involved in any schemes of this character.

Conditions are changing from day to day and that which appeals to our judgment today as proper fundamental peace terms may be changed over night.

Genuine democracy, the great issue now in war, had no lodgment in the minds and hearts of those who started this war; neither was it an appreciable issue until made so by our entrance into the war. Other sound principles may develop, which we should like later to make one of the basic principles upon which peace should be declared.

When a peace conference is held it should be at a time and place when and where the workers of the vanquished as well as those of the triumphant countries may participate upon an equality, in order that the best interests of labor and of the trade union movement may be fully promoted.

When victory is achieved none will be quicker to extend the fraternal hand of

trade union fellowship to the organized workers in all countries now at war, or will do so more heartily than will the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with this subject we call special attention to the November issue of the American Federationist, which contains much interesting and instructive correspondence.

The San Francisco convention of the American Federation of Labor in adopting a part of the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations, instructed the Executive Council to call a labor peace conference of all nations at the time and place the peace conference is held by the belligerent nations, and authorized the Executive Council to send two delegates, one of whom should be the President of the American Federation of Labor. This action was reaffirmed at the Baltimore convention in 1916.

Your committee recommends that that action be again reaffirmed with the addition that at least five delegates, one of whom shall be the President of the American Federation of Labor, be selected to participate in this conference.

On motion, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 152—By Delegates J. P. Burke of Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers; M. Kaufman and P. Silberstein of Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada; A. Eberly, Warren, Pa., Central Labor Union, and I. Buchbinder of Neckwear Makers' Union No. 11016:

WHEREAS, A conference of international labor for the purpose of discussing international relations and terms of peace must sooner or later be held; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled expresses its willingness to be represented at such a conference whenever called.

The committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution. The subject matter has been acted on by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

British Trades Union Congress.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 62), your committee reports as follows:

The trade union movement is to be congratulated on the fact that an exchange of fraternal greetings and delegates has been continued, insofar as America and Great Britain are concerned, during the present world's war.

We concur in the substitution of the name of James Lord, a member of the United Mine Workers of America, as a fraternal delegate in the place of the elected delegate, Frank Farrington, of the same organization.

The exchange of ideas, ideals, information and acquired experience cannot be other than helpful in the development and extension of trade union activities the world over.

We heartily congratulate Delegates Golden and Lord upon their safe journey, their stay in England and return home, a trip made under perilous conditions.

The convention adopted the report of the committee by unanimous vote.

Pan-American Relations.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 63) your committee reports as follows:

We note with extreme interest all that is said by the Executive Council under this caption, and that the representatives of the organized workers of Porto Rico, Yucatan, Mexico, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Peru, Argentine, St. Kitts Island, British West Indies, Chili, United States of Columbia, Uruguay and Panama have expressed their approval of the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

We urge that the Executive Council give its earnest attention to and endeavors to organize a Pan-American Federation of Labor and to encourage the development of a well-disciplined cohesive trade union movement in our sister republics of the south. The best interests of the workers of these republics as well as our own and of all countries can be best safeguarded by trade unions and trade union activities.

Much interesting information concerning the activity of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and their helpfulness to the workers of the southern republics can be found in the November issue of the American Federationist.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue to give what assistance and counsel it can for the development of the trade union movement in all Pan-American countries.

The convention unanimously adopted the report of the committee.

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Japanese Labor Movement.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 65), your committee reports as follows:

Under this caption you will find much interesting, useful and instructive information concerning the labor movement in Japan.

We do not pretend to tell the Japanese workers what they should do. We, however, urge upon their careful attention the fact that there comes a time in the lives of the people an opportunity to bring about certain reforms. Among these are the rights of labor, the development of the spirit of democracy, self-government and the organization of the workers.

The spirit of democracy which recently has been kindled in the minds and hearts of the people of all lands, should be nurtured in Japan. Perhaps the present is opportune. A fearless, insistent demand for democracy, self-government and the right to organize should be the slogan. The American Federation of Labor cannot depart from the principles that the destiny of the workers of each country lies primarily in their own hands. We express the hope that our fellow workers in Japan may now or in the near future obtain nothing less than a government with the right to organize a bona fide labor movement. On the invitation extended to President Gompers to visit Japan in the interests of a more progressive labor movement of that country, the Baltimore convention referred the matter to the Executive Council, which authorized President Gompers to exercise his discretion and convenience. President Gompers felt that his duties and obligations here made it inadvisable to make the journey at that time.

This concludes the report of the Committee on International Relations, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

GEORGE W. PERKINS,
Chairman.
SAMUEL GOMPERS,
JAMES DUNCAN,
JAMES O'CONNELL,
ANDREW FURUSETH,
MAX S. HAYES,
MARTIN LAWLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
J. P. FREY,
B. A. LARGER,
T. V. O'CONNOR,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
J. H. WALKER,
C. L. BAINE,
W. D. MAHON,
JAMES LORD,
JOHN GOLDEN,
MATTHEW WOLL,
Secretary.

Committee on International Relations.

On motion by Delegate Woll the report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Delegate Sara Conboy, for the committee, reported as follows:

Address of Mr. Pinchot.

Under this heading (pp. 320-322, eighth day's proceedings), your committee reports as follows:

We recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to meet or to appoint a committee to meet with the representatives of the farmers' organizations for the purpose of bringing about co-operation between the two organizations on matters of importance affecting both.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, Patrick Sheehan and Michael Cahill of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes, by instructions of their convention:

WHEREAS, The conditions of the working men and women of New Orleans and other parts of the South are in bad condition, because of the lack of proper organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby instruct the Executive Council to make a special effort to thoroughly organize New Orleans and other parts of the South, by placing in the city of New Orleans a regularly paid organizer to look after and direct the work, and that this organizer be given the assistance of the other organizers of the American Federation of Labor, and when the proper plans of organization are outlined, that the Federation call upon the various national and international unions to send special organizers to assist in the work of properly organizing their respective trades.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for favorable action, if the funds of the Federation will permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 171—By Delegate Jas. H. Hatch, Upholsterers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, Two hundred members of the Upholsterers' International Union of North America, employed by John Wanamaker, Gimbel Brothers, Strawbridge & Clothier, and N. Snellenberg & Co., located in Philadelphia, Pa., have been on strike for ten weeks; and

WHEREAS, We believe through the influence of the American Federation of Labor, a meeting can be arranged between the representatives of the union and the firms involved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee, who shall endeavor to arrange a meeting between the representatives of the union and the firms involved, during the week following the adjournment of this convention, with the object of settling the strike and thereby establishing the rate of wages and working conditions that the members of our organization are justly entitled to.

Your committee unanimously concurs in this resolution.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Delegate Conboy: This completes the report of the Committee on Organization, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman;
A. J. KUGLER,
WM. A. NEER,
JOHN L. LEWIS,
BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER,
THOMAS S. FARRELL,
MARY ANDERSON,
J. E. FORREST,
PATRICK FLYNN,
S. J. KONENKAMP,
THOMAS KENNEDY,
W. L. FORREST,
CHARLES E. JAMES,
W. H. YOUNG,
SARAH CONBOY, Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAWS.

Delegate Lennon, for the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Laws reports an amendment to Section 4 of Article IV of the Constitution, so that the section as amended will read:

SECTION 4, ARTICLE IV.

"The Secretary shall prepare for use of the convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than April 30th preceding the annual convention."

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee recommends an amendment to Section 3 of Article VII, so that the section as amended will read:

SECTION 3, ARTICLE VII.

"The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on April 30th of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention. He shall publish a financial report monthly in the American Federationist, and send one copy to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation."

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Your committee recommends an amendment to Section 2, Article X, of the Constitution, so that the section as amended will read:

SECTION 2, ARTICLE X.

"Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the annual convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1, Article X, has been paid in full to April 30th preceding the convention."

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Amendment to Constitution.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p 135), your committee recommends that the proposed amendment be adopted.

Section 7 of Article XV as amended will read:

"Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation, the Railroad, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section."

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Shubert Sebree, of the Indiana State Federation of Labor:

RESOLVED, That the following shall be ineligible as delegates to the Central Labor Unions and State Federations: All persons holding political office; all employers; all persons practicing law as an attorney; all persons not working at their trade. The latter sentence shall not be so construed as applying to members officially employed by their respective organizations; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all delegates shall use union labeled products whenever the same can be purchased.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolutions Nos. 2 and 99, both dealing with the same subject.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegates Foley, of the Barbers, and Sebree, of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, opposed the report of the committee, citing instances in support of their position where members of organized labor had not used their political positions to the best advantage of the labor movement.

Delegates Voll, of the Glass Bottle Blowers; Blakely, of the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, and Etheridge, of the National Association of Federal Employes, spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

During the discussion the following questions were asked and answered:

President Gompers (addressing Delegate Foley): Would the delegate enlighten the convention, say for instance in such a state of affairs as this: The United Mine Workers of America had among its delegation Mr. Wm. B. Wilson, a member of Congress and a member in good standing in the United Mine Workers of America. Would he be eligible as a delegate if that amendment were adopted?

Delegate Foley: To my point of view, yes, from the fact that Mr. Wilson was representing his people in Congress and was only taking a leave of absence from his work, and when his term had expired he would return to the mines.

President Gompers: We will take for instance the case of Mr. John Mitchell, chairman of the Industrial Board of the State of New York and now Food Commissioner.

Delegate Foley: I would consider that Mr. Mitchell would not be eligible as a delegate to a Central Labor Union or a State Federation.

Delegate Wharton: I would like to ask if the American Federation of Labor has the authority to pass laws here that would compel an international organization or limit them as to the selection of delegates that their organization saw fit to elect?

President Gompers: The convention may set a certain qualification, but it must appeal to the common sense and sense of fairness of the convention.

Delegate Gorenstein: If we adopt the recommendation of the committee does it mean that that will interfere with the International Unions or any of its locals?

President Gompers: You can do that locally. The fact of the matter is, if you adopt this resolution you would bar the man you have just elected to the Assembly of New York.

Delegate Schlesinger: If this recommendation is concurred in, does it mean that we can send lawyers who practice law as delegates to Central Bodies and State Federations?

President Gompers: Responding to that question, let me say that the Railroad Telegraphers at several conventions selected as one of their delegates a practicing lawyer and a member in good standing with the telegraphers. The musicians also have a lawyer as a representative of their organization. So long as a man or woman maintains his or her proper relations in the international union of which they are members, the membership having confidence in them, no objection has ever been raised to their qualifications as delegates to this convention.

Delegate Lennon, for the committee, said in part: The committee held that the passage of this resolution restricting the membership of the central bodies was by indirection a limitation on the autonomous rights of national and international unions to say who should and who should not be members of that organization. From a po-

litical standpoint it is simply impossible, for there must be thousands of men holding cards and holding political office.

On motion debate was closed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee recommends that Section 1 of Article X be amended to read as follows:

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of seven-eighths of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions fifteen cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, two cents per member per month; from Central and State bodies, $10 per year, payable quarterly.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegates Tobin (D. J.), Bugniazet, Green (Wm.), Flore, Golden, Preece and McDonald of the Scranton Central Labor Union spoke briefly in favor of the recommendation of the committee. It seemed to be the concensus of opinion that the per capita tax must be increased in order to meet the rapidly rising prices.

Delegate Berry opposed the report of the committee on the ground that most of the international unions had been compelled to meet additional financial burdens in taking care of their members involved in the war.

The report of the committee was adopted with one dissenting vote.

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Oscar F. Nelson of the Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The increased cost of living and the resultant necessity for an increased wage is a fact beyond the possibility of dispute; and

WHEREAS, Practically all of the international organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. have recognized that fact by granting an increase in compensation and hotel expenses paid to the organizers employed by them; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and they are hereby instructed by this convention of the American Federation of Labor to increase the compensation paid to organizers employed by the A. F. of L. $1.00 per day and increase the allowance for hotel expenses 50 cents per day.

Resolution No. 163—By Delegate Chas. MacGowan, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers:

WHEREAS, The General Organizers of the American Federation of Labor have not received an increase in salary for a number of years, notwithstanding the increased cost of commodities; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in Section 7 of Article IX, the figures $6.00 be changed to read $7.00 on Line 3.

Your committee carefully considered these two resolutions and adopted the following substitute to cover the subject matter of both resolutions. Amend Section 7 of Article IX to read:

SECTION 7, ARTICLE IX.

"The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be $7.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of $4.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council."

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

On Resolution No. 26, your committee is in thorough accord with the spirit of the resolution, but we believe the object sought can be better accomplished in another way. We therefore suggest that the resolution be adopted, when amended to read as follows:

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Joseph J. Ellicott of the Office Employes' Association No. 12755 of Chicago, Ill.:

WHEREAS, The United States and the Dominion of Canada are now engaged in a great struggle for world democracy and the young men of these nations have been called from their daily tasks to fight for their country; and

WHEREAS, Many young men from the ranks of organized labor have been called upon to give up for the time their activities in the army of industrial democracy to engage in the battle for democracy on a world scale; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has voiced its belief in the justice of our country's cause and its determination to assist the government in every way possible; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor secure from each directly affiliated union a list of all members enrolled in the military service of the United States, enter such names in a bound roll of honor book and upon their return they shall be admitted to any di-

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rectly affiliated union without initiation fee. No dues shall be charged against these members while they are in the army or navy.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Franklin: Does that mean that any member who joins the army upon his return will be admitted without any fee?

President Gompers: It only refers to members of directly affiliated unions.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Daniel D. Sullivan of the California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, An ever-increasing number of defenseless individuals and groups of workers are being subjected to ruthless persecution under guise of law; and

WHEREAS, Vast sums of money are raised by organizations of employers for the execution of such unjust purposes as the disruption of organizations of labor, and to ruin the reputations of individuals devoted to the cause of labor and

WHEREAS, Organizations of labor are forever contributing large sums of money to a more or less disorganized and inefficient defense of the victims of such persecutions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that we favor an increase in the per capita tax paid by affiliated National and International Unions to provide for a permanent department of legal aid, statistics and publicity to take care of the problems herein mentioned.

Your Committee on Laws reports that last year's convention authorized the establishment of a Legal Bureau of Information, and your committee therefore feels no further action is necessary at this time. We recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Legal Bureau of Information.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption (p. 123), your committee finds no further action necessary, inasmuch as the matter has been covered by the report of the Committee on Report of Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Fred W. Voigt, Central Labor Council, Oakland, Cal.:

WHEREAS, It is abundantly evident that the purchasing power of labor has not advanced as fast as the rising cost of living, owing chiefly to labor's lack of adequate organization, which prevents it from marshaling its forces to its greatest advantage at any given time; and

WHEREAS, It has been found that a single union stands little chance in fighting the combined forces of the employers in any given locality, as all trades are closely interlocked; so much so that when one union or a number of unions in any given industry go out on strike the unions remaining at work help to break the strike of their fellow workers; and

WHEREAS, This condition is largely due to the fact that the unions remaining at work cannot obtain the consent of their international officers to join their strike, or they gain such consent too late; and

WHEREAS, To win, labor must put up a united front locally, as well as nationally and internationally, even as all employers' associations do; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that in order to secure a more harmonious relation between the words of the preamble of our Constitution and the deeds of our affiliated organizations, the following constitutional amendment be adopted:

To change Section 2 of Article II to read as follows: "The establishment of national and international trade unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, locally as well as nationally or internationally, and the establishment of such autonomy where it does not already exist."

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in this resolution.

Delegate Voigt, the introducer of the resolution, spoke briefly in support of the sentiments expressed therein and offered an amendment that the convention do not concur at this time, but that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council, with the recommendation that it be taken up with the national and international unions that might be affected, with a view to securing a greater amount of local solidarity and united action.

The amendment was seconded and lost on being put to vote, and the convention adopted the report of the committee.

Delegate Lennon: This completes the report of the Committee on Laws, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JOHN B. LENNON,
Chairman;
HUGH FRAYNE,
S. E. HEBERLING,
WALTER N. REDDICK,
TIMOTHY HEALY,
JOSEPH PROEBSTLE,
E. A. BAKER,
G. M. BUGNIAZET,
THOMAS F. FLAHERTY,
Secretary,
Committee on Laws.

The report of the Committee on Laws was adopted as a whole, as amended.

President Gompers in the chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Delegate Frey, for the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 107—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Daniel C. Murphy, Jos. E. McClory, John Donlin, W. E. Bryan, Fred W. Suitor:

WHEREAS, On July 22, 1916, an explosion occurred during the progress of the Preparedness Parade in San Francisco, killing and wounding many innocent people; and

WHEREAS, The corporate interests in the Chamber of Commerce immediately preceding this parade boasted of a million dollar slush fund which had been subscribed for their campaign, to establish the so-called "open shop" on the Pacific coast. Agents in the Chamber of Commerce advised and caused the arrest of Warren K. Billings, Thomas J. Mooney, Mrs. Rena Mooney, Israel Weinberg and Edward D. Nolan, all union workers in San Francisco, and charged these brothers and Mrs. Mooney, who has been acquitted, with the responsibility for the explosion; and

WHEREAS, The amazing contradiction of evidence and the questionable character of the prosecution's witnesses, added to the uncovering of the Oxman perjury plot against the defendants, has impressed men and women in all walks of life with the unfairness of the prosecution in these trials. Charges of "frame-up" became so voluminous that the President of the United States deemed it advisable to appoint a commission to investigate all the facts surrounding the San Francisco bomb case; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor, at their recent convention, held in Sacramento, California, October 1st, with but one dissenting vote, declared their belief in the innocence of the defendants, and pledged their moral and financial support; and

WHEREAS, It is too much to expect that any single locality could bear the financial burden of a case of this character; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, at its Thirty-seventh Annual Convention, assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., declare its belief that the defendants have not had a fair trial and protest against the apparent "frame-up" and perjury committed by the prosecution, and urge all local unions to assist this defense financially and morally, to the end that justice may be established.

Your committee submits the following as a substitute:

WHEREAS, Warren K. Billings, Thomas J. Mooney, Mrs. Rena Mooney, Israel Weinberg and Edward Nolan were accused of guilt in connection with the San Francisco bomb outrage during the Preparedness Parade on July 22, 1916, and Warren K. Billings and Thomas J. Mooney have been convicted and Mrs. Rena Mooney found not guilty by a jury but is still charged under other counts; and

WHEREAS, The character of the majority of the principal witnesses was such as to create a justification for the belief that the accused were convicted under circumstances which make it mandatory that they should be given a new and fair trial, in order that a jury, the composition of which is above suspicion, may pass upon evidence submitted by witnesses whose character warrants credence in their testimony and around whom there hangs no cloud of past viciousness, depravity and attempted subornation of perjury. This is essential, as the records of the trials, as given to the public, have been such as to create the gravest doubt as to the reliability of the testimony offered by those considered the state's most important witnesses; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor that in the name of justice, the judicial and other public authorities of California be urgently requested to take the necessary steps in order that new trials may be given to those already convicted. It is our well-considered and deep-seated conviction that unless such new trials be granted there must remain in the minds of the majority of our citizens the belief that the accused were convicted through testimony which branded some of the witnesses as perjurors and those who endeavored to procure subornation of perjury for the purpose of securing such reward as might be given to them for their testimony. Without such new trials there will remain the firm conviction that a grave miscarriage of justice has been allowed with the knowledge of the authorities; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we sincerely approve of the instructions given to the special commission appointed by the President of the United States to thoroughly investigate the procedure and activities of the public officials in connection with the trials which have already been held so that there may be supplied authoritative information upon the rumors alleging sinister activities on the part of the prosecutor's office which have been given wide-spread publicity.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Murphy (Daniel C.): I regret very much that this proposition was so long delayed before being presented to this convention. I can assure you that what I have to say will be exceedingly brief. However, I deem it imperative to acquaint this convention with the exact attitude of the laboring people of the city of San Francisco relative to the so-called bomb cases. Those of us who have interested ourselves somewhat to see that the purport of the recommendation of this committee is carried into effect and that

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these defendants be assured of a fair and impartial trial, with honest testimony and with responsible witnesses, have had all sorts of charges hurled in our direction and many attempts have been made to even stigmatize us as anarchists. As proof of this I will read a telegram that arrived after this resolution had been introduced at this convention. The telegram is from Theodore Roosevelt to District Attorney Fickert and is no doubt based upon misrepresentations of fact. It reads as follows:

"I am informed of effort to recall you because you successfully prosecuted anarchists who killed ten persons and wounded sixty. If such be the case I not only feel issue between you and opponents is that between patriotism and anarchy, but also feel that all who directly or indirectly assailed you for any such reason should be promptly deprived of citizenship."

Of course it is presumptuous or should be considered presumptuous to criticise such an authority as ex-President Roosevelt; nevertheless it must be apparent to this convention that in his usual impetuous way, upon hearing just one side of the case, he makes a flat statement and insists that the big stick be swung over the heads of those who happen to disagree with the statement he has made. The San Francisco Labor Council did not make a move in this bomb case until after there were two conventions and there were editors of labor papers who were present at one convention who assailed us editorially, accused us of dereliction of duty, of cowardice and of many other things. It was after and by reason of the evidence of the first two trials when two convictions had been secured, one carrying life sentence, the second a death penalty, and realizing the clear contradictions of testimony between the second and first trial, it was then that the San Francisco Labor Council adopted resolutions and finally took an active part in the interests of these defendants.

Every move we have made, every influence we have exerted, at least outside the State of California, has been in co-operation with the officers of this Federation of Labor, and it might be stated in passing, as the recommendation of the committee states, that we finally succeeded in interesting President Wilson to the extent that he has appointed a committee to delve into the facts in this case and try to bring out the exact truth. So many are ready to say that the defendants are guilty. That, I hold, is a question to be determined, and even if these defendants were guilty, which I don't concede and incidentally don't believe—in fact, my firm belief is that they had no participation directly or indirectly in the atrocious crimes at Stuart and Market streets in San Francisco.

But, even if these men were guilty, it does not excuse any set of public officials for deliberately manufacturing evidence, drilling witnesses before they ever go on the stand and having evidence changed to suit the various stories which I believe in my heart they concocted to convict these people, regardless of their guilt or innocence. I make these statements to this convention so that it will be understood that there is no one in San Francisco who has any sympathy with any one of anarchistic tendencies or in any way disloyal to the country. We are somewhat interested in seeing that exact and impartial justice is done to prevent any frame-up system from being perfected that will jeopardize the life and liberty of any one they care to apply that system to. If successful in this case there is no laboring man in that community who would be safe.

Delegate Taylor (Machinists): I do believe that the committee might have urged organizations to at least assist in financing the trial to some extent. I am sure that our organizations throughout the United States and Canada have donated very liberally owing to the fact particularly that one of our members will be tried later, although he was in Rochester, N. Y., when this bomb outrage happened. I think that any man or woman is entitled to a fair trial, and I believe that the American Federation of Labor should go the limit financially and morally in assisting the members in California to see that these members get a fair trial. From all reports from different sources it is evident to the most of us that they haven't had one up to the present time, although there have been two convictions, and I think there is a state of bitterness in the city of San Francisco that will make it almost impossible for them to get a trial unless we put the entire power of the Federation behind the defendants in getting justice. I believe that the committee's report should be amended so that it would request organizations to help to

finance the defense of these membesr in San Francisco.

The convention adopted the report of the committee.

On motion by Delegate Stillman, it was decided that the discussion in relation to Resolution No. 107 be published verbatim in the proceedings.

Delegate Taylor later made the following correction in his statement: I have been informed that one of the defendants was in Rochester when this occurred. I have been informed by Brother Murphy that he had just returned from the convention of the Machinists and was in the headquarters of the Machinists in San Francisco. I did not make the statement to try to mislead any one; my information was incorrect.

Resolution No. 159—By Delegate Sam De Nedry, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, In various localities where shipbuilding or the manufacture of munitions or other war supplies is being carried on either by the government or private firms on an enormous scale, and extension of the works is in many cases of pressing necessity, there is an utter lack of the necessary housing of employes, conditions in this respect being almost incredibly bad and even disgraceful; and

WHEREAS, While this state of affairs is exceedingly detrimental to the wage-workers, the country at large is actually injured to a degree beyond estimate, since neither ships nor war supplies can be put at the service of the government in needed measure so long as housing for the workers is inadequate; and

WHEREAS, Immediate action is imperative in this vital matter to the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the conviction of this body that financial aid should be promptly given by the government wherever housing cannot be at once provided by private means; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the establishment of a central board or commission be recommended to the President of the United States, the duties of which shall be to negotiate with firms and communities for the purpose of speedily reaching decisions as to the most advantageous methods, measures, plans, places and persons to be utilized in a comprehensive housing project as a war necessity of the most urgent order.

Your committee offers the following substitute:

Inasmuch as the appointment of a permanent housing commission during the period of the war has become an immediate and pressing necessity, and as such commission to accomplish practical results should be provided with adequate funds; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to give their support and co-operation in securing the appointment of such a commission, in securing from the Government the necessary funds, and in working out with such a commission all problems which it may be called upon to consider.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 170—By Delegate John L. Lewis, United Mine Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, in response to President Wilson's call that organized labor co-operate in every way possible with the Government and the agencies that it has developed for the purpose of successfully prosecuting our national war program; and

WHEREAS, The Advisory Commission and the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense have appealed to all industries and all workers to co-operate in the fullest degree in order that a maximum amount of supplies be available for our allied armies at the front, fighting our fight for humanity and the safety of world democracy; and

WHEREAS, The safety to our nation depends upon the product of our mines, mills and industrial establishments, which in turn are dependent upon the conservation of lives and limbs of the workers engaged therein; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as endorsing the plan of accident prevention presented by the Committee on Labor of the Council of National Defense, and urges upon the members of this organization that they co-operate with the Council of National Defense in putting this plan into execution.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 173—By Delegate J. G. Brown, International Shingle Weavers' Union:

WHEREAS, It is reported in the newspapers that a movement is afoot to attempt in the next United States Congress the passage of legislation permitting the importing of hordes of Chinese coolies to work as farm hands or otherwise in America; and

WHEREAS, Such importation, now justly debarred by law, would be contrary to the traditional and avowed policy of organized labor in America and a menace to the present cordial relationship of government and labor in the prosecution of the war; and

WHEREAS, The mere championing of such a cause, doomed though it be to failure from the start, could only be construed as an attempt to tear down the standards of the American workingman and substitute those of the Chinese; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Buffalo, N. Y., November 22, 1917, do here-

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by protest in advance against any such proposed attempt to undermine the hard-won eminence of organized labor by decreasing the scale of wages and lowering the standards of living; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event that such legislation is introduced in Congress, organized labor, as represented by this Federation, will hold to the strictest accounting those responsible for so traitorous an assault on its interests in this most critical hour of our national life.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 174—By United Hatters' Delegation:

WHEREAS, Contracts between the United Hatters of North America and the members of the Hat Manufacturers' Association of Danbury, Conn., expired on May 1, 1917; and

WHEREAS, Conditions of trade in the fur felt hat industry are very poor, owing to the high cost of fur and other materials going into the making of fur felt hats, and also to the number of our young men who are serving under the colors with the army and the navy of our country, who are not wearing civilian headgear. These conditions are due entirely to the war in which our country is involved, and

WHEREAS, The Hat Manufacturers' Association of Danbury, supported by the Connecticut Manufacturers' Association (in defiance to the attitude of the President of the United States and the Council of National Defense, who said "that manufacturers should not take advantage of conditions brought about by the war to lower the standard of employment"), have taken advantage of these war conditions and refused to again sign agreements with the United Hatters of North America, and declared for the open shop policy in many of the large hat factories in the Danbury district, notwithstanding the fact that they have operated union factories for many years and would not attempt to declare for the open shop policy under any other but war conditions; and

WHEREAS, Several of the largest hat factories in Danbury are still closed because members of the United Hatters of North America refuse to work under open shop conditions and as a result the members of that organization are forced to remain in idleness or move to other cities to find employment at some other industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, direct the President and Executive Council to call this matter to the attention of our government and urge that a thorough investigation be made.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

Delegate Lawlor of the United Hatters and Delegate O'Hara of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor spoke feelingly in appreciation of the support and assistance which had been rendered the Hatters by the members of organized labor, and solicited their continued support and co-operation.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Principles and Policies to Be Observed in the Regulation of Terms of Employment and Conditions of Labor.

Inasmuch as the report of your committee relative to the principles and policies to be observed in the regulation of terms of employment and conditions of labor has been unanimously adopted by this convention, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to forward a copy of the committee's report to the presidents of all affiliated organizations and endeavor with their co-operation to have these policies and principles applied by the government in all of its activities relative to and affecting labor. We further recommend that the presidents of affiliated organizations be requested to transmit copies of these principles and policies to their respective memberships.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 175—By Resolutions Committee:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to this Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, herewith and hereby convey to the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, our profound appreciation of his presence upon the opening day of the convention and for the direct frankness with which he addressed us.

RESOLVED, That there is particular gratification in the fact that the first President of the United States to honor and inspire by his presence a convention of the American Federation of Labor should be so staunch a defender and so able an interpreter of the fundamental principles of practical democracy.

RESOLVED, That after sober, serious-minded consideration of the industrial problems arising as the result of our country's participation in the war for human rights and the perpetuation of democratic institutions, we pledge to him our undivided support in carrying the war to a successful conclusion, in supporting him in his efforts to apply the principles of democracy to the solution of the problems which arise in industry, and in conducting the war so that it shall be a war of the people, continued in defense of the fundamental institutions for human liberty transmitted to us by the forefathers of our country.

The convention unanimously adopted the resolution.

Resolution No. 176—By Committee on Resolutions:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention to the American Federation of Labor, hereby express our deep appreciation for the presence during our opening session of the President of the United States, the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, and that of his gracious wife, the first lady of the land, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, and for the attendance of Rev. Charles A. Jessup, Rev. Thomas J. O'Hern, his Honor Governor Whitman, City Commissioner Charles M. Heald, District Attorney Guy B. Moore, Carlton E. Chase, the President of the New York Manufacturers' Association, and Archer A. Landon, President of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce.

RESOLVED, That we tender to the Local Committee on Entertainment our expressions of most sincere appreciation for the generous provisions which they made for our comfort and entertainment, and that we express our sentiments of gratitude for the kindly and continuous interest which they showed in our welfare throughout our sojourn in Buffalo, and that we extend to the trade unionists of Buffalo and their wives and daughters our appreciation of the hospitality which they have extended, the interest which they have shown in our deliberations, and their constant efforts to provide for the social enjoyment of our lady delegates and the other delegates in attendance at the convention.

The convention unanimously adopted the resolution.

Resolution No. 177—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The lady delegates in attendance at this convention and the lady visitors cannot in person express their sincere appreciation for the many favors shown to them while in Buffalo; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the ladies attending the convention have adopted this method of conveying to the ladies upon the Local Committee and the wives and daughters of the Buffalo trade unionists their most keen appreciation for the spirit of welcome which was extended, and for the many social hours which were enjoyed. They carry with them a high regard for the spirit of hospitality and true cordiality which they were permitted to enjoy throughout their stay.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention.

Resolution No. 178—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, Marvin Smith, the postal clerk in charge of the postoffice which was installed for the benefit of the delegates, has been most courteous and attentive to his duties; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby requested to convey to Postmaster Meyer of Buffalo the convention's appreciation for the manner in which Marvin Smith has served the delegates while in charge of the local postoffice.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by the convention.

Resolution No. 179—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, Ocean transportation is of great importance at this time; and

WHEREAS, Such transportation requires seamen as well as ships; and

WHEREAS, The language clause in Section 13 of the Seamen's Act has evidently been rendered void by the construction placed thereon by the Department of Commerce, thereby stripping the Seamen of defense; and

WHEREAS, The recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Scharrenberg vs. Dollar Steamship Company has decided that the Contract Labor Law and the Chinese Exclusion Law do not apply to seamen, thus exposing the seamen to the impossible competition arising thereunder; and

WHEREAS, These two great facts together with others will make it impracticable to induce any large number of those who have left the sea to return, or to induce the young men to come to the sea and thus nullify the joint effort of the United States Shipping Board, the Shipowners and the Seamen as contemplated by agreements entered into for this purpose and approved by the Secretaries of the Departments of Labor and Commerce; therefore

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to bring these matters to the earliest possible attention of the Departments and if necessary to the President of the United States.

The convention unanimously adopted the resolution.

This completes the report of the committee, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

JAMES DUNCAN,
Chairman;
GEO. W. PERKINS,
GEO. F. HEDRICK,
B. A. LARGER,
HUGH STEVENSON,
CHAS. L. BAINE,
JOHN A. VOLL,
MARTIN F. RYAN,
A. A. MYRUP,
JAS. W. MORTON,
JAS. G. HANNAHAN,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
O. E. WOODBURY,
W. E. BRYAN,
JOHN P. FREY,
Secretary,
Committee on Resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole, as amended.

Secretary Morrison stated that the badges had arrived and that all delegates who had not received one should notify the office in Washington.

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Delegate Koveleski moved that the convention adjourn sine die. (Seconded.)

President Gompers: It has always been a great pleasure to me—the wonderful work, development and growth as shown in the American Federation of Labor conventions. We have had some differences here and men have fought for the faith that is in them. I said during one part of our convention that the convention of the American Federation of Labor is the freest forum of any organization or group or legislative body in this or any other country. I think the experience of this convention has demonstrated that to be an undeniable fact.

I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the courteous treatment, one to another. There may have been a little lapse once in a while, but on the whole there has been that desire to get at results. There has been more legislation of a constructive character in this convention adopted without a dissenting voice or vote than in any other previous convention of this Federation. In addition it may be said, it has been truthfully said, that this is and was a labor convention, but it was also a convention in war time, and to have come out of this convention with the glorious declaration of loyalty and fealty to our fellow workers and fellow citizens and to our common country is cause for great gratification and jubilization.

At 9:20 p. m., Saturday, November 24, 1917, the Thirty-seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison

Secretary,
American Federation of Labor

J. H. Johnson,

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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